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19

STUDIES IN THEOPHANES

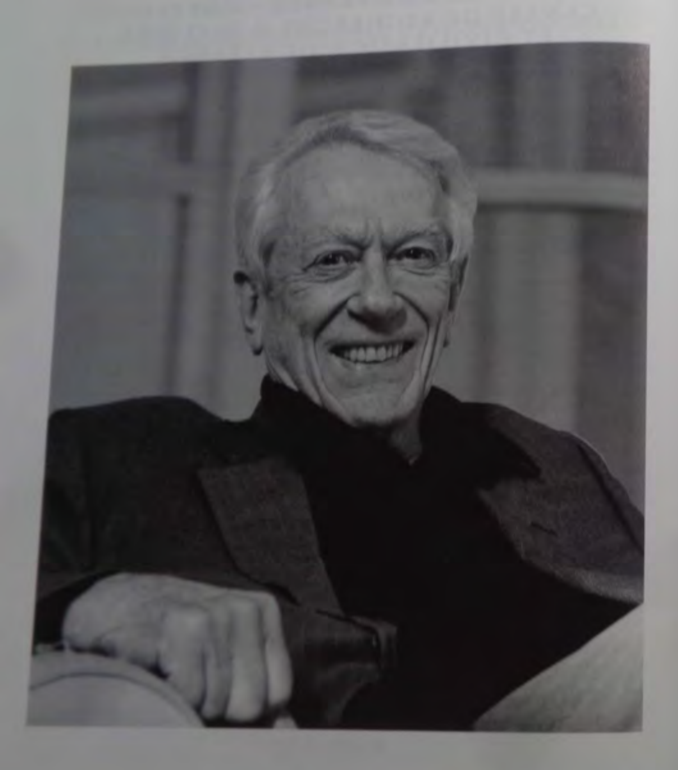
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Paris, 4 mars 2007 © C. Hélie

Gilbert Dagron nous a quittés le 4 août dernier, courageux en cette dernière épreuve comme il l'avait été tout au long de sa vie. Nous sommes en deuil de celui qui, élu au Collège de France voici quarante ans, fut pour les byzantinistes français un basileus incontesté et pour beaucoup, français et étrangers, un ami attentif et chaleureux. Les Travaux et Mémoires *dont, succédant à Paul Lemerle, il exerça de 1975 à 2001 la direction, sont en deuil et consacreront bientôt un volume à sa mémoire et à son œuvre. Il serait vain de prétendre rendre hommage en quelques mots au grand historien qu'il fut. Une érudition sans limites, une réflexion profonde lui permirent de rendre vie au monde byzantin, à ses hommes et à ses « idées », sous les aspects les plus divers. Sa langue reflétait avec élégance la complexité de son objet, la subtilité de ses analyses, les nuances de ses conclusions. Parfois ironique à l'égard des « experts », Gilbert Dagron s'est pourtant illustré dans les champs les plus techniques de nos études, hagiographie ou iconographie, épigraphie ou diplomatique, droit ou économie notamment. Par delà ces disciplines spéciales, les maîtres-livres qui jalonnent sa longue carrière ont fait mieux connaître et mieux comprendre aux byzantinistes quelques-uns de leurs objets fondamentaux : Constantinople d'abord, de « Naissance d'une capitale » (1974) aux jeux de l'Hippodrome (2011), sans oublier « Constantinople imaginaire » (1984); le christianisme byzantin, dans un volume de l'*Histoire du christianisme *paru sous sa direction (1993), la théorie politique avec « Empereur et prêtre » (1996), la théorie esthétique avec « Décrire et peindre » (2007). À côté de ces ouvrages majeurs, dont de grandes maisons d'édition et de multiples traductions ont étendu le rayonnement, Gilbert Dagron ne perdit jamais de vue les collections du Centre de recherche qu'il dirigeait, à commencer par ces* Travaux et Mémoires *où lui-même avait fait un début retentissant. De 1968 à 2001, du rhéteur Thémistios au* Livre des cérémonies, *ses propres mémoires et articles y forment une chaîne ininterrompue, qui traverse de part en part le millénaire byzantin. Supplément aux* Travaux et Mémoires, *la série des* Monographies *qu'il crée en 1982 accueillera les ouvrages de chercheurs français et étrangers, des actes de colloque, des leçons professées au Collège de France par d'éminents invités. Enfin dans la collection des* Bilans de recherche, *dont il avait en 2006 parrainé la création et choisi le nom, Gilbert Dagron offrit en 2012, sous le beau titre d'« Idées byzantines », l'édition révisée de trente-six articles choisis. Il espérait encore voir paraître l'édition commentée du* Livre des cérémonies *de Constantin Porphyrogénète, dont il avait pris l'initiative et qui, parmi les travaux de ses dernières années, fut sans doute celui qui lui tenait le plus à cœur. Sa publication prochaine sera le meilleur hommage que nous puissions rendre, en témoignage d'admiration et d'attachement, au maître et à l'ami que nous avons perdu.*

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ABBREVIATIONS

AASS	*Acta sanctorum quotquot toto orbe coluntur, vel a catholicis scriptoribus celebrantur*, Venetiis 1734-1940.
ACO, ser. sec.	*Acta conciliorum oecumenicorum. Series secunda*, ed. R. Riedinger, Berlin 1984-.
Adler – Tuffin	*The Chronography of George Synkellos : a Byzantine chronicle of universal history from the Creation*, transl. with introd. and notes by W. Adler and P. Tuffin, Oxford 2002.
ADSV	*Античная древность и средние века*. Екатеринбург.
Agap.	*Kitab al-'unvan : Histoire universelle écrite par Agapius (Mahboub) de Menbidj*, éd. et trad. par A. Vasiliev, Paris 1906–16 (PO 5, 4; 7, 4; 8, 3; 11, 1), PO 8.
Anast.	*Theophanis Chronographia. 2, Theophanis vitas, Anastasii bibliothecarii Historiam tripertitam, dissertationem de codicibus operis Theophanei, indices continens*, rec. C. de Boor, Lipsiae 1885 (2nde éd., Hildesheim – New York 1980).
AnBoll	*Analecta Bollandiana*. Bruxelles.
AnTard	*Antiquité tardive*. Turnhout
BCH	*Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*. Paris.
BHG	*Bibliotheca hagiographica Graeca*, 3e éd. mise à jour et considérablement augmentée, Bruxelles 1957.
BMGS	*Byzantine and modern Greek studies*. Leeds.
BSl.	*Byzantinoslavica : revue internationale des études byzantines*. Praha.
Byz.	*Byzantion : revue internationale des études byzantines*. Wetteren.
Byz. Forsch.	*Byzantinische Forschungen : internationale Zeitschrift für Byzantinistik*. Amsterdam.
BZ	*Byzantinische Zeitschrift*. Berlin.
CCSG	Corpus christianorum. Series Graeca. Turnhout.
Cedr.	*Georgius Cedrenus Ioannis Scylitzae ope*, ab I. Bekkero suppletus et emendatus (CSHB 4), Bonnae 1838-1839.
CFHB	Corpus fontium historiae Byzantinae.
Chron. 1234	*Chronicon ad annum Christi 1234 pertinens. 1*, ed. I.-B. Chabot (CSCO 81. SS 36), Parisiis 1920.
Chron. Paschale	*Chronicon Paschale*, rec. L. Dindorfius, Bonnae 1832.
Const. VII, *Three treatises*	Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *Three treatises on imperial military expeditions*, introd., ed., transl. and commentary by J. F. Haldon, Wien 1990.
CSHB	Corpus scriptorum historiae Byzantinae.
CSCO	Corpus scriptorum christianorum orientalium. Louvain. SS : Scriptores Syri.
CTh	*Codex Theodosianus*.

DAI Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio*, greek text ed. by Gy. Moravcsik, english transl. by R. J. H. Jenkins (CFHB 1), Washington 1967[2].

De cer. *Constantini Porphyrogeniti imperatoris De cerimoniis aulae Byzantinae*, e rec. J. J. Reiskii (CSHB), Bonnae 1829-1840.

DOP *Dumbarton Oaks papers*. Washington.

EHB *The economic history of Byzantium : from the seventh through the fifteenth century*, A. E. Laiou, ed.-in-chief (Dumbarton Oaks studies 39), Washington DC 2002.

EI *Encyclopédie de l'Islam*, Leiden – Paris 1913-1938.

EI[2] *Encyclopédie de l'Islam, nouvelle édition*, Leiden – Paris 1954-2009.

Evagr. *The Ecclesiastical history of Evagrius, with the scholia*, ed. with introd, critical notes and indices by J. Bidez and L. Parmentier, London 1898.

ΕΦΣ *Ἑλληνικὸς Φιλολογικὸς Σύλλογος Κωνσταντινουπόλεως*.

FHG *Fragmenta historicorum Graecorum*, Paris 1841-1872.

GCS Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte. Berlin.

Gen. *Iosephi Genesii Regum libri quattuor*, rec. A. Lesmueller-Werner et I. Thurn, Berolini 1978.

Georg. Mon. *Georgii Monachi Chronicon*, ed. C. de Boor, corr. P. Wirth, Stutgardiae 1978.

Georg. Sync. *Georgii Syncelli Ecloga chronographica*, ed. A. A. Mosshammer, Leipzig 1984.

GRBS *Greek, Roman and Byzantine studies*. Durham.

Howard-Johnston, *Witnesses* : J. Howard-Johnston, *Witnesses to a world crisis : historians and histories of the Middle East in the seventh century*, Oxford 2010.

Hoyland, *Seeing Islam* : R. G. Hoyland, *Seeing Islam as others saw it : a survey and evaluation of Christian, Jewish and Zoroastrian writings on early Islam* (Studies in late antiquity and early Islam 13), Princeton NJ 1997.

Hoyland, *Theophilus* : R. G. Hoyland, *Theophilus of Edessa's Chronicle and the circulation of historical knowledge in late antiquity and early Islam* (Translated texts for historians 57), Liverpool 2011.

JHS *The journal of Hellenic studies*. London.

JÖB *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik*. Wien.

JÖBG *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinischen Gesellschaft*. Wien.

Joh. Eph., *HE* *Iohannis Ephesini Historiae ecclesiasticae pars tertia*, ed., interpretatus est E. W. Brooks (CSCO 106. SS 3), Parisiis, Lovanii 1935, 1936.

LP *Le Liber pontificalis*, texte, introd. et commentaire par L. Duchesne, 2 vol., Paris 1886 et 1892; III avec additions et corrections de L. Duchesne, C. Vogel éd., Paris 1955-1957.

Mal. *Ioannis Malalae Chronographia*, rec. I. Thurn (CFHB 35), Berolini 2000.

Mango, Who wrote the Chronicle : C. Mango, Who wrote the Chronicle of Theophanes?, *ZRVI* 18, 1978, pp. 9–17, republished in Id., *Byzantium and its image*, London 1984.

Mango – Scott *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor : Byzantine and Near Eastern history AD 284–813*, transl. with introd. and comment. by C. Mango and R. Scott with the assistance of G. Greatrex, Oxford 1997.

Mansi *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, Florentiae – Venetiis 1759-1798. [réimpr. Paris 1901 et Graz 1960].

Methodius, *Vita Theophanis* : *Methodii Patriarchae Constantinopolitani Vita S. Theophanis Confessoris e codice Mosquensi n° 159*, ed. B. Latyšev = *Меѳодія Патріарха Константинопольскаго житіе Преп. Ѳеофана Исповѣдника*, издалъ съ введеніемъ, примѣчаніями и указателями В. В. Латышевъ (Записки Россійской Академіи Наукъ. 8[e] série = Mémoires de l'Académie des sciences de Russie, classe historico-philologique 13/4). Петроградъ 1918.

MGH Ep., LL Monumenta Germaniae historica. Epistolae, Leges. Berlin.

Mich. Syr. *Chronique de Michel le Syrien, patriarche jacobite d'Antioche (1166-1199)*, éd. et trad. par J.-B. Chabot, *1, Traduction livres I-VII ; 2, Traduction livres VIII-XI ; 3, Traduction livres XII-XXI ; 4, Texte syriaque*, Paris 1899–1924 (réimpr. Bruxelles 1963).

MTM Monographies de Travaux et mémoires. Paris.

Niceph., *Chron.* *Chronographia brevis = Χρονογραφικὸν σύντομον : Nicephori archiepiscopi Constantinopolitani Opuscula historica : accedit Ignatii Diaconi Vita Nicephori*, ed. C. de Boor, Lipsiae 1880, p. 79-135.

Niceph., *Brev.* *Breviarium = Ἱστορία σύντομος* : Nikephoros, patriarch of Constantinople, *Short history*, text, transl. and commentary by C. Mango (CFHB 13), Washington DC 1990.

ODB *Oxford dictionary of Byzantium*, A. P. Kazhdan ed. in chief, New York 1991.

PG Patrologiae cursus completus. Series graeca, accur. J.-P. Migne, Paris 1856-1866.

Photius, *Bibl.* Photius, *Bibliothèque*, texte établi et trad. par R. Henry, Paris 1959-1991.

PLRE *The prosopography of the later Roman Empire*, by A. H. M. Jones, J. R. Martindale & J. Morris, Cambridge 1971-1992.

PmbZ *Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit*. Berlin – New York 1998-.

PO Patrologia Orientalis. Paris.

Proc., *Aed.* *Procopii Caesariensis opera omnia. 3, 2, De aedificiis cum duobus indicibus et appendice*, recognovit J. Haury, Lipsiae 1913, addenda et corrigenda adiecit G. Wirth, Lipsiae 1964.

Proc., *BP* *De bello Persico = Procopii Caesariensis opera omnia. 1, De bellis libri I-IV*, recognovit J. Haury, Lipsiae 1905, addenda et corrigenda adiecit G. Wirth, Lipsiae 1962, p. 1-304.

Proc., *BV* *De bello Vandalico = Procopii Caesariensis opera omnia. 1, De bellis libri I-IV*, recognovit J. Haury, Lipsiae 1905, addenda et corrigenda adiecit G. Wirth, Lipsiae 1962, p. 305-552.

Ps. Sym. dans *Theophanes continuatus*, p. 601-770.

RE *Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Stuttgart – München 1894-1997.

REB *Revue des études byzantines*. Paris.

ROCHOW, *Byzanz im 8. Jh.* : I. ROCHOW, *Byzanz im 8. Jahrhundert in der Sicht des Theophanes : quellenkritisch-historischer Kommentar zu den Jahren 715–813* (Berliner byzantinische Arbeiten 57), Berlin 1991.

RSBN — *Rivista di studi bizantini e neoellenici*. Roma

SC — Sources chrétiennes. Paris.

Socr. — Sokrates, *Kirchengeschichte*, hrsg. von G. C. Hansen, mit Beiträgen von M. Širinjan (GCS. Neue Folge 1), Berlin 1995.

Soz. — Sozomène, *Histoire ecclésiastique. Livres I-II*, texte grec de l'éd. J. Bidez, trad. par A.-J. Festugière (SC 306), Paris 1983 ; *Livres III-IV*, texte grec de l'éd. J. Bidez, trad. par A.-J. Festugière, rev. par B. Grillet (SC 408), Paris 1996 ; *Livres V-VI. Livres VII-IX*, texte grec de l'éd. J. Bidez, G. C. Hansen, trad. par A.-J. Festugière et B. Grillet (SC 495, 516), Paris 2005, 2008.

Strat. — *Mauricii Strategicon*, ed. et introd. instruxit G. T. Dennis, germanice vertit E. Gamillscheg (CFHB 17), Wien 1981.

Sym. Log. — *Symeonis magistri et logothetae Chronicon*, rec. S. Wahlgren (CFHB 44, 1), Berlin – New York 2006.

Syn. CP — *Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae e codice Sirmondiano nunc Berolinensi, adiectis synaxariis selectis, Propylaeum ad Acta Sanctorum Novembris*, éd. H. Delehaye, Bruxelles 1902 [réimpr. Louvain 1954].

Theod. Lect. — Theodoros Anagnostes, *Kirchengeschichte*, hrsg. von G. Ch. Hansen (GCS. Neue Folge 3), 2., durchges. Auflage, Berlin 1995.

Theoph. — *Theophanis Chronographia*, rec. C. de Boor, Lipsiae 1883-1885 [réimpr. Hildesheim – New York 1980].

Theoph. 2 — voir Anast.

Theoph. cont. — *Theophanes continuatus*, ex rec. I. Bekkeri (CSHB), Bonnae 1838.

Theoph. Sim. — *Theophylacti Simocattae Historiae*, ed. C. de Boor, ed. correctiorem cur. P. Wirth, Stutgardiae 1972.

TIB — Tabula Imperii Byzantini. Wien.

TLG — Thesaurus linguae Graecae. University of California.

TM — *Travaux et mémoires*. Paris.

TREADGOLD, *Middle Byzantine historians* : W. TREADGOLD, *The middle Byzantine historians*, New York 2013.

VV — *Византийский временник*. Москва.

Zon. — *Ioannis Zonarae Epitomae Historiarum libri XVIII*, ex rec. M. Pinderi ed. Th. Büttner-Wobst (CSHB 31), Bonnae 1897.

ZRVI — *Зборник радова Византолошког института*. Београд.

INTRODUCTION

by Marek JANKOWIAK & Federico MONTINARO

This book presents the proceedings of the conference "The *Chronicle* of Theophanes: sources, composition, transmission," organized by the editors in Paris in September 2012. The *Chronicle* attributed to Theophanes the Confessor († 817 or 818) is an annalistic compilation continuing the world chronicle of George Synkellos and spanning more than five hundred years of Byzantine history, from Diocletian's accession to the eve of the second Iconoclasm (AD 284–813). It stands as the major Greek source on Byzantium's "Dark Centuries," for which its author relied on now lost sources covering, notably, the Arab conquest, the Monothelete controversy, the emergence of Bulgaria, and the first Iconoclasm. It seemed to us in 2012 that the fifteen years of research since C. Mango and R. Scott's ground-breaking English translation[1] had witnessed steady advances in the understanding of the manuscript tradition as well as in the identification and assessment of the *Chronicle*'s individual sources. In this regard, one source of the *Chronicle*, clearly related to the Western Syriac tradition, had received a particularly large share of attention. It also seemed to us, however, that on this and other matters opinions differed, while numerous questions, concerning for example the author's method and biases, the early manuscripts, or the Latin adaptation by Anastasius, Librarian of the Roman Church († *c.* 879), waited to be reformulated in the light of recent research.

The first section of the volume is devoted to the question of the authorship of the *Chronicle*, raised by C. Mango almost forty years ago.[2] Detecting what he believed to be the traces of George Synkellos' composition, Mango suggested that the sentence, found in Theophanes' preface, "[George Synkellos] both bequeathed to me, who was his close friend, the book he had written and provided *aphormas* with a view to completing what was missing," where *aphormas* can indeed indicate "materials" (but also a "starting point" or "pretext"), describes more or less a draft which Theophanes did little more than revise and polish. The opening contribution of this section, by W. Treadgold, develops this view and presents the knowns and unknowns of George's life, career, and legacy. In the following paper, in contrast, C. Zuckerman takes issue with this interpretation. Zuckerman attributes a far greater agency to the author of the *Chronicle* and argues

1. MANGO – SCOTT.
2. MANGO, Who wrote the Chronicle.

Studies in Theophanes, ed. by M. Jankowiak & F. Montinaro (Travaux et mémoires 19), Paris 2015, pp. 1–5.

that he should be dissociated from the Confessor and abbot of Agros. In spite of this we shall, for the sake of convenience, keep speaking of "Theophanes" as the author of the *Chronicle*. Irrespective of his identity, the question of his relationship with George Synkellos remains relevant. Thus, M. Jankowiak attempts to identify Synkellos' hand in the rubrics of the *Chronicle*, perhaps its most distinctive feature, without however denying Theophanes' role in making it look very different from Synkellos' *Chronography*. The analysis of the chronological framework of the *Chronicle* leads him to offer a new explanation of Theophanes' problematic chronology of the seventh and eighth centuries and throws some light on his sources for this period. A. Kompa offers a stylistic argument for isolating fragments of George's notes within the text of the *Chronicle*, setting himself half-way between the supporters of the attribution *en bloc* to George and those who prefer to see in Theophanes a more independent writer. We have resolved to put in this section also J. W. Torgerson's paper, which would perhaps have more naturally belonged in the section on transmission. Torgerson's starting point is the observation, already made by his predecessors, of the joint circulation of George's and Theophanes' works in several Greek manuscripts as well as in Anastasius' *Chronographia tripertita*. The author surmises that this arrangement goes back to "the *Chronicle*'s original context" in which George's and Theophanes' works were read "as a single universal chronicle." One is tempted to see Theophanes writing his *Chronicle* on the pages that were left blank in George's codex.

The second section is devoted to issues of transmission, both direct (manuscript tradition) and indirect (readership, translations). F. Ronconi has undertaken the major task of assessing anew the early manuscripts of the *Chronicle*, following B. Fonkič's recent redating to the early ninth century of *Paris. gr.* 1710,[3] which had been regarded as a *Fabricat* and dated to the tenth century by de Boor. The priority of the Parisian manuscript has been further argued in several publications by P. Yannopoulos,[4] but many questions remain open. Ronconi prefers a later date in the third quarter of the ninth century and offers many insights on the palaeographic and codicological aspects of this and two other early manuscripts. His analysis is likely to spark fresh debate. B. Neil looks concisely into the successive steps in the transmission of Theophanes' influential account of the Arab conquests, from Greek into Latin. J. Signes Codoñer explores the possible role of kinship in the transmission of the *Chronicle* after it had been attributed to Theophanes the Confessor, a distant relative of Empress Zoe Karbonopsina and her son, Constantine VII Porphyrogenitos. Starting from the possibility that *Paris. gr.* 1710 represents an early shape of Theophanes' work, he suggests that the *Chronicle* was re-edited under Zoe's patronage, perhaps with the addition of the chronological rubrics detailing the succession of emperors, Persian kings (later caliphs), and patriarchs in the early tenth century. F. Montinaro has attempted to fulfil a *desideratum* in research on Theophanes' *Chronicle*, studying systematically its indirect transmission, particularly in the works of middle Byzantine historians. Finally, A.-M. Totomanova presents the so far

3. Б. Л. Фонкич, О датировке и происхождении Парижского списка «Хронографии» Феофана (cod. *Paris. gr.* 1710), in *Византийские очерки*, Москва 1996, pp. 183–6 (repr. in B. L. Fonkitch, *Manuscrits grecs dans les collections européennes : études paléographiques et codicologiques, 1988-1998*, Moscou 1999, pp. 47–9).

4. E.g. P. Yannopoulos, Une note sur la date du *Parisinus gr.* 1710, in *Μοσχοβία : К 60-летию Б. Фонкича : проблемы византийской и новогреческой филологии*, Москва 2001, pp. 27–30.

overlooked Old Church Slavonic translation of the beginning of Theophanes' *Chronicle*. While not modifying the published Greek text in the relevant portion, the Slavonic text is nonetheless, if one accepts its dating to the age of Photios as argued by Totomanova, an important early witness to the general shape of the *Chronicle*.

The third section concerns Theophanes' sources for early Byzantine history. It is opened by R. Scott's presentation of Theophanes' handling of the sources in the first half of the *Chronicle*, developing his views published in several articles since 1996.[5] I. Tamarkina studies Theophanes' handling of one particular theme, the cult of relics. The contribution of G. Greatrex deals with Theophanes' lost source on the Persian wars of Anastasius I, identifying it with the work of a classicizing author also accessed by Eustathios of Epiphaneia, whose work Theophanes in his turn knew. B. Pouderon offers the definitive proof that Theophanes used one of his major sources for the fourth and fifth centuries, a lost companion to ecclesiastical history by Theodore Lector, only through a later epitome, although he speculates that Theophanes may have known also the full works of Theodore and of John Diakrinomenos. In the penultimate contribution here A. Kotłowska and Ł. Różycki present a case study of Theophanes' treatment of Theophylact Simocatta in the steps of Ja. N. Ljubarskij. Finally, we have fitted into this section, in spite of its broader perspective, the contribution by S. Cosentino, who proposes to study Theophanes' perception of the economic sphere. This becomes a pretext for a further-reaching and therefore very welcome discussion of some vexed issues in seventh- and eighth-century economic and social history, which is supplemented by an appendix systematically collecting a large quantity of positive data.

A separate section hosts papers by some of the major actors in the current debate on Theophanes' Eastern source. A source for the seventh and eighth centuries common to Theophanes and the late Syriac chronicle of Michael, patriarch of Antioch († 1199), was already recognized by E. W. Brooks.[6] The same source appears to have been used also by an anonymous Syriac chronicler, writing down to 1234, who shared Michael's sources, and by the tenth-century Arab-Christian historian Agapios of Menbidj. In 1990, L. I. Conrad identified this source with the lost historical work of the court astrologer of Caliph al-Mahdi, Theophilos of Edessa († 785), which today enjoys distinct life in the authoritative reconstruction of R. Hoyland.[7] Adding another element to the puzzle, R. Hoyland brings out an unpublished portion of Agapios' work from the pages of the Florence manuscript that were glued together when the early twentieth-century editors, A. A. Vasiliev and L. Cheikho, viewed it. The new text, covering the first years of the caliphate of Mu'āwiya (661/2–666/7), is to an unexpectedly large extent based on early

5. Especially in R. Scott, Writing the reign of Justinian : Malalas versus Theophanes, in *The sixth century : end or beginning?*, ed. by P. Allen and E. Jeffreys (Byzantina Australiensia 10), Brisbane 1996, pp. 20–34, and Id., "The events of every year, arranged without confusion" : Justinian and others in the *Chronicle* of Theophanes Confessor, in *L'écriture de la mémoire : la littérarité de l'historiographie : actes du IIIe colloque international philologique EPMHNEIA, Nicosie, 6-7-8 mai 2004, organisé par l'EHESS et l'université de Chypre*, sous la dir. de P. Odorico, P. A. Agapitos, M. Hinterberger (Dossiers byzantins 6), Paris 2006, pp. 49–65.

6. W. E. Brooks, The sources of Theophanes and the Syriac chroniclers, *BZ* 15/2, 1906, pp. 578–87.

7. L. I. Conrad, Theophanes and the Arabic historical tradition, *Byz. Forsch.* 15, 1990, pp. 1–44; Hoyland, *Theophilus*.

Islamic sources. The following two papers voice scepticism against the "Theophilos theory." M. Debié offers an introduction to the complicated philological and cultural-historical issues raised by the hypothesis of a single Syriac source underlying the four dependants, while M. Conterno brings forth several (mainly linguistic) arguments against Hoyland's reconstruction and similarly argues for multiple Eastern sources covering the Dark Centuries. The opposite perspective is defended by M. Jankowiak in his paper in the first part of the book. At the end of this section, A. Hilkens presents some of the results of his doctoral dissertation on the source of the *Chronicle of 1234*. He offers a clear presentation of an aspect of the relationship between Theophanes and Syriac historiography that has been overshadowed by the interest in Theophilos and the Dark Centuries, namely the existence of parallels relating to the fourth to sixth centuries. Hilkens questions the ascription of some of these parallels to a lost Arian history which ultimately relied on Philostorgios' *Church history* (J. Bidez) or to Theodore Lector (A. D'yakonov), and instead supports H. C. Hansen's view that the Syriac chroniclers read Theophanes. In the light of this theory, so far overlooked in the debate on the Oriental source, the reconstruction of Theophilos' chronicle may have been flawed by the attribution to Theophilos of bits of Theophanes' narrative. (On these implications, see the paper by F. Montinaro.) In sum, the debate on the Eastern source is certain to continue.

The last section of the book deals with the later part of the *Chronicle* and with its sources. In her study of Theophanes' Byzantine source for the late seventh and early eighth centuries, S. Forrest thinks of one single source beginning *c.* 668 and ending *c.* 716. She suspends judgment on whether or not we should attribute this source, which she prefers to call the *Chronicle of Justinian II*, to the shadowy Patrician Trajan. L. Mordechai sets up a statistical method for spotting Theophanes' presence in the text through selected textual markers. While there are risks inherent in a quantitative approach, Mordechai has succeeded in showing that Theophanes quite uniformly edited the text of the last century of the *Chronicle*, an observation which does not contradict Kompa's aforementioned findings concerning, for the most part, the first part of the *Chronicle*. D. Afinogenov proposes to attribute Theophanes' source for the years 718–75 to nobody less than Patriarch Tarasios († 806), writing before his election. Finally, J. Howard-Johnston detects the traces of government communiqués behind much of the seemingly official information in the last thirty years covered by the *Chronicle*.

In spite of its tight three-day schedule, the Paris conference could not be exhaustive. It is in the nature of things that many questions should remain unanswered or even unasked. The most noticeable gap in this book is perhaps the absence of studies on Alexander the Monk, one of Theophanes' sources for the reign of Constantine the Great, which is now available in J. Nesbitt's English translation, or on George of Pisidia, on whom Theophanes drew amply for the reign of Heraclius and whose work Mary Whitby has recently done much to elucidate.[8] We do not claim to have offered the answer to each of

8 J. W. Nesbitt, Alexander the Monk's text of Helena's discovery of the Cross (BHG 410), in *Byzantine authors: literary activities and preoccupations: texts and translations dedicated to the memory of Nicolas Oikonomides*, ed. by J. W. Nesbitt (The medieval Mediterranean 49), Leiden – Boston 2003, pp. 23–39. On George of Pisidia, see e.g. M. Whitby, A new image for a new age: George of Pisidia on the emperor Heraclius, in *The Roman and Byzantine army in the East*, ed. by E. Dąbrowa, Kraków

the questions that were asked, let alone to have always asked the right questions. But we felt surprised by the number of new findings that emerged both during the colloquium and at the editing stage. Opinions on these and other matters still diverge, but our aim was not to offer a definitive volume on Theophanes' *Chronicle*. Our project was rather to enable the readers to take the temperature of the debates and to familiarize themselves with positions on issues of central importance to the study of the *Chronicle*. We offer this volume to the reader with the simple hope that it will stimulate further research.

The idea of a conference and a volume on Theophanes' *Chronicle* has long been in gestation. In 2008, we both attended C. Zuckerman's seminar on the *Chronicle* at the École pratique des hautes études, which instilled in us an enthusiasm for this crucial source. Later on, during the Byzantine Congress in Sofia in August 2011, we found ourselves engaged over a glass of beer in a discussion about the authorship of the *Chronicle* with A. Kompa. This one pub idea survived the evening and eventually led to the gathering in Paris in September 2012.

We wish to express our gratitude to the contributors, who have endured and reacted to our exacting comments on their work in progress for almost three years, to the sponsors of the 2012 conference, namely the Collège de France, the University of Paris 4, the UMR 8167, and the Association des amis du Centre d'histoire et civilisation de Byzance, and to those who made that conference possible by entrusting us with important resources: J.-C. Cheynet, C. Zuckerman, V. Déroche, and O. Delouis. A. Ter-Markosyan took care of the conference design. L. Simon, who has now retired, did much of the administrative work. V. Prigent bravely took over a Saturday morning panel during a communication breakdown between the organizers. A. Binggeli and B. Caseau accepted to chair two more panels. We should also like to thank the staff of the two Byzantine libraries of rue Cardinal-Lemoine and at the Sorbonne. Those who have had the privilege to cooperate with E. Capet know that her work on texts goes well beyond the usual tasks performed by a copy editor. C. Sweeting was most helpful in the final revision of texts.

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As this volume goes to print, the news has already reached Byzantinists worldwide of Gilbert Dagron's death. We need not underline the gravity of the loss. We dedicate this volume to him.

1994, pp. 197–225; Ead., Defender of the Cross: George of Pisidia on the emperor Heraclius and his deputies, in *The propaganda of power: the role of panegyric in late antiquity*, ed. by M. Whitby, Leiden 1998, pp. 247–73; Ead., George of Pisidia's presentation of the emperor Heraclius and his campaigns: variety and development, in *The reign of Heraclius (610–641): crisis and confrontation*, ed. by G. J. Reinink and B. H. Stolte, Leuven 2002, pp. 157–73.

THE LIFE AND WIDER SIGNIFICANCE OF GEORGE SYNCELLUS

by Warren Treadgold

Should we call George Syncellus a Byzantine historian? The common opinion, which I share, is that we should.[1] Yet some have also thought that George was born and educated within the Byzantine Empire, as I believe he was not. His case seems to have been almost the reverse of that of Ammianus Marcellinus, whom some of us would also call a Byzantine historian.[2] Ammianus was a native speaker of Greek from the Eastern Roman Empire who moved to the Western Roman Empire and wrote in Latin. George was probably a native speaker of Syriac from the Arab Caliphate who moved to the Byzantine Empire and wrote in Greek. Both Ammianus and George were born in Syria, though some four centuries apart. Both of them also intended to write histories that began with much earlier times and ended with their own, though most of the earlier part of Ammianus' history is lost and the latter part of George's history was never finished. While the basic facts about Ammianus' life and history are fairly well established—except for the possible survival of some of the earlier part of his history—the facts about George's life and history are more controversial, including how much he was responsible for the work we know as the *Chronography* of Theophanes.[3]

We have even less information about George than about most of the authors of surviving Byzantine histories.[4] He never wrote a preface for his *Selection of chronography*,

1. Parts of this paper have appeared in slightly different form in Treadgold, *Middle Byzantine historians*, pp. 38–63.

2. For my views on Ammianus, see W. Treadgold, *The early Byzantine historians*, Basingstoke 2007, pp. 47–78.

3. For the survival of some of the earlier part of Ammianus' history, see Treadgold, *Early Byzantine historians* (quoted n. 2), pp. 314–9 (fragments preserved by John Malalas and John of Antioch by way of Eustathius of Epiphania) and *Middle Byzantine historians* (quoted n. 1), pp. 395–6 (fragments preserved by John Zonaras by way of John of Antioch and Eustathius), and now Id., Byzantine historiography and the lost books of Ammianus Marcellinus, in *Armenia between Byzantium and the Orient : celebrating the memory of Karen Yuzbashyan*, ed. by C. Horn *et al.* (Texts and studies in Eastern Christianity) to be published by Brill.

4. On George in general, besides Treadgold, *Middle Byzantine historians*, pp. 38–63, see W. Adler, *Time immemorial : archaic history and its sources in Christian chronography from Julius Africanus to George Syncellus* (Dumbarton Oaks studies 26), Washington 1989; Adler – Tuffin, pp. xxix–lxxxvii; Mango – Scott, pp. xliii–lxiii; Mango, Who wrote the Chronicle; I. Ševčenko,

Studies in Theophanes, ed. by M. Jankowiak & F. Montinaro (Travaux et mémoires 19), Paris 2015, pp. 9–30.

the only work preserved under his name, and he seldom mentions himself in it. His continuer Theophanes in his own preface simply describes George as "the most blessed *abbas* George, former syncellus of the most holy patriarch Tarasius." While at this time *abbas* could mean a monk who was venerable without being the abbot of a monastery, any syncellus of the patriarch of Constantinople was an important man. Syncelli (more than one syncellus could serve at a time) were appointed by the emperor, ranked just after the patriarch, acted as the patriarch's advisers, and sometimes became patriarchs themselves. According to Theophanes, George was "an eloquent and extremely learned man" who had consulted and analyzed "many" historical texts, combining and correcting them to construct a chronological narrative of the period from Adam to the emperor Diocletian.[5] This is a somewhat flattering description of what George accomplished in the rather disorganized *Selection of chronography* that bears his name.

Theophanes says that after recording Diocletian's accession to sole power in 285 George fell mortally ill. On his deathbed he entrusted whatever he had written so far, along with "the materials to complete what was lacking," to Theophanes, because the two of them were "close friends." Theophanes reluctantly acceded to George's earnest request that he finish the task. Theophanes claims then to have excerpted "many [more] books" in order to bring the narrative down to the reign of the emperor Michael I, but to have added "nothing of my own." If taken literally, this last claim implies that Theophanes copied from someone else—whether George or another written source—even the final, contemporary portion of the *Chronography*, which ends with Michael I's abdication in August 813. This must have been less than two years before the *Chronography* was completed, because the text shows no awareness of Leo V's restoration of Iconoclasm in spring 815.[6]

Anastasius Bibliothecarius, the papal secretary who translated the chronicles of both George and Theophanes into Latin later in the ninth century, provides us with a very short biography of George. It seems however to be based merely on Theophanes' preface and a mistake. Anastasius tells us, as we already know from Theophanes, that George was a monk and a syncellus of the patriarch Tarasius. Anastasius also says that George stoutly opposed heretics and suffered many blows from secular rulers as a result, for which he was commended by name at the Seventh Ecumenical Council at Nicaea (787), as can be seen in its acts. Although the acts of the council say nothing of the sort about anyone who could be George Syncellus, they commend another George, the bishop of Salamis in Cyprus, for stoutly opposing Iconoclasm and suffering many blows from iconoclast

The search for the past in Byzantium around the year 800, *DOP* 46, 1992, pp. 279–93; A. Kazhdan, *A history of Byzantine literature (650–850)*, Athens 1999, pp. 206–8; G. Huxley, On the erudition of George the Synkellos, *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy. Section C, Archaeology, Celtic studies, history, linguistics, and literature* 81, 1981, pp. 207–17; and R. Laqueur in *RE* IVa, cols. 1388–1410. My own interpretation of George and his work owes something to most of these studies, particularly Mango's, but differs from each of them in some respects.

5. Theoph., Preface, p. 3. On the office of syncellus, see N. Oikonomidès, *Les listes de préséance byzantines des IXe et Xe siècles*, Paris 1972, p. 308.

6. Theoph., Preface, pp. 3–4.

rulers. Evidently Anastasius had confused George Syncellus with George of Cyprus and otherwise knew nothing more about George Syncellus than we know from Theophanes.[7]

George includes a little incidental information about himself in his *Selection of chronography*, whose titles confirm that he was a monk.[8] At the beginning of his text he declares that he plans to begin with the Creation and to narrate the history of the Jews, Greeks, and other nations from a variety of sources. He also mentions where he plans to stop: "Finally, to the best of my ability, I shall describe up to the present year 6300 from the creation of the world [807/8], the first indiction, the God-abhorred 'covenant against' Christ and against our people which 'the Ishmaelites and the tabernacles of the Idumaeans covenanted' [Ps. 82.6–7], persecuting by divine judgments the people subject to the Spirit and practicing the 'apostasy' in the last days prophesied by St. Paul [2 Thess. 2.3–12]."[9] Here George must be referring to a persecution of Syrian Christians by the Arabs ("Ishmaelites"). Such a persecution is described in Theophanes' *Chronography* under AM 6301 (AD 808/9) and 6305 (812/13), where it is said to have lasted five years.[10] While Theophanes' two references span only four years, George's date of AM 6300 indicates that the persecution must have begun in 807/8, so that its five years should be counted from then to 812/13.[11] George's reference to "our people" seems to imply that George was a Syrian himself.

Thus George clearly states that he began compiling his *Selection of chronography* in 807/8. About halfway through his text, he refers to "the present year 6302," which corresponded to AD 809/10, so that he seems to have taken two years to advance that far.[12] If George then continued his work at the same pace as he had in the first half of his text, he would still have been writing in 811/12. If he took a bit more time, perhaps to prepare the further "materials" that he gave to Theophanes, George could easily have lived until 812/13, when the narrative in Theophanes' *Chronography* ends. If so, and if Theophanes really did add nothing of his own to the *Chronography* that goes under his name, George himself is the most likely source for the final part of the narrative. In that case, the description of the Arabs' persecution of the Syrian Christians up to 812/13 in the *Chronography* was composed by George, and merely copied by Theophanes, or by a scribe working at Theophanes' direction.

In his own *Selection of chronography*, George mentions several places that he had personally seen in Syria, and specifically in Palestine. He remarks that the twelve stones that Joshua had placed in the Jordan River near Jericho "are still there until this day," and that "up to the present" men harvest grain near Jericho around the vernal equinox for use at the Easter eucharist in Jerusalem.[13] George further observes that "the whole

7. Cf. Anast., pp. 33–4 with Mansi XIII, cols. 356D–357D (not yet available in the new *ACO ser. sec.*). This apparent confusion is mentioned by Adler – Tuffin, pp. xxix–xxx and n. 6; Mango – Scott, p. xliii; and Laqueur, *RE* IVa, col. 1389.

8. Georg. Sync., pp. 1 (general title) and 360 (title of second MS. volume).

9. *Ibid.*, p. 6.7–12 (where I would omit the comma in line 9 of Mosshammer's text).

10. Theoph. AM 6301, p. 484.5–19, and AM 6305, p. 499.15–31.

11. I therefore disagree slightly with Mango – Scott, p. 666 n. 7, who suppose that the persecution lasted from 809 "down to 814."

12. Georg. Sync., pp. 2.29–32, 6.11–12, and 244.31; cf. Adler – Tuffin, p. xxxix n. 1.

13. Georg. Sync., pp. 167.18–19 (the stones in the Jordan) and 168.12–16 (the grain harvested at Jericho).

journey from Cadesh Barnea [in eastern Sinai] to the Valley of the Zered does not take as much as five days, as we know ourselves from experience," even though according to the Bible it took Moses and the Israelites thirty-eight years to wander from the first place to the second.[14] Since the Zered River is just south of the traditional site of Sodom in the Dead Sea, George may also have drawn on his own experience to describe the Dead Sea and the pillar of salt that had supposedly been Lot's wife, though some modern scholars have thought he quoted these descriptions from the lost history of Julius Africanus.[15] Evidently George had traveled a good deal in Palestine.

Elsewhere in his *Selection of chronography*, George says of Rachel's tomb, "I myself have seen her sarcophagus lying on the ground [between Jerusalem and Bethlehem] as I passed by there many times on my way to Bethlehem and to the so-called Old Monastery (*lavra*) of St. Chariton."[16] This passage appears to show that George, whom we already know to have been a monk, had been a member of the community at St. Chariton, because a traveler from Jerusalem would only have passed through Bethlehem and crossed the Judaean Hills to that isolated monastery if that was his destination. Although as a rule monks remained in their monasteries most of the time, the monks of St. Chariton must often have needed to consult with the orthodox Melkite patriarchate at Jerusalem, which had jurisdiction over their community. The most natural explanation of George's frequently traveling this route is that he acted as an envoy from his monastery to the patriarchate.

Interestingly, the final part of the *Chronography* attributed to Theophanes names St. Chariton first among the Palestinian monasteries devastated by the Arabs in both 808/9 and 812/13, even though it was not the most important of those monasteries. The chronicler, who at this point certainly seems to be George, observes that during the persecution, which occurred during an Arab civil war, the Arabs directed massacres "against each other and against us," with the result that in 812/13 some Palestinian Christians fled to Constantinople by way of Cyprus.[17] Presumably these Palestinian refugees were themselves the sources of the information about the persecution that appears in the *Chronography*. Though by that time George must have been living in Constantinople, if he had once been a monk at St. Chariton he would doubtless have kept up an interest in the fate of his former monastery, and might well have given some assistance to the refugees.[18]

Given that as far as we know Theophanes himself never left Byzantine territory, a further connection between George and Syria should probably be inferred from the many passages on the Arab Caliphate in Theophanes' *Chronography*. These passages display close parallels to the later Arabic chronicle of Agapius and to the later Syriac chronicles of Michael the Syrian, Bar Hebraeus, and an anonymous writer of the year 1234. The parallels have been convincingly traced to a shared source, a lost Syriac chronicle probably ranging from the Creation to 749/50 composed by the Monothelete Christian Theophilus

14. *Ibid.*, p. 103.16–18.
15. See *ibid.*, pp. 114.13–24 (the Dead Sea, in which "I have beheld a great many wonders") and 113.20–22 (the pillar, "which even today many people come to see out of curiosity").
16. *Ibid.*, p. 122.20–22.
17. Theoph. AM 6301, p. 484.14–9, and AM 6305, p. 499.23–31.
18. See Mango – Scott, pp. lv–lxi, and Mango, Who wrote the Chronicle, pp. 12–4.

of Edessa. The chronicle of Theophilus of Edessa is cited explicitly by the chroniclers Michael the Syrian, Bar Hebraeus, and Agapius, though all of them (except perhaps Agapius) seem to have known Theophilus' work only through the mediation of others, especially the lost ninth-century chronicle of Dionysius of Tel-Maḥrē.[19]

To judge from the text of Theophanes' *Chronography*, its author used Theophilus' chronicle not in its original Syriac but in a Greek translation. The translator seems generally to have transmitted Theophilus' text faithfully, though he changed Theophilus' even-handed treatment of Mohammed's life to make it explicitly anti-Muslim.[20] The Greek translation also included a continuation of the work after 750 by a well-informed Melkite Christian Syrian who showed a special interest in the Syrian city of Emesa (modern Homs). The last passage in Theophanes' *Chronography* that appears to be derived from this Greek continuation of Theophilus' chronicle records a Muslim persecution of Syrian Christians in 779/80 that included Emesa.[21] The continuation of Theophilus' chronicle evidently ended before 783/84 (AM 6276), the year to which Theophanes mistakenly dates the death of the caliph al-Mahdī, because a current resident of the caliphate would surely have known that Mahdī actually died on August 11, 785.[22] The continuation of the Greek translation of Theophilus' chronicle therefore extended from 750 to a date between 780 and 783.

For anyone to prepare a Greek version of a Syriac chronicle was quite unusual at any date. Typically Greek texts were translated into Syriac, not Syriac texts into Greek. By this time, almost a century and a half after the end of Byzantine rule in Syria, scarcely any Syrian readers would have known Greek who did not know Syriac as well. Consequently, the only apparent reason for a Syrian to prepare a chronicle in Greek soon after 780 is that he planned to send it or to bring it to predominantly Greek-speaking territory, nearly all of which was in the Byzantine Empire. Writing for a Byzantine readership would also explain the translator's hostile treatment of Mohammed, which a writer would scarcely have dared to include if he expected to be read within the caliphate, as Theophilus of Edessa did. The continuer of Theophilus even feels free to end his work with a bitter condemnation of the persecution of Christians ordered in 779/80 by the caliph Mahdī, who appears still to have been ruling when the continuer wrote.[23] Moreover, 780 was a

19. See Mango – Scott, pp. lxxxii–lxxxvii; *PmbZ* I, *Prolegomena* pp. 220–5 (on the *Chronicle of 1234*, Michael, and Bar Hebraeus), 226–34 (on Theophanes and the Syriac sources), and 234–5 (on Agapius); L. Conrad, The conquest of Arwād, in *The Byzantine and early Islamic Near East. 1, Problems in the literary source material*, ed. by Av. Cameron and L. I. Conrad, Princeton 1992, pp. 322–48 (who first identified Theophilus as the source); and now Hoyland, *Theophilus*, especially pp. 6–34 (also including a translation of the fragments beginning with 590). See also A. Baumstark, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur*, Bonn 1922, pp. 275 (on Dionysius), pp. 298–300 (on Michael), 312–20 (on Bar Hebraeus), and 341–2 (on Theophilus). Further on Theophilus, see Howard-Johnston, *Witnesses*, pp. 194–236; and Hoyland, *Seeing Islam*, pp. 400–9. Intriguingly, A. Palmer, *The seventh century in the West-Syrian chronicles*, Liverpool 1993, p. 95 and n. 230 has suggested that the "George of Raggath (?)" mentioned in the preface of Dionysius of Tel-Maḥrē may be George Syncellus, whose work in Greek may have found its way back to Syria. (Could "Raggath [?]" be Arethusa/al-Rastan, just north of Emesa?)
20. See Howard-Johnston, *Witnesses*, pp. 229–30.
21. Theoph. AM 6272, pp. 452.23–453.4; cf. Mango – Scott, pp. 624–6 and nn. 1–4.
22. Theoph. AM 6276, p. 457.11–3; cf. Mango – Scott, p. 631 and n. 3.
23. Theoph. AM 6272, pp. 452.20–453.4.

date of no special significance in the caliphate, but in Byzantium it marked the death of the emperor Leo IV and the accession of the iconophile rulers Constantine VI and Irene. Melkite Christians in Syria, most of whom were also iconophiles, might reasonably have hoped that the new empress and her son would take more interest in them than previous iconoclast emperors had done.

In fact, several passages in the continuation of Theophilus' chronicle seem to be meant as appeals to the Byzantine government and church to help the Christians of Syria. Eight of the continuation's twenty-one entries describe various oppressive measures taken by the Muslim authorities against Syrian Christians, which ranged from tax increases, confiscations, and the destruction of churches to arrests, torture, and outright martyrdoms.[24] The earlier material from Theophilus' original chronicle in Theophanes includes just six entries that mention Muslim oppression of Christians, over a period four times as long.[25] Notably, under 763/64, the continuer records how the Melkite patriarchs of Antioch, Jerusalem, and Alexandria and their suffragan bishops anathematized an iconoclast bishop of Epiphania (Hama).[26] This anathema, which dated from the reign of the iconoclast Constantine V, would have reminded Byzantine readers that most Melkite Christians of the East were iconophiles like Irene and Constantine VI.

The Greek translation and continuation of the chronicle of Theophilus of Edessa that were copied into Theophanes' *Chronography* seem therefore to have been prepared primarily for a Byzantine readership, and in particular for the Byzantine rulers. That Theophanes' *Chronography* includes this material shows that the translation and continuation did in fact arrive in the empire. Presumably the supplemented translation of Theophilus' chronicle was among the "materials" that George entrusted to Theophanes around 813 so that Theophanes could complete George's work. If this Greek version of a Syriac chronicle was indeed composed in the hope of persuading Irene to negotiate with the caliph for better treatment for Eastern Christians, sending it to Constantinople would have been a matter of some urgency. We should therefore expect it to have been dispatched there not long after it was completed, at a date between 780 and 783. In the absence of an international postal service, some private person must have brought the translated and supplemented chronicle of Theophilus of Edessa from Syria to Byzantium. This should not have been particularly dangerous during the truce that prevailed between the empire and the caliphate between August 782 and April 785.[27]

24. *Ibid.* AM 6243, p. 427.12–14; AM 6248, p. 430.3–9; AM 6249; AM 6251, pp. 430.32–431.3; AM 6253, p. 432.8–15; AM 6258, p. 439.9–13; AM 6264, p. 446.21–5; AM 6272, pp. 452.23–453.4.

25. Counting from Theophanes' first mention of Islam under AM 6122, these entries are *ibid.* AM 6135, 6157, 6195, 6199, 6210 (p. 399.20–5), and 6234 (pp. 416.18–417.14).

26. *Ibid.* AM 6255, pp. 433.28–434.5. Here and elsewhere I correct the systematic error of one year of the world in Theophanes' dates from 609/10 to 684/85 and from 725/76 to 772/73. See Mango – Scott, pp. lxiv–lxvii; W. Treadgold, Seven Byzantine revolutions and the chronology of Theophanes, *GRBS* 31, 1990, pp. 203–27 (for 684/85 to 714/15), Rochow, *Byzanz im 8. Jh.*, pp. 52–4 and 328–37 (for 715/16 to 812/13), and W. Treadgold, The missing year in the revolt of Artavasdus, *JÖB* 42, 1992, pp. 87–93 (for 742/43 and 743/44, which Theophanes mistakenly combined into a single annual entry—an explanation substantially accepted by P. Speck, Das letzte Jahr des Artabasdos, *JÖB* 45, 1995, pp. 37–52, though with some additional conjectures that I find implausible). [See also M. Jankowiak in this volume, esp. pp. 64–72. Eds.]

27. See W. Treadgold, *The Byzantine revival, 780–842*, Stanford 1988, pp. 69–70 and 77–8.

Since by 808 George had a copy of the translation and continuation of Theophilus' chronicle in Constantinople, much the most likely person to have brought it there was George himself. After all, George made the long and dangerous journey from Palestine to Constantinople at some point, and presumably for a good reason. As I have tried to demonstrate elsewhere, the earlier part of Theophilus' chronicle was probably one of George's main sources for his whole *Selection of chronography*.[28] Yet to judge from the narrative in Theophanes' *Chronography*, after 781–3 George lacked the detailed knowledge of events in Syria that he had shown before that date; the obvious explanation is that soon after 781 George had ceased to reside in Syria. Moreover, almost the whole of the *Chronography*'s account of events in Constantinople from 781 to 813 seems to be the work of George. We have already seen that George probably composed the contemporary part of the *Chronography* up to 813. The *Chronography*'s main Greek source for the preceding period, the continuation of the *Concise chronicle* of Trajan the Patrician, concluded with 781.

Although George Syncellus might in theory have brought the translation and continuation of Theophilus' Syriac chronicle to Constantinople after someone else had prepared them, George himself is the most likely candidate to be Theophilus' translator and continuer. George certainly knew both Greek and Syriac well. We know from his *Selection* that George later planned to compose a chronicle that would cover the whole period covered by Theophilus' chronicle and that would incorporate extensive material from the translation of that chronicle. George also wrote a further continuation of Theophilus' chronicle from 781 to 813, if he is indeed the author of that part of Theophanes' *Chronography*. The possibility that the continuer of Theophilus' chronicle was a native of Emesa seems compatible with his being George. George was evidently born somewhere in greater Syria, and can hardly have been born in the desolate region of St. Chariton itself.[29]

The continuation of Theophilus' chronicle from 750 to 780 also seems to be the work of a fairly young man, as George would have been around 780. The first entries in it that look like eyewitness accounts both apparently concern church services at Emesa in 760/61 and 761/62, as if the author had only then begun to be aware of current events.[30] Admittedly, the material from the translation and continuation of Theophilus' chronicle in Theophanes' *Chronography* shows no unambiguous stylistic resemblances to the narrative from 781 to 813 that appears to be George's work. Yet a Syrian's Greek

28. I make this argument in Treadgold, *Middle Byzantine historians*, pp. 51–63, summing up on p. 52: "George apparently drew upon an extensive summary of Annianus' chronicle in the earlier part of the Syriac chronicle of Theophilus of Edessa."

29. For the continuer's possible connection with Emesa, see Conrad, Conquest (quoted n. 19), pp. 337–8. Admittedly, of the four entries mentioning Emesa all but the one for AM 6252 mention other places as well, and Emesa was a place of some importance, mentioned five times in the earlier part of this chronicle at Theoph. AM 6125, p. 337.5–12; AM 6126, pp. 337.27–338.3; AM 6157; AM 6236, p. 421.19–20 and 25–7; and AM 6237, p. 422.5–8 and 19–23.

30. Theoph. AM 6252, p. 431.16–21 (the reception of the head of John the Baptist at Emesa), and AM 6253, p. 432.1–15 (the arrest of the metropolitan Anastasius during the Easter liturgy). In the latter passage, note that the entry fails to mention what city Anastasius was metropolitan of, as if the author knew this so well that he forgot to say, and that Emesa was one of four metropolitan sees in Syria (along with Apamea, Tyre, and Damascus, Antioch being a patriarchate).

style could be expected to become more idiomatic during thirty years of residence in Greek-speaking territory, especially when that Syrian composed in Greek instead of translating from Theophilus of Edessa's Syriac, as he had done earlier.[31] In any case, George Syncellus seems most likely to have arrived in Constantinople with the translation and continuation of Theophilus' chronicle around 783.

This was a time of troubles for the Melkite patriarchate of Jerusalem. Its legitimate patriarch Elias II became patriarch no earlier than 767, when Theodore I is last attested as patriarch. Soon, because of "unjust slanders and senseless accusations" the caliphs imprisoned Elias in Baghdad "for quite a number of years," which ended with Elias' return to Jerusalem sometime before 794. When Elias returned, he displaced a monk named Theodore, who had recently usurped the patriarchate.[32] Theophanes' *Chronography* never mentions Elias or Theodore. By this time it has long ceased to list the patriarchs of Jerusalem, Antioch, or Alexandria in its headings, evidently because the dying George had not left Theophanes an updated list of those patriarchs.[33] The last patriarch of Jerusalem mentioned in the text of the *Chronography* is Theodore I in 763.[34] The *Chronography* says nothing about Jerusalem when it lists the representatives supposedly sent to Constantinople by the patriarchs of Antioch and Alexandria for the abortive iconophile council of 786 and the Council of Nicaea the next year.[35]

The whole question of the representation of the Eastern patriarchs at the Council of Nicaea is a vexed one. The only known response to the letters sent from Constantinople to those patriarchs in 785 to request legates for a council was an anonymous letter read aloud at Nicaea in 787. After an initial greeting to the patriarch Tarasius from "the archpriests of the East," the letter begins, "Having read the all-holy and divinely-inspired documents dictated by your apostolic and paternal holiness, O most blessed ones, we, the humblest and the least of those who have been called to inhabit the desert, are seized by fear and joy." Thus the writer appears to have been a monk from a desert monastery, who uses the plural for himself as he uses it for Tarasius. The writer goes on to describe the oppressiveness of Muslim rule and his conversation with the messengers to the Eastern patriarchs, whom he advised not to go to the East in order not to endanger the Eastern Church. Instead the writer chose as their representatives John and Thomas, "former syncelli of the two great and holy patriarchs," evidently meaning the patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch, since the writer observes that the patriarch of Jerusalem (presumably Elias) is in exile "on an utterly trivial charge."[36] To this unsigned letter the writer appends a "copy of a synodal letter of Theodore [I] of blessed memory, our father and patriarch of Jerusalem" to the patriarchs Cosmas I of Alexandria and Theodore I of Antioch, upholding orthodoxy and opposing Iconoclasm. Theodore's letter was evidently written in 763, when according to Theophanes' *Chronography* Theodore of Antioch, Theodore of Jerusalem, and Cosmas joined in anathematizing the iconoclast bishop of Epiphania Cosmas Comanites.[37]

The author of this strange letter seems to have been trying to avoid actually lying while falsely implying that John and Thomas were authentic representatives of the Eastern patriarchs. The writer claims not necessarily to be writing from his monastery in "the desert," wherever that was, but only to have been a monk in such a monastery at some time. He seems to have spoken with the messengers before they left Constantinople, since he could scarcely have found all of them in one place after they sailed separately for Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem. He implies that he persuaded them not to go to the East at all. After 787 both John and Thomas resided in the empire, since according to Ignatius the Deacon's *Life of Tarasius* John was attending Tarasius in Constantinople in 795, possibly as his syncellus, and according to Theophanes' *Chronography* Thomas became archbishop of Thessalonica.[38] Both may well have been living in Constantinople already when they were designated as the "representatives" of the Eastern patriarchates. At the council Thomas signs as (presumably former) abbot of the monastery of St. Arsenius in Egypt, and John signs as "priest and patriarchal syncellus" without specifying which patriarch he was syncellus of. In fact, both John and Thomas sign jointly as "representatives" of all three Eastern patriarchs, even though the *Chronography* refers to John as "former syncellus of the patriarch of Antioch" and to "Thomas [former syncellus?] of Alexandria." In the *Chronography* and the anonymous letter the title *synkellos*, which technically meant someone who shares a cell, may mean nothing more than representative, with the deliberately misleading implication that John and Thomas held the office of syncellus. Most other sources simply call them *topotērētēs* ("representative").[39] Theodore

31. Mango, Who wrote the Chronicle, pp. 13–4, remarks, "Originally, this chronicle must have been written in Syriac and it is not inconceivable that George himself could have translated it into Greek. In view, however, of the rather distinctive idiom of the 'oriental' passages, I prefer to believe that the Greek version was prepared by another hand." Hoyland, *Theophilus*, p. 10, observes, "The addition of notices on the succession of the Melkite patriarchs of Antioch in the years 742–56 implies that this continuator/redactor was a Melkite clergyman. It is quite possible that it was George Syncellus himself who did this work. [...] This suggestion is not in the end provable, but it is plausible and is a very neat and economical solution."

32. *PmbZ*, Theodoros #7575 (Theodore I), Elias #1486 (Elias II), and Theodoros #7624 (the usurper Theodore). M.-F. Auzépy, *L'hagiographie et l'iconoclasme byzantin : le cas de la* Vie d'Étienne *le Jeune*, Aldershot 1999, pp. 215–8, discusses these events and gives references, but on p. 216 n. 33 the only source she cites for her statement that Elias was imprisoned for 20 years is Gérard Garitte, Le début de la Vie de S. Étienne le Sabaïte retrouvé en arabe au Sinaï, *AnBoll* 77, 1959, p. 345 nn. 1 and 2, who in turn cites only *Le calendrier palestino-géorgien du sinaiticus 34 (Xe siècle)*, édité, traduit et commenté par G. Garitte (Subsidia hagiographica 30), Bruxelles 1958, pp. 143 and 197, neither of which cites a source for the span of 20 years. The exact length of Elias' imprisonment seems to be unknown to our main source, Leontius, *The Life of Stephen the Sabaite*, ed. in *AASS* 30 (July III, under July 13) 20 (ἀδίκοις διαβολαῖς καὶ κατηγορίαις ἀλόγοις κατηγορηθεὶς [...] ἐπὶ χρόνους ἱκανούς) and 49 (ἐπὶ ἱκανοῖς χρόνοις).

33. See Mango – Scott, pp. lxxx–lxxxii.

34. Theoph. am 6255, pp. 433–4.

35. Ibid. am 6277, pp. 460–1, and am 6278, p. 461.

36. *ACO*, *ser. sec.* III.1, pp. 244–54 (= Mansi XII, cols. 1127–35).

37. Cf. *ACO*, *ser. sec.* III.1, pp. 254–68 (= Mansi XII, cols. 1135–45) with Theoph. am 6255, pp. 433–4. Auzépy, *Hagiographie* (quoted n. 32), pp. 218–28 and J. Signes Codoñer, Melkites and icon worship during the iconoclast period, *DOP* 67, 2013, pp. 152–60 have both argued that the anti-iconoclast views of the Eastern patriarchs were exaggerated at the Council of Nicaea, and Signes Codoñer (pp. 152–3) has argued that Comanites was condemned primarily for stealing church property.

38. Ignatios the Deacon, *Life of the patriarch Tarasios*, introd., text, transl. and commentary by S. Efthymiadis, Aldershot 1998, chapter 43 (in which John seems to act as Tarasius' adviser); cf. Theoph. am 6277, p. 461.4–6.

39. Cf. *ACO*, *ser. sec.* III.2, p. 488.18–25 with Theoph. am 6277, p. 461. For the various formulas used by John and Thomas in signing the acts at Nicaea, see *PmbZ*, Ioannes #3056 and Thomas #8444.

of Studius later claimed that since they had not been sent by the Eastern patriarchs the council of 787 could not be considered truly ecumenical.[40]

The anonymous author of the letter to Tarasius, who calls himself a monk from the desert, appears to have consulted the archives of the patriarchate of Jerusalem. Since Epiphania was a suffragan see of Antioch, not of Jerusalem, the only apparent reason to insert a copy of Theodore of Jerusalem's letter rather than a document from Antioch was that the anonymous writer had access to the archives of the patriarchate of Jerusalem but not of the patriarchate of Antioch. A recent attempt has therefore been made to identify the letter's author with the usurping patriarch of Jerusalem Theodore, who is known to have been a monk and might have been at Jerusalem around this time.[41] Yet we have seen that the anonymous writer seems to have been in Constantinople, not Jerusalem. Further, a man claiming to be patriarch would hardly identify himself only as a monk and not as patriarch, or refer to the unjustly exiled Elias as the real patriarch. Moreover, someone who claimed to be patriarch of Jerusalem would presumably have named a representative for Jerusalem, not just representatives for Antioch and Alexandria. Yet we know of no connection between the patriarchate of Jerusalem and Thomas, who had been an Egyptian abbot, or John, who had allegedly been syncellus of the patriarch of Antioch. Instead Theophanes' *Chronography* implies that Thomas represented Alexandria and John represented Antioch, while Jerusalem had no representative at the council.

The chronicle of George the Monk, which includes some valuable information that is not in Theophanes' *Chronography*, refers to "John, George, and Thomas" as the representatives at Nicaea of the patriarchs "Politian of Alexandria, Theodoret of Antioch, and Elias of Jerusalem."[42] These are the correct names of the three patriarchs in 787 and of the two men who signed in their names at Nicaea. If John represented Antioch and Thomas Alexandria, one would expect the representative of Elias of Jerusalem to be "George," whoever he was. The plausible suggestion has been made that he was George Syncellus.[43] Might George Syncellus also have been the author of the anonymous letter read out at the council? George was of course a monk, probably from the desert monastery of St. Chariton. He had apparently come to Constantinople from Jerusalem to request help for the oppressed Christians of the East on the ground that they were iconophiles, bringing with him a chronicle describing their tribulations and their patriarchs' condemnation of Iconoclasm in 763. Perhaps he also brought along a copy of Theodore of Jerusalem's anti-iconoclast letter from 763 from the Jerusalem archives. We know from the anonymous letter that Tarasius and Irene received no regular representatives from the Eastern patriarchs, and instead made shift with representatives designated by a mere monk. The strangeness of this procedure would be less striking if

40. *Theodori Studitae epistulae*, rec. G. Fatouros, I, Berolini 1992, no. 38.63–71 (cf. Fatouros' summary on pp. 181*–183* with n. 142).

41. Auzépy, *Hagiographie* (quoted n. 32), pp. 215–7.

42. Georg. Mon., p. 769. George the Monk's source seems to have been a lost epitome of Theophanes' *Chronography* with additions that ended with 829; see Treadgold, *Middle Byzantine Historians*, pp. 110–4 (on the lost epitome) and 114–20 (on George the Monk). [See, however, [illegible] in this volume, pp. 181–90. Eds.]

43. For this suggestion, see *PmbZ*, Ioannes #3056, p. 281 (under P).

they had asked an Eastern monk already in Constantinople, like George, to write a letter designating John and Thomas and appending the letter from Jerusalem.[44]

If George Syncellus was the author of the anonymous letter read out at Nicaea, he could have been expected to repeat the identification of John and Thomas as syncelli of the patriarchs of Antioch and Alexandria in his account of the years from 781 to 813, which Theophanes then copied into the *Chronography*. We may still wonder why this anonymous writer from Jerusalem, whether or not he was George, did not act at Nicaea as the representative of the patriarchate of Jerusalem. Perhaps, well aware of not having been chosen by Elias and of being less distinguished than John or Thomas, the writer declined the responsibility, avoiding the awkward position of designating himself; or perhaps Irene and Tarasius felt that since, unlike the patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch, Elias was exiled and unreachable, he should not be represented by anyone. The absence of a representative of Jerusalem at a council that was supposed to be ecumenical was nonetheless something of an embarrassment, as appears from the care John and Thomas took to sign as representatives of all three patriarchates. This embarrassment may well explain the failure of Theophanes' *Chronography* to mention the exile of Elias, a notable instance of the Muslim oppression of Christians that is a particular theme of the *Chronography* both before and after 781. George can scarcely have been unaware of it.

Even if George wrote the anonymous letter, we should not necessarily conclude that he took no other part in the Council of Nicaea. As a matter of fact, the acts of the council record the presence of a certain "George, the most God-loving deacon and notary of the holy patriarchate" of Constantinople. If the young George Syncellus impressed the patriarch Tarasius enough that he later wanted him as his syncellus, naming him a deacon and notary of the patriarchate would have demonstrated the patriarch's recognition of George's orthodoxy and learning. The George who was a deacon and notary in 787 read to the council an extract from a sermon by the fifth-century bishop Antipater of Bostra in Syria, a suitable assignment for a recent arrival from the Syrian Church.[45] Despite the commonness of the name George, the connection of this deacon and notary with the patriarch Tarasius makes an identification with the future syncellus plausible, if of course not certain.

At this point the reasons to think that George wrote the part of Theophanes' *Chronography* from 781 to 813 are worth describing in some detail because of their implications for George's biography.[46] During these years Theophanes was living in monasteries outside Constantinople, where he would have had trouble acquiring the detailed knowledge of government affairs and of other events in the capital that is apparent in the *Chronography*.[47] The whole final section, even apart from its two descriptions of the Arab persecution of Christians in 808–13, shows a continuing interest in the

44. Cf. the remarks of R.-J. Lilie, *Byzanz unter Eirene und Konstantin VI. (780–802)*, Frankfurt am Main 1996, pp. 66–70.

45. *ACO, ser. sec.* III.2, p. 302.7–8 (= Mansi XIII, cols. 13D–E); cf. *PmbZ*, Georgios #2164.

46. Here I mainly summarize the argument of Mango, Who wrote the Chronicle, pp. 14–7, further developed in Mango – Scott, pp. lv–lxii.

47. See Mango – Scott, pp. xliii–lii and Treadgold, *Middle Byzantine historians*, pp. 63–6.

Christians of Syria, although the author has less information about them than before.[48] The *Chronography* also includes long quotations from speeches made by Irene and Tarasius on the occasion of her choosing Tarasius to be patriarch in 784. Since Tarasius' speeches are quoted in the acts of the Council of Nicaea of 787, the whole account seems to have come from the patriarchal archives, which would have been accessible to George but probably not to Theophanes.[49]

Even earlier than this latest part of the *Chronography*, George appears to have made an addition to the entry for 767/68 in the continuation of Trajan the Patrician's chronicle. This entry records that the relics of St. Euphemia, which in that year had been thrown into the sea by Constantine V, were restored to the saint's church in Chalcedon in 796. At that time, the *Chronography* says, "we ourselves beheld them along with the most pious emperors [Constantine VI and Irene] and the most holy patriarch Tarasius, and venerated the relics with them, having been found worthy of that great grace, though in fact we were unworthy." This reference seems to fit George, a high-ranking associate of the patriarch (and perhaps already syncellus), much better than Theophanes, who is unlikely to have left his monastery for the ceremony.[50] In assembling his materials, George appears not to have mentioned the restoration of Euphemia's relics under the date when it occurred, but instead added this note to his source's record of the relics' original desecration.

The account of the years from 781 to 813 in the *Chronography* is a work of some subtlety, as we might expect of a learned and intelligent outsider like George but not of the less sophisticated Theophanes.[51] This narrative, departing from the unqualified praise or condemnation usually found in Byzantine chronicles, includes nuanced treatments of the empress Irene, the emperors Constantine VI, Michael I, and Leo V, and the patriarchs Paul IV, Tarasius, and Nicephorus. All of these but Constantine VI receive some praise, the empress and emperors for their piety and the patriarchs for their holiness, just as the addition to the entry for 767/68 praises Tarasius, Irene, and (in that case) Constantine VI.[52] On the other hand, the *Chronography* also describes Irene and

48. Theoph. AM 6277, pp. 460.31–461.6 (on the patriarchates of Antioch and Alexandria); AM 6278, p. 461.13–6 (on the same); AM 6279, p. 462.22–3 (on the same); AM 6282, p. 465.20–6 (on the Arabs' martyrdom of the Byzantine general Theophilus); and AM 6298, p. 482.20–3 (on the Arabs' destroying churches on Cyprus).

49. *Ibid.* AM 6277; cf. *ACO*, *ser. sec.* III.1, pp. 8–12 (= MANSI XII, cols. 986D–990B).

50. Theoph. AM 6258, p. 440.7–11; cf. MANGO – SCOTT, p. lix.

51. We should not however expect George or anyone else to have written contemporary history in anything like the style of his *Selection of chronography*, a learned summary and discussion of the works of other scholars on ancient and biblical history. The absence of resemblances between George's *Selection* and the account of the period from 781 to 813 in "Theophanes" is therefore no evidence against George's having written both of these very different compositions.

52. Theoph. AM 6258, p. 440.2–3 and 11 (Constantine, Irene, and Tarasius); AM 6276, p. 457.15 (Paul); AM 6277, p. 460.24 (Tarasius); AM 6280, p. 462.27 (Tarasius); AM 6292, p. 474.25–6 (Irene); AM 6293, p. 475.15–6 (Irene); AM 6294, p. 475.28 (Irene); AM 6295, pp. 476.5, 477.32–478.1, and 479.5–6 (Irene); AM 6296, p. 480.12–3 (Tarasius); AM 6298, p. 481.15–6 and 20 (Tarasius and Nicephorus); AM 6300, p. 483.18 (Irene); AM 6301, p. 484.22–3 (Nicephorus); AM 6303, pp. 491.8 and [illegible] (Irene); AM 6304, pp. 493.21, 494.12–6 and 22–3, 495.14, and 496.22 (Michael and Nicephorus); and AM 6305, pp. 499.27–8, 500.8, and 502.3–4 and 10 (Michael, Nicephorus, Tarasius, and Leo).

Constantine as unduly influenced by evil advisers, especially the eunuchs Stauracius and Aëtius, whom it blames for the quarrel between mother and son, for Constantine's blinding his ally Alexius Musele, and for Irene's blinding Constantine.[53] Irene, though partly excused because as a woman she was easily deceived, is said to have had "the passion to rule" and to have been "longing for power."[54] The blinding of Constantine is depicted not just as divine punishment for his own blinding of Alexius but as a catastrophe that caused the sun to be dimmed for seventeen days.[55] The chronicler was especially troubled by the clash between Constantine and Irene, which he attributed to the Devil's envy of their iconophile piety.[56] That conflict caused severe problems for Tarasius, George Syncellus' immediate superior, when he was caught between his two quarreling masters.

The chronicler shows mixed feelings in some other cases as well. He reports that Tarasius tolerated Constantine's second marriage even though it was contracted "illegally," and that all the people of Constantinople cursed Tarasius (who is however not named at this point) for crowning the emperor Nicephorus I.[57] The pious emperor Michael I is alleged to have been "enslaved" by his own evil advisers, particularly Theodore of Studius and his uncle Plato. Because the unfortunate Michael was "completely at sea in his management of the government," Theodore and Plato frustrated the emperor's laudable efforts to execute heretics and to make peace with the Bulgars.[58] Among others whom the chronicler otherwise praises, he observes that Leo V was badly humiliated when he failed to stop the Bulgars' raiding, that the patriarch Paul IV had condoned Iconoclasm, and that the patriarch Nicephorus had been selected by the evil emperor Nicephorus.

The condemnation of Theodore of Studius in the *Chronography* would be somewhat surprising if the chronicler were Theophanes, of whom Theodore later wrote a panegyric (without mentioning the *Chronography*). The main reason for the chronicler's condemnation of Theodore and Plato appears to be that at different times they had refused communion with both Tarasius and Nicephorus because those patriarchs were tolerant of Abbot Joseph of Cathara, who had performed Constantine VI's second marriage.[59] Such loyalty to Tarasius and Nicephorus could be expected of George, but not necessarily of Theophanes. The fact that the *Chronography* gives especially strong approval to the patriarch Nicephorus, despite his having been chosen by the detested emperor Nicephorus, seems to indicate that George retained his high office of syncellus after Tarasius' death, and served amicably under Nicephorus as Tarasius' successor.[60]

In view of George's condemnation of Theodore of Studius and sympathy for Constantine VI, George may well have been one of the (two?) syncelli whom according

53. *Ibid.* AM 6282, p. 464.10–2; AM 6284, p. 468.13–6; and AM 6289, p. 472.16–8; for Aëtius, cf. Theoph. AM 6283, pp. 466.26–467.1.

54. *Ibid.* AM 6282, p. 464.15–6, and AM 6287, p. 469.24.

55. *Ibid.* AM 6284, p. 468.16–21, and AM 6289, p. 472.18–22.

56. *Ibid.* AM 6282, p. 464.10–1.

57. *Ibid.* AM 6287, p. 470.1–3 (the illegality of the marriage); AM 6288, p. 470.24–8 (Tarasius' condoning it); and AM 6295, p. 476.25–7.

58. *Ibid.* AM 6304, pp. 494.33–495.14, and AM 6305, pp. 497.28–498.4, 498.14–499.4, and 499.31–500.2 (Michael's incapacity and enslavement to his advisers).

59. *Ibid.* AM 6288, pp. 470.24–471.5, and AM 6301, p. 484.19–28.

60. For sympathetic treatment of the patriarch Nicephorus, see *ibid.* AM 6298, p. 481.22–32; AM 6303, pp. 492.15–7 and 493.10–4; AM 6304, pp. 494.33–495.6; and AM 6305, p. 499.25–8.

to Tarasius' biographer, Ignatius the Deacon, Constantine VI appointed as "guards" over Tarasius after the emperor's second marriage in September 795.[61] While Ignatius seems to have disliked these syncelli (perhaps, as Tarasius' student, Ignatius thought he had a better claim to be a syncellus than they did), the implication that they were hostile to Tarasius is obviously part of Ignatius' misrepresentation of the patriarch as a staunch opponent of Constantine's remarriage. Ignatius' only accusations against the syncelli are that they were much less pious than Tarasius and that anyone who wanted an audience with the patriarch had to make an appointment with them first. The first charge is too vague to have much force, while the latter must have been standard practice, because the patriarch would naturally have been a busy man.

In contrast to the balanced treatment of other contemporary emperors and patriarchs in the *Chronography*, its account of the emperor Nicephorus I, known from other sources as a capable, orthodox, and merciful ruler, is so wildly defamatory as to discredit itself. The emperor's many financial measures are attributed solely to greed and malice, and he is personally accused of every sin from cruelty, treachery, and hypocrisy to heresy, sorcery, and homosexuality.[62] The reason for such an excess of venom is probably to be found in a plot to replace Nicephorus with a certain Arsaber the Patrician that was detected in February 808. Arsaber himself was tonsured and exiled to a monastery in Bithynia.[63] The *Chronography* records that among the other plotters who were whipped and exiled and had their property confiscated was the patriarch's syncellus, who is not named.

The obvious possibility that this syncellus was George becomes a probability when we take into account the date of February 808 for the discovery of the conspiracy and the punishment of the conspirators.[64] George tells us that he began writing his *Selection of chronography* during the year that ran from September 807 to August 808, and that he planned to describe the persecution of the Christians in the caliphate that had started during that year. If we allow time for news of the persecution in Syria to reach Constantinople, George can hardly have started writing before February 808. That was the month when the syncellus who had been deposed as a conspirator began his exile, and therefore found himself with ample leisure to write a chronicle denouncing the emperor who had exiled him. The close correspondence between the dates is unlikely to be a coincidence.

If George, like his fellow conspirator Arsaber, was exiled to a monastery in Bithynia, this could also solve an otherwise puzzling problem: how George became a "close friend" of Theophanes, abbot of the Bithynian monastery of Megas Agros (the "Great Field"). Before this time George seems to have resided in Constantinople ever since his arrival from Palestine around 783, while Theophanes spent the years from 780 to 815 as a monk first in a monastery on an island in the Sea of Marmara and then, from about 786, as

61. Ignatius, *Life of Tarasius* (quoted n. 38), chapters 46–47; for the date of the marriage, see Theoph. AM 6288, p. 470.5–7. If John, last mentioned in *Life of Tarasius*, chapter 43, had previously served as Tarasius' syncellus (cf. n. 38 above), these syncelli were apparently John's successors.

62. Theoph. AM 6303, pp. 488.22–489.6 (for heresy and sorcery) and 491.26–8 (for homosexuality).

63. *Ibid.* AM 6300, pp. 483.23–484.2.

64. The identification of this syncellus as George was first suggested by MANGO, Who wrote the *Chronicle*, pp. 15–6 (repeated in MANGO – SCOTT, p. lviii), but without noting the correspondence between the dates.

abbot of Megas Agros. The two men might of course have met before 808, for example at the Council of Nicaea in 787, which Theophanes reportedly attended. Yet before the dying George entrusted his vast work to Theophanes, and Theophanes reluctantly agreed to finish it because of the closeness of their friendship, the two men must have become familiar with each other during some time when they lived near each other. The only opportunity for such an acquaintance seems to have been after 808. If the place where George was exiled in 808 was Megas Agros, he would naturally have become well acquainted with its abbot.

In May 811, just before the emperor Nicephorus left on the ill-fated campaign against the Bulgars that ended with his death, the *Chronography* states that he ordered new taxes levied on churches, monasteries, and state officials. This may well be a hostile reference to the special contributions to the emperor's campaigns from churches, monasteries, and state officials that seem already to have become customary by this date.[65] The chronicler, who is apparently George, declares that an imperial official, the patrician Theodosius Salibaras, warned the emperor of the extreme unpopularity of these requisitions, only to receive the haughty reply, "If God has hardened my heart like Pharaoh's, what good shall there be for those under my rule?" The chronicler then insists, "These words, I call the Lord to witness, I myself, the writer, heard from Theodosius from his lips while he was still alive."[66] Theodosius also died on the Bulgarian expedition.

Although the emperor is unlikely to have made such an outrageous statement, which was conveniently unverifiable after he and Salibaras had both been killed, the writer could not credibly have claimed to have heard it from Salibaras if the two men had never even met at the time. Their conversation can scarcely have been a social one, since the chronicler hated Salibaras, whom he describes as a loyal henchman of Nicephorus who was responsible for mistreating the deposed empress Irene.[67] Perhaps the answer is that Salibaras was sent by Nicephorus to collect the requisitions from the monastery where the chronicler was, probably Megas Agros. There Salibaras, after hearing the monks' protests, tried to defend himself by saying that he too had protested to the emperor but had failed to move him. (The reference to Pharaoh could be an embellishment, either by Salibaras or by George, unless the emperor had a dry sense of humor that they failed to appreciate.) Even if both George and Theophanes heard what Salibaras said, the insistence in the text that the hearer was "the writer" seems to identify him as George, because Theophanes professed to have added nothing of his own to the chronicle.[68]

65. Cf. Const. VII, *Three treatises*, pp. 94–6 (for the date of the requisitions, said to go back to the eighth century) and 100 (for the churches, monasteries, and officials).

66. Theoph. AM 6303, pp. 489.25–490.4.

67. *Ibid.* AM 6303, pp. 489.28–30 and 491.7–8. On Theodosius, see *PmbZ*, Theodosios #7869. At Theoph. AM 6301, p. 486.2, Theodosius' reported title of προμοσκρίνιος is almost certainly corrupt (cf. MANGO – SCOTT, p. 667 n. 16; perhaps we should emend to πρωτοσπαθάριος); in any event, Theodosius could have held a different office two years later, in 811.

68. MANGO – SCOTT, pp. lix–lx suggest that "the writer" might also have been someone else whose report George (or Theophanes) copied at this point; but, though George must have depended on an eyewitness for his account of the Bulgarian campaign, for such a recent event his source was probably oral, while the identification of "I myself, the writer" is obviously meant to emphasize that in this case his knowledge was first-hand.

We may now recapitulate what we know or can reasonably guess about George's life. George seems to have been born around 745 into a Christian family in Syria, possibly at Emesa or somewhere nearby. While his native language would have been Syriac, he must have received a good secondary education in Greek, which was perhaps meant to prepare him for a career in the Arab civil service. If so, the Arabs' temporary ban on Christian civil servants in 759/60 may have induced George to become a monk instead.[69] He may still have been in Emesa in 760/61 to witness the reception of the head of John the Baptist there, and may also have been in the city in 761/62 to see the Easter liturgy disrupted by the Arab governor's arrest of the "most blessed" metropolitan Anastasius.[70] Not much later, after some travels to Palestine, probably as a pilgrimage, George became a monk at the monastery of St. Chariton near Jerusalem. He made frequent trips from that monastery to Jerusalem, quite possibly on business with the patriarchate during that troubled time, when Christians were suffering from Muslim persecution.

Soon after the news arrived that a new iconophile regime had taken power in Byzantium in September 780, George seems to have had the idea of translating the recent Syriac chronicle of Theophilus of Edessa into Greek and bringing it up to date. Apparently George planned to take his work to Constantinople in the hope of interesting Irene and her advisers in the plight of the Melkite Christians of Syria. Perhaps Melkite church officials at Jerusalem secretly encouraged him, though to give him any formal authorization would have risked further retaliation from the Arabs. George probably traveled to Constantinople during the truce between the empire and the caliphate between August 782 and April 785. In Constantinople George's knowledge of history and devotion to icons appear to have won him the favor of Tarasius, who became patriarch on Christmas Day 784 and may have been an historian himself. By the time of the Council of Nicaea in 787, George had probably become a deacon and notary of the patriarchate, and participated in the council in that capacity. He may also have been assigned to write the anonymous letter read at the council that designated the representatives of the Eastern patriarchs and introduced the synodal letter of Theodore of Jerusalem from 763.

Perhaps in 795, Constantine VI promoted George to be one of Tarasius' syncelli, so that as syncellus George accompanied Tarasius to the ceremony of the translation of the relics of St. Euphemia to Chalcedon in 796. Apparently George showed as much versatility as his superior Tarasius in adapting first to the fall of Constantine in 797 and then to the fall of Irene in 801. In any case, George seems to have remained a patriarchal syncellus even after Tarasius died in 806 and was succeeded by the patriarch Nicephorus. The new patriarch, who had certainly written historical works, was like Tarasius a scholar promoted directly from the laity, and would have found George a kindred spirit and a helpful adviser. Yet George, though he admired the patriarch Nicephorus, apparently disliked the emperor Nicephorus I, and probably joined the plot against the emperor by Arsaber the Patrician in February 808.

69. Theoph. AM 6251, pp. 430.32–431.3.
70. Ibid. AM 6252, p. 431.16–21, and AM 6253, p. 432.1–15 (see n. 30 above).

George's reasons for joining the conspiracy can only be a matter of speculation.[71] He probably felt some of the resentment against certain of the emperor's measures that is expressed in exaggerated form in the *Chronography*, particularly those that affected church foundations. George might also have been a personal friend of Arsaber. When the conspiracy was discovered, the emperor seems to have banished George to the monastery of Megas Agros in Bithynia. George used his enforced leisure to begin revising and expanding his version of the chronicle of Theophilus of Edessa. Since George had his supplemented translation of Theophilus' chronicle on hand, he seems to have been allowed to bring his personal library with him into exile. Having spent many years as a prominent churchman with historical interests, he probably owned a number of relevant books which he had had copied from the patriarchal library or acquired in other ways. He must also have had friends who could send him additional books from the capital, which was not far off. During his three years of internment he also became a close friend of the abbot of Megas Agros, Theophanes. A friendly and hospitable man, Theophanes evidently looked up to his erudite guest, who was some fifteen years older, much better traveled, more experienced in church affairs, and better educated.

After the death of the emperor Nicephorus in July 811 and the deposition of his son Stauracius the following October, George was presumably allowed to return to Constantinople by the new emperor Michael I, whom he liked personally but rightly considered to be a feeble ruler. Now again with access to the libraries of the capital, George continued writing his history, also keeping a record of current events as they occurred so that he could eventually add it to the end of his work. He and Theophanes seem to have kept in touch. About 813, when George realized that he was dying, he either retired to Megas Agros or summoned Theophanes to the capital, and entreated him to complete the unfinished chronicle from the materials that George had assembled. These probably included extensive notes, George's translation of the chronicle of Theophilus of Edessa with its continuations to 780 and 813, and other books. Theophanes felt unable to refuse. He could appreciate what George was trying to do and could make and keep his promise to continue it, if not to finish it as George would have done it. Such a biography of George, however doubtful it may be in some of its details, is compatible with such evidence as we have and seems likely to be more or less correct.

If this reconstruction is right, George was the translator of one historical work and the author of at least three others. First, around 780, he translated the chronicle of Theophilus of Edessa from Syriac into Greek, dealing with world history from the creation to about 750. Presumably as part of the same project, George then wrote a continuation of Theophilus' chronicle from about 750 to 780 in Greek, dealing primarily with Syrian affairs. Both the translation and the continuation are now largely preserved as parts of Theophanes' *Chronography*. Around thirty years later, between 807 and 814, George compiled the *Selection of chronography* that we possess under his name, treating world history from the creation to 285. George also wrote a chronological account, dealing primarily with Byzantine events, from 781 to 813, which he intended to become the last part of his *Selection of chronography* but in the event became the last part of Theophanes'

71. I indulged in a bit of such speculation in Treadgold, *Byzantine revival* (quoted n. 27), pp. 153–4.

Chronography. Finally, George may well have contributed a few materials to Theophanes' *Chronography* besides those in his narrative from 781 to 813 and in his translation and continuation of Theophilus.[72]

George's narrative from 781 to 813 deserves particular attention, since it is our sole surviving narrative account of these years. It is a work of some length—almost fifty pages in Carl de Boor's edition of Theophanes' *Chronography*. It has seldom been thought of as a single work, since a few scholars have considered it a composite of disparate materials and most of the rest have considered it as an integral part of Theophanes' *Chronography* as a whole. If we look only at its starting date, we could think of it as a continuation of either of two lost histories that ended around 780, both of them continuations of other lost histories: the continuation of the chronicle of Theophilus of Edessa from about 750 to 780, probably by George himself, and the continuation of the chronicle of Trajan the Patrician from about 721 to 781.

Elsewhere I have already discussed at some length both the *Concise chronicle* of Trajan the Patrician and its continuation.[73] Trajan's chronicle, attested by both Theophanes and the *Suda*, appears to be the common source of Theophanes and Nicephorus up to 720 and was itself continued from about 721 to 781. Although both Theophanes and Nicephorus also used Trajan's continuer, the division between the material from Trajan and the material from his continuer is clear, because up to 720 both Theophanes and Nicephorus praise Leo III, while after 720 both condemn Leo for his Iconoclasm. The continuation of Trajan also seems to have been used by Nicephorus in two of his theological works, by a certain John the Monk in a contemporary account of the Council of Nicaea in 787, by the anonymous author of the now-fragmentary *Great chronography* around the same date, and by the chronicler George the Monk around 875. All of these writers apparently include additional fragments of the continuer of Trajan, which would be well worth collecting, ideally in a comprehensive collection of fragmentary Byzantine historians of the middle period.

The ending date of the continuation of Trajan's chronicle is less obvious than the starting date, because the parallels between Theophanes and Nicephorus only extend to 769, when Nicephorus' chronicle ends. Yet such a strongly anti-iconoclast source could scarcely have been circulated until after the accession of Irene in 780, and Theophanes' main source continues to display the same characteristics from 769 to 781: opposition to Iconoclasm, accurate indictional dates, learned allusions, distinctive stylistic peculiarities, and a detailed knowledge of the workings of the administration. Perhaps the best indication that the continuer ended with 781 is that a passage in Theophanes dates the definitive defeat of Iconoclasm to that year, as if the author was unaware that Iconoclasm would remain a serious force for several years longer. Moreover, the entry for 781 states that in that year "The pious [iconophiles] began to speak freely," while the entry for 783 states, "From that time forward the matter of the holy and sacred icons began to be

72. For five such passages in the *Chronography* that may be attributable to George, see Treadgold, *Middle Byzantine historians*, p. 76 and n. 150.

73. See Treadgold, *Middle Byzantine historians*, pp. 8–17 (on Trajan) and 17–26 (on the continuation of Trajan) and, for more detail on Trajan, W. Treadgold, Trajan the Patrician, Nicephorus, and Theophanes, in *Bibel, Byzanz und christlicher Orient : Festschrift für Stephen Gerö zum 65. Geburtstag*, hrsg. von D. Bumazhnov *et al.*, Leuven 2011, pp. 589–621.

discussed and disputed freely by all."[74] The use in both passages of forms of the same word for free speech *(parrhēsia)* sharpens the contradiction, showing the change from one author writing around 781 to another, later author who differed with his predecessor about when the free discussion of icons had started.

Although the identification of the continuer of Trajan as the future patriarch Tarasius cannot be considered absolutely conclusive, it fits the characteristics of the continuation very well.[75] Tarasius is known to have composed many anti-iconoclast writings. At a date when Iconoclasm was still official doctrine and real erudition was rare, the continuer was iconophile, intelligent, and well-educated, able to make appropriate allusions to Thucydides, Procopius, the Greek myths, and the Bible. The continuer is also perhaps our Byzantine historian with the best knowledge of official statistics, including figures for various state expenditures and naval expeditions, several of our few known food prices, and one of our rare totals for the official establishment of the Byzantine army. Such information appears to derive from the state archives, which until 784 Tarasius supervised as protoasecretis, head of the imperial chancery. In fact, only an official like Tarasius who enjoyed Irene's full confidence could have dared as early as 781 to denounce Iconoclasm, the doctrine of three generations of the still-reigning dynasty and one of Irene's relatives, Beser Saracontapechus, whose closeness to the dynasty presumably explains Irene's being chosen as the bride of Leo IV.

Contrary to what some scholars have recently asserted, the continuer of Trajan had no plausible motive for fabricating or even for exaggerating the Iconoclasm of Leo III, Constantine V, and Leo IV.[76] Writing under Constantine VI and Irene in 781, the continuer had a powerful motive to *minimize* the iconoclast measures of these emperors, in order to avoid undermining the reputation of the dynasty and to make the restoration of icons less traumatic. In 781 Irene was in a situation similar to that of the iconophile empress Theodora in 842, who invented a story that her iconoclast husband Theophilus had repented on his deathbed. Unfortunately for Irene and the continuer of Trajan, in 781 everyone knew that Leo III and Constantine V had died iconoclasts, and systematic falsification of their acts was impossible. Already in 780 Irene's partisans seem to have invented a story depicting the suspicious death of her iconoclast husband Leo IV as divine punishment.[77]

The erudition, precision, and intelligence of the continuation of Trajan from 721 to 781 evidently served as a model for its own continuation, the account of the years from 781 to 813 in Theophanes' *Chronography*. If George Syncellus wrote the account of the years from 781 to 813 in the *Chronography*, was he continuing his own continuation

74. Cf. Theoph. AM 6273, p. 455.8–9 (παρρησιάζεσθαι), and AM 6276, p. 458.5–6 (παρρησίᾳ).

75. Here I summarize my arguments in Treadgold, *Middle Byzantine historians*, pp. 17–26.

76. The culmination of this effort, which began with a series of highly speculative studies by Paul Speck, now appears in L. Brubaker and J. Haldon, *Byzantium in the iconoclast era, c. 680–850. A history*, Cambridge 2011.

77. See W. Treadgold, An indirectly preserved source for the reign of Leo IV, *JÖB* 34, 1984, pp. 69–76. When I wrote that article, I assumed that the conjectural *Life of Theophanes the Cubicularius* (died 780) was a direct source of Theophanes' *Chronography* around 814. Perhaps more likely is that the source of the *Chronography* for the conjectural *Life* was the continuation of Trajan, which like the *Life* was written around 781, quite possibly by Tarasius. Note how well the passages that seem to come from the *Life* are integrated into the rest of the narrative of the *Chronography*.

of Theophilus' chronicle, or was he continuing the continuation of Trajan's chronicle? At least to some extent, we must say that he was continuing both of them. He certainly knew that both existed. In form, the two previous continuations seem to have been rather similar, with annual entries like those of Theophanes' *Chronography*. In content, no doubt George's account was much more like the continuation of Trajan, because both dealt with events from the point of view of Constantinople, while the viewpoint of the continuation of Theophilus was clearly Syrian. Yet George, even after he assumed a high position in Constantinople and had little information about what was happening in the caliphate, did what he could to follow Arab affairs and the plight of Christians under Arab rule. He had probably been thinking of putting the whole story together in a comprehensive world history for some time before 808. After all, that is what he began doing almost at once after he was exiled, under circumstances that he could scarcely have foreseen.

Whether George began composing his narrative from 781 to 813 before 808 is hard to say for certain. Obviously he cannot have written the part from 808 to 813 before then. Even 781 was less than thirty years in the past in 808, and George would have been writing mostly about events he had lived through, with many friends in the church and state bureaucracies who could supply him with added details and verify his facts. This part of the *Chronography* does show some signs of being reconstructed from memory with the help of a calendar. It records an eclipse during the liturgy on Sunday, September 9, 787, though the eclipse actually occurred a week later, on Sunday, September 16.[78] Probably George remembered that the eclipse had occurred during the Sunday liturgy in September 787, consulted a calendar, and chose the wrong Sunday. Again, the *Chronography* records that the plot that overthrew Constantine VI began on "Thursday," July 17, 797, which was actually a Monday, and ended with Constantine's blinding on Saturday, July 15, which was indeed a Saturday but was also two days *before* the *Chronography* says the plot began.[79] The correct dates for the plot against Constantine are almost certainly Thursday, August 17 and Saturday, August 19, as appears from the *Chronography* of Nicephorus, another minor chronicle, and Theophanes' *Chronography* itself in an earlier passage.[80] Here George seems to have recalled that the plot had begun on a Thursday the seventeenth and that Constantine had been blinded on a Saturday—but, misremembering the month as July, he chose a Saturday in mid-July from a calendar without noticing that it was inconsistent with the date he had given earlier in the same

78. Theoph. AM 6278, p. 462.23–5.

79. *Ibid.* AM 6289, pp. 471.29–472.22; at 471.29, I cannot accept de Boor's emendation of τοῦ ἰουλίου μηνός, the reading of all the MSS., to τοῦ Αὐγούστου μηνός, because these events obviously took place over just three days rather than a month and three days.

80. For a convincing reconstruction of the chronology, see P. Speck, *Kaiser Konstantin VI.*, München 1978, pp. 306–8, followed by Treadgold, *Byzantine revival* (quoted n. 27), pp. 108–9 and n. 138. For the interpretation of Niceph., *Chron.*, p. 100.12–23, see Ph. Grierson, The tombs and obits of the Byzantine emperors (337–1042), *DOP* 16, 1962, pp. 1–63, here at pp. 54–5. For the minor chronicle, cited by Mango – Scott, p. 649 n. 8, see *Die byzantinischen Kleinchroniken. 1. Einleitung und Text*, rec., commentario indicibusque instruxit P. Schreiner, Wien 1975, *Chronik* 2.67, p. 49. Theoph. AM 6284, p. 468.16–21, mentions that Constantine was blinded on a Saturday in August (not July).

entry. Apparently George found days of the week easier to remember than days of the month.[81]

Nonetheless, George's account of the years from 781 to 813 is well done. We have seen that it is independent of the continuation of Trajan, with which it disagrees on the time when Iconoclasm could be freely discussed, and that it shows surprising objectivity in discussing the virtues and faults of Irene, Constantine VI, Michael I, Leo V, Tarasius, and the patriarch Nicephorus, despite its relentless hostility to the emperor Nicephorus I. In the *Chronography* the narrative from 781 shows a coherence that is remarkable in view of its being arranged in annual entries and discussing a wide range of different events. Beginning with the mixed success of the military campaigns of Irene and her adviser Stauracius, the account continues with their arduous but ultimately triumphant efforts to restore the icons, the sad story of the seven-year struggle for power between Irene and her son Constantine, the tragic blinding of Constantine, the troubled reign of Irene alone, the successful conspiracy of Nicephorus I, his allegedly disastrous reign, and the continuing warfare with the victorious Bulgar khan Krum, which remained unresolved in 813. While this account seems never to have been intended to stand alone, it makes an appropriate continuation of what precedes it and an effective conclusion to the combined chronicles of George and Theophanes.

Does all this make George a Syrian historian, a Byzantine historian, or both? If George had never left Arab-held Syria, we might still consider him a Byzantine historian for the same reason that John of Damascus, who seems never to have left Arab-held Syria, is generally considered a Byzantine theologian: both men wrote in Greek, and therefore for a primarily Byzantine readership, since if they had written for a primarily Syrian readership they would have used Syriac. Both were also Melkite (Chalcedonian) Christians, not Jacobites (Monophysites) like many other Syrian Christians. John's main concern in his theological works was to combat Iconoclasm, a doctrine sponsored by Byzantine emperors on Byzantine soil.[82] George's main concern in translating and continuing the Syriac chronicle of Theophilus of Edessa must be conjectured, just as the identification of George as the translator and continuer is only conjectural. Yet we can scarcely doubt that George wanted the Byzantine rulers to negotiate better treatment for the Melkite Christians of Syria, and no other motive seems likely for a Syrian to prepare such a chronicle and to bring it to Constantinople, as someone surely did at this time.

Probably George himself would have regarded the matter of whether he was a Byzantine *(Rhōmaios)* as beside the point, though he would have understood the question. While acknowledging that he was a native of territory that (unfortunately) was no longer under Byzantine rule, George would have said that he was an orthodox Christian, and as such looked to the Byzantine emperor as a leader of his community, which included all orthodox Christians. George seems to have grown up in northern Syria, and therefore within the jurisdiction of the Melkite patriarch of Antioch, then to have settled in a

81. Cf. Theoph. AM 6284, p. 468.16–7 (the blinding of the Caesar Nicephorus and Alexius Musele, on a Saturday); AM 6292, p. 475.3–5 (the death of the eunuch Stauracius on a Tuesday); and AM 6303, p. 489.17–8 (an Arab raid on Euchaïta on the first Saturday in Lent in "February," though that year the first Saturday in Lent was actually March 1).

82. We are admittedly not well informed about John's life; see M.-F. Auzépy, De la Palestine à Constantinople (VIIIe-IXe siècles) : Étienne le Sabaïte et Jean Damascène, *TM* 12, 1994, pp. 183–218.

monastery in Palestine, within the jurisdiction of the Melkite patriarch of Jerusalem. Next George moved to Constantinople, within the jurisdiction of the patriarch of Constantinople, who by this time was already distancing himself from Iconoclasm, of which George disapproved. No doubt as a native of northern Syria George found the language and customs of Constantinople less familiar than those of Palestine, but he must have had a working knowledge of Greek and presumably preferred the rule of Christian emperors to that of the increasingly anti-Christian Muslim caliphs. He would surely have said that all the Chalcedonian patriarchates belonged to the single Orthodox Church of which he was a member.

George also appears to have been involved in relations between the patriarchates. He became a syncellus of the patriarch Tarasius, and probably also of the patriarch Nicephorus. We have seen that George may well have come to Constantinople around 783 as an informal envoy of the patriarchate of Jerusalem, with which he had probably dealt earlier as a representative of the monastery of St. Chariton. Whether or not he took part in the Council of Nicaea as the anonymous author of the letter from the East, as a patriarchal notary, or as both, George was surely pleased that the council ratified the veneration of icons. George seems to have thought he could serve the interests of the church best by remaining in Constantinople, where he continued to be aware of the sufferings of the Melkite Christians of Syria. He also enjoyed a generally successful ecclesiastical career as syncellus. He evidently participated in a plot against the emperor Nicephorus, and when it failed was exiled for three and a half years; but he took advantage of his exile to begin his ambitious world chronicle. Though death prevented him from finishing it himself, with the help of his friend Theophanes he left a grand summation of Greek and Syriac historiography which his experience had uniquely fitted him to prepare.

THEOPHANES THE CONFESSOR AND THEOPHANES THE CHRONICLER, OR, A STORY OF SQUARE BRACKETS

by Constantin ZUCKERMAN

Indeed, if the author's identity had not been stated in the title and corroborated by later testimony, one might have been tempted to suggest that the Chronicle was due to another Theophanes, not the Confessor and abbot of Agros.
Cyril Mango, in MANGO – SCOTT, p. li–lii.

The entry dated to the year of creation 6177 (AD 684/5) in the *Chronicle* of Theophanes is almost entirely dedicated to the Definitions of a Church council later called *in Trullo* or the Quinisext. This entry has long been branded as a foreign body. Both Karl de Boor in his edition of the Greek text and Cyril Mango in his English translation print it in square brackets.[1] The entry ends, incontestably, with a short interpolation, easy to identify by its content, embracing a period down to the Triumph of Orthodoxy (843), and by its absence in the Latin translation by Anastasius the Librarian. Why then the left square bracket, which should have marked the beginning of the interpolation about a line and a half before the entry's end, stands close to its beginning, thus secluding about a page and a half of the *Chronicle*? The answer, openly stated by Mango and his predecessors, is that the entry as a whole (the small explicit interpolation is totally immaterial in this respect) reflects positions and beliefs, which cannot be attributed to Theophanes the Confessor.

My first aim is to show that the entry, the short interpolation excepted, is authentic and essential for grasping the mind of the Chronicler. A better appraisal of this passage has a major bearing on our perception of the *Chronicle*, the Confessor's authorship becoming unlikely, or rather untenable. Strong arguments against his authorship have been arrayed by Cyril Mango who did not, however, dare the final step of rejecting it entirely. I will examine Mango's arguments as well as his alternative scenario, enhanced in a recent study by Warren Treadgold, which consists in shifting nearly all the responsibility for

1. Theoph., pp. 361–2; transl. MANGO – SCOTT, pp. 504–5.

Studies in Theophanes, ed. by M. Jankowiak & F. Montinaro (Travaux et mémoires 19), Paris 2015, pp. 31–52.

the *Chronicle* to George Syncellus. As the discrepancies between the biographical data of Theophanes the Confessor, unusually abundant in his two well-informed *Lives*, and the personal data of the Chronicler, as reflected in his text, grow in number and gravity, reconciling them comes at an ever-increasing cost. Shifting the authorship to Syncellus means dismissing what the Chronicler has to say in his Preface about himself and his work, while the quest of conciliation between two authors, as exemplified in a recent monograph by Panayotis Yannopoulos, does not produce a coherent result. I shall strive to convince my reader that distinguishing Theophanes the Confessor from the Chronicler, probably also named Theophanes,—while keeping George Syncellus, author of his own *Chronography*, essentially out of the picture—would be the only fruitful way to study these three very different characters, as well as the *Chronicle* itself.

I. Bracketing the issue of the Council *in Trullo*

1. An interpolation within an insert?

The entry for the year 6177 contains the only late interpolation in the text of the *Chronicle* that was equally apparent for a medieval and a modern reader. The list of the patriarchs of Constantinople at the end of the entry goes all the way down to John, here nicknamed *Lekanomantis* ("who divined with a basin"), better known as Grammaticus, whose deposition by Empress Theodora in March 843 marked the final triumph of the icon-worshipers. Any intelligent copyist could figure out that an iconodule confessor who died in the first years of the second Iconoclasm could by no means have drawn a complete list of the iconoclast patriarchs. This could be the reason why five related codices of Theophanes mark the entry as a σχόλιον.[2]

What the medieval scribes could not know but we do, is that the same list of patriarchs has a different ending in the Latin translation of the *Chronicle* by Anastasius the Librarian. There it only goes down to Patriarch Tarasius, deceased in February 806 and credited, with only a slight approximation, with twenty-one years in office.[3] Thus, Anastasius' version makes it certain that the original list of patriarchs was put together under Tarasius' successor, Nicephorus (806–15), in the very same years as the *Chronicle*'s composition. Only the end part of the list was appended at a later date, the entry as a whole being strictly contemporary with the *Chronicle*.

Despite this striking chronological coincidence, Mango asserts in his commentary that the entry as a whole was not originally part of the *Chronicle* and that it found its way into its text by error. While admitting that "it is perhaps misleading to speak of a 'scholion,'" he suggests "that we have here part of a polemical tract, which an absent-minded copyist or editor of the Chronicle thought fit to include without realizing its ideological orientation." This orientation is defined by Mango as iconoclastic. The polemical tract was presumably composed "shortly after 806" (i.e., after the death of

2. See Theoph., p. 361, *apparatus criticus ad* l. 17, and p. vii on the manuscripts.
3. Theoph. 2, p. 230. The indication by P. Yannopoulos, *Théophane de Sigriani le Confesseur (759–818) : un héros orthodoxe du second iconoclasme*, Bruxelles 2013, p. 286, according to which "la traduction anastasienne ne va pas plus loin que la déposition de Nicéphore en 815," is misleading: in Anastasius, the list stops at Tarasius and does not mention Nicephorus.

Tarasius), inserted in the *Chronicle* by a hypothetical editor or scribe who found it among Theophanes' papers, and later interpolated with the additional list of patriarchs.[4]

This reconstruction implies that one and the same yearly entry of the *Chronicle* was hit, purely by chance, by two unrelated intrusions in its text. What is more, it would suggest that a devoted icon-worshipper, Theophanes the Confessor, kept among his papers, apparently in the form of notes he took, elements of iconoclast propaganda. In a much more intricate scheme, Panayotis Yannopoulos distinguishes in the "scholion" at least four, but possibly as many as six successive authors.[5] Seeing no logic in these multiple divisions, I will argue that the whole original entry and the small actual gloss (the last four patriarchs on the list) belong each to a single author and can only be interpreted as such.

2. No iconoclast, but a staunch opponent of the Council in Trullo

If the iconoclastic bias of the entry for the year 6177 could be proven, this would rule out its attribution to the author of the *Chronicle*, whose adherence to icons is often stated. The entry's contents reveal no sign of an opposition to icons, however, while showing a different ideological agenda, more original and surprising.

The entry starts with a short announcement that "the pious emperor Constantine" died that year (6177) and his son Justinian succeeded him on the throne. This notice of less than two lines would have been the entire "original" entry. Then the very first sentence of the supposed "scholion" states in a concise but most explicit way the author's main point that he later supports with lengthy arguments: Ἰστέον ὅτι μάτην ληρωδῶς φλυαροῦσί τινες λέγοντες μετὰ τέσσαρα ἔτη γεγονέναι τοὺς παρ' αὐτοῖς φημιζομένους τῆς ἕκτης συνόδου κεφαλαιώδεις τύπους. Mango translates: "It should be noted that those who maintain that the Summary Definitions of the Sixth Council (which they make much of) were issued four years later are chattering in vain."[6] One could gain the impression that the author contests the Definitions of the Sixth Council. Since, however, he speaks a few lines below of "the holy ecumenical Sixth Council," it would have been most inconsistent on his part to deny authority to a document it issued. The verb φημίζω can better be rendered as "call, name" *(LSJ)* and the sentence translated: "It should be noted that those who maintain that what they call the Summary Definitions of the Sixth Council were issued four years later [after Justinian II's accession, C.Z.] are chattering in vain." The author's point is to show that the document, which is falsely presented as the Summary Definitions of the Sixth Council, stands in no relation to this venerable assembly.

Scholars have long noticed that the unnamed opponents, whom the author castigates in no uncertain terms, were the Fathers of the Seventh Ecumenical Council of 787. In a lively debate at the 4th session of the Council, none other than Patriarch Tarasius

4. Mango in Mango – Scott, p. lxii (quoted), cf. p. lxxxviii (speaking of a scholion), and p. 505, n. 4. Mango's interpretation of the passage is adopted by E. Brunet, *La ricezione del concilio Quinisesto (691–692) nelle fonti occidentali (VII–IX sec.) : diritto, arte, teologia*, Paris 2011, pp. 98–9.
5. P. Yannopoulos, Συμπληρωματικές παρατηρήσεις στο περί της Πενθέκτης συνόδου εμβόλιμο κείμενο στη Χρονογραφία του Θεοφάνη, *Βυζαντινός δόμος* 15, 2006, pp. 15–29 (distinguishing four or five hands in the "scholion"); Id., *Théophane de Sigriani* (quoted n. 3), pp. 284–6 (four to six hands).
6. Mango in Mango – Scott, p. 504.

formulated for the first time the argument that—as Dr. Marek Jankoviak points out to me—can best be understood in the sense that the Council *in Trullo* had gathered four or five years *after the Sixth Council convoked in the 14th year of Emperor Constantine* (680/1), that is in the first year of Justinian II (685). When the same argument is integrated in a formal statement at the 6th session, however, it is preceded by mention of Justinian II's accession (685), which becomes the natural starting point for counting "four or five years."[7] Either the secretary, who wrote down the debates at the 4th session, was guilty of negligence or, between the two sessions, Patriarch Tarasius was reminded of the date cited in canon 3 (see below) and convinced not to push the argument of proximity too far. But even the latter formulation, which advances the actual date of the Council *in Trullo* by only a year or two, allows constructing the argument that it was attended by mostly the same bishops as the Sixth Council about ten years earlier.

Yet, it is not on these minor manipulations of dates that our author attacks the view of the Council *in Trullo* as an extension of the Sixth Council. He returns against the supporters of the Council *in Trullo* their own argument and advances a radically different chronological calculation, showing that the two gatherings were separated by twenty-seven years. This figure would obviously exclude any continuity with regard to their respective participants.

Unlike most councils that left elaborate acts with dating formulae, the council *in Trullo* delivered to posterity only its canonical Definitions, which carry no official date. A date is contained in one of the canons, canon 3, where it marks the last day on which priests who had married in violation of canonical regulations could have dissolved their marriage and been pardoned: "January 15 of the past (παρελθούσης) 4th indiction of the year 6199."[8] This year of creation is calculated according to the standard Byzantine era starting in September 5509 BC, and the date indicated in the canon corresponds to January 15, 691, which falls in a 4th indiction. Scholars commonly assume, therefore, that the council took place in the next indictional year 691/2. The author of the entry cites the date, the year of creation 6199, yet he applies to it the Alexandrian era starting on March 25, 5492 BC (aligned in the *Chronicle* on the indictional year starting on September 1st). The year cited would then correspond to 706/7, early in the second reign of Justinian II. The sixteen years that make the difference between the Byzantine and the Alexandrian era expand the gap between the Sixth Council and the Council *in Trullo* from eleven to twenty-seven years.

This surprisingly new chronology not only moves the Council *in Trullo* away from the Sixth Ecumenical Council, it also brings it very close, within a five-years range, of a synod that took place in the first year of Emperor Philippicus (711) and that attempted to reverse the decisions of the Sixth Council by restoring Monothelitism. Our author calculates that the Council *in Trullo* had actually gathered in the second year of Patriarch Cyrus deposed

7. *Concilium Universale Nicaenum Secundum. Concilii actiones IV-V*, ed. E. Lambertz (ACO ser. sec. 3, 2), Berlin – New York 2012, p. 346 (= Mansi XIII, col. 41C): 4th session; Mansi XIII, col. 220C: 6th session.

8. *Concilium Constantinopolitanum a. 691/2 in Trullo habitum (Concilium Quinisextum)*, ed. H. Ohme, in coop. with R. Flogaus and Ch. R. Kraus (ACO ser. sec. 2, 4), Berlin – New York 2013, p. 25.

by Philippicus upon his accession to the throne.[9] Philippicus' little remembered heretical synod becomes central in the author's drive to discredit the Council *in Trullo*; incidentally, his treatment of the synod also provides a clear proof that the attitudes expressed in the entry for the year 6177 cannot be considered as "external" to the *Chronicle*.

The argument for attributing the entry to an iconoclast is based in part on its unkind presentation of Germanus, the future patriarch of Constantinople and valiant defender of icons under the first Iconoclasm, here featured as a member of the "insane synod against the holy ecumenical Sixth Council." As we have seen, the author's aim was denouncing this heretical synod, a bleak spot in Germanus' career, rather than denigrating the person of the future patriarch. But my main point is that the *Chronicle*'s entry for the first year of Philippicus (AM 6204—AD 711/2), largely dedicated to the synod and never suspected of being interpolated, is not any kinder to Germanus—or to Andrew of Crete, another major "orthodox" figure of the first Iconoclasm who was tainted in Philippicus' synod—than the supposed "scholion." In fact, the entries for 6177 and 6204 were clearly drawn by one and the same hand. Both decry the emperor's insane assault against the Sixth Council (ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ πρώτῳ ἔτει τῆς βασιλείας Φιλιππικοῦ γενέσθαι ἐμμανῆ σύνοδον κατὰ τῆς ἁγίας οἰκουμενικῆς ἕκτης συνόδου 6177; Φιλιππικὸς δὲ οὐκ ᾐσχύνθη ἐκμανῶς κινηθῆναι κατὰ τῆς ἁγίας καὶ οἰκουμενικῆς ἕκτης συνόδου 6204), both mention the eventual eviction of Patriarch Cyrus, and denounce prominent Church figures who subscribed to this policy:

Ἀνδρέαν δὲ μητροπολίτην τῆς Κρήτης καὶ Γερμανὸν μητροπολίτην Κυζίκου [his transfer to the throne of Constantinople is mentioned later], ὑπογράψαντας προδήλως καὶ ἀναθεματίσαντας μετὰ πάντων τῶν κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους τὴν προρρηθεῖσαν κατὰ τῶν Μονοθελητῶν ἁγίαν οἰκουμενικὴν ς´ σύνοδον (AM 6177).	Γερμανόν τε τὸν μετὰ ταῦτα τὸν θρόνον Κωνσταντινουπόλεως κατασχόντα, ἐπίσκοπον τὸ τηνικαῦτα ὑπάρχοντα Κυζίκου, καὶ Ἀνδρέαν καὶ αὐτὸν ἐπίσκοπον Κρήτης ὄντα [...] καὶ ἑτέρους τούτων ὁμοιοτρόπους· οἵτινες καὶ ἐγγράφως ἀνεθεμάτισαν τὴν ἁγίαν ἕκτην σύνοδον (AM 6204).

My last remark concerns the place of the Council *in Trullo* in the *Chronicle*. One could expect it to duly commemorate this major event in the history of the Church. Yet, as pointed out by Paul Speck, the Council is absent in the appropriate chronological setting, under AM 6199 or 6200. Its advance dismissal in the entry for AM 6177 prepares the reader for this gap.[10] If we consider this entry to have been inserted by a later editor, should we also assume that this editor struck down the *Chronicle* passage describing the Council *in Trullo* in an "orthodox" manner? Such assumptions stretch the imagination too far. It is not impossible that the Chronicler, in re-reading his text, felt the need to explain the lack of mention of the Council *in Trullo* and added his explanation in form of a gloss introduced by ἰστέον ὅτι. Also in this case though the explanation would belong to the Chronicler himself.

9. This is the point of calculating the twenty-seven years "on the basis of the patriarchs" in the same entry, Theoph. AM 6177, p. 362.13–6; cf. Mango in Mango – Scott, pp. 504 and 506 n. 7.

10. P. Speck, Der "zweite" Theophanes : eine These zur Chronographie des Theophanes, *Poikila Byzantina* 13 (Varia 5), Berlin 1994, pp. 431–83, see pp. 480–1.

3. Why object to the Council in Trullo and date by the Alexandrian era?

Once we admit that the rejection of the Council *in Trullo* belongs to the person who composed the *Chronicle* and not to a later editor, one can no longer attribute this attitude to any iconoclastic leanings. Whoever composed the *Chronicle* was a staunch supporter of icons, and this is not a point that I need to argue. This was, no doubt, the reason why Cyril Mango described the hypothetical editor as "absent-minded." If he were an iconoclast himself, he would have dumped the *Chronicle* en bloc, since no cosmetic corrections (which do not even refer to icons) would be able to attenuate its anti-iconoclastic bias. If, however, he was an iconodule, why force into the text some polemical asides, incidentally irreverent toward prominent defenders of icons? I do not see how any scenario involving an editor can be made coherent.

In explaining the author's position I would suggest not going beyond what he actually says. He has a strong issue with the Council *in Trullo* and denounces its advocates both for their general view of its canons as the Summary Definitions of the Sixth Council (ἐν πᾶσι ψευδηγοροῦντες ἐλέγχονται) and for their specific reckoning of the date (ἀποδείκνυνται καὶ ἐν τούτοις μηδὲν ἀληθὲς λέγοντες) disproven by the author's precise chronological calculation (ἀκριβὴς χρονικὴ ἀποσημείωσις) cited above. I should emphasize, however, that in engaging his opponents, our author does not name them, either as the Fathers of the Seventh Council or as Patriarch Tarasius (who had formulated the contested argument) in person. This would be hard to explain if he contested the Seventh Council as such, not just on the particular issue of the Council *in Trullo*.

The contemporaries of the Seventh Ecumenical Council, who had misgivings over some of its rulings, could state them openly. Thus, twenty years after the Council, Theodore the Studite recognizes its decision to reinstall bishops ordinated by iconoclasts as misguided, and if taken by Patriarch Tarasius for a fee—as anticanonical; he has a hard time explaining why he did not speak out against it at the time. Theodore cites at length the position of Rome, according to which this Council was not ecumenical in its composition and was only declared as such to convince the heretical people to give up iconoclasm.[11] Obviously, Theodore would have been the last to attack the Seventh Council on its main dogmatic position.

There is no indication that our author's criticism of the Seventh Council goes beyond its recognition of the Council *in Trullo*, while his reasons for rejecting the latter seem to lie in the realm of Church discipline rather than dogma. He produces two quotations from canon 3 in the AM 6177 entry, the first containing the date that supports his chronological demonstration (above), and the second irrelevant for his argument. This second quotation, introduced by "and further down" (καὶ μεθ' ἕτερα), reads as following: "Those who, after their ordination, have contracted one illegal marriage, that is presbyters, deacons, and subdeacons, and have already been debarred for a short time from the holy liturgy and been reproved, shall be reinstalled in their respective ranks, but shall on no account be promoted to a higher rank. Their illicit union shall, of course, have been dissolved." This quote announces the most shocking decision of the Council *in Trullo*: the reinstalling of clergy who remarried in violation of the Church discipline. The Fathers

11. Theodorus Studita, *Epistulae*, rec. G. Fatouros (CFHB 31), Berlin – New York 1992, no. 38, see pp. 110–1.

gathered *in Trullo* were aware of the gravity of this measure. They presented it as an act of *oikonomia*, taken at the emperor's personal request, in contradiction to the preference of the most holy Church of Rome for the strict observation of the canons, and as a one time case of leniency never to be repeated.[12] Yet, our author does not quote their excuses, only the outrageous ruling itself. I see no reason for him to add the second quote other than to explain his rejection of the Council.

Keeping a grudge against the Council *in Trullo* over a century after it took place is a singular phenomenon. Despite the fact that this council authorized the worst violation of the canon law in the history of Byzantine Church, we have no evidence of opposition to it in Byzantium.[13] I will not speculate, therefore, whether its rejection by the Chronicler represented his personal stance or attested a wider stream within the Church. What I would not doubt, however, is that the chronological argument to the detriment of the Council's authority belongs to the author himself. It is grounded in an erroneous calculation based on a confusion of two eras, which, however false, was surely sincere. Thus, it could have only been produced by a person who believed the Alexandrian era to be the only theologically sound one (like George Syncellus) or who had spent a few years converting into this era a wide array of chronological indications (like our Chronicler). In this respect, the author of the entry for the year 6177, if he is not the author of the *Chronicle*, looks like his twin brother.

This argument would suffice for rejecting the complex scheme proposed by Panayotis Yannopoulos, in which the "scholion" becomes a joint creation of at least four successive Studite editors. Why would Studite monks take for granted that the Fathers gathered *in Trullo* had employed the exotic Alexandrian era, not in use in Constantinople? What is more, the conjecture of a "Studite" edition of the *Chronicle* represented by an early manuscript, *Paris. gr.* 1710, has been refuted by Cyril Mango. Introduced by Boris L. Fonkič and developed by Yannopoulos,[14] it does not take into account the *Chronicle*'s consistent distaste of the Studites. Their revered abbot Theodore is depicted first as a schismatic and then as the chief among the evil counselors (κακοὶ σύμβουλοι), guilty of Emperor Nicephorus' defeat and death.[15] The *Paris. gr.* 1710, produced not before the late 850s,[16] did not come out of Studion—had it happened into a Studite's hands, it would have ended up in a stove.

12. *Concilium Constantinopolitanum a. 691/2* (quoted n. 8), pp. 25–6; cf. Brunet, *La ricezione* (quoted n. 4), pp. 210–1.

13. On the initial rejection of the Council *in Trullo* by Rome and on its possible reasons which are all modern speculations, the *Liber Pontificalis* being vague on the subject, see H. Ohme, Die sogenannten "antirömischen" Kanones des Concilium Quinisextum (692) : Vereinheitlichung als Gefahr für die Einheit der Kirche, in *The Council in Trullo revisited*, ed. by G. Nedungatt, M. Featherstone, Roma 1995, pp. 307–21.

14. See P. Yannopoulos, Une note sur la date du *Parisinus gr.* 1710, in *Μοσχοβία : К 60-летию Б. Фонкича : проблемы византийской и новогреческой филологии*, Москва 2001, pp. 27–30.

15. Theoph. AM 6298, p. 481 and AM 6305, p. 498, respectively; cf. C. Mango, The Life of St. Theodore of Chora and the Chronicle of Theophanes, in *Captain and scholar : papers in memory of Demetrios I. Polemis*, ed. by E. Chrysos and E. A. Zachariadou, Andros 2009, pp. 183–94, on p. 192.

16. The manuscript contains the interpolated list of patriarchs after Tarasius, which, despite its apparent precision—John Grammaticus is allotted six years and one month—, is actually very approximate, calculated a posteriori by a person who lacked exact data on the duration of the patriarchs' terms, including the last one, see my Two notes on the early history of the *thema* of Cherson, *BMGS* 21, 1997, pp. 210–22, on p. 211, with n. 7. See also F. Ronconi in this volume.

II. Theophanes the Confessor and George Syncellus

1. The Preface to the Chronicle: the "materials"

Cyril Mango, whose groundbreaking research shaped the perception of the *Chronicle* of Theophanes in the last generation, was the first to point out the incompatibility between the biographical data of Theophanes the Confessor, as presented in his *Lives*, and the elements of the author's biography, as revealed by the *Chronicle* itself. The solution he proposed, first in an article published in 1979 and then in the introduction to the English translation of the *Chronicle* (1997), consisted in shifting the lion's share of authorial responsibility for the work to George Syncellus, while reducing the input of Theophanes the Confessor to the bare minimum: "fill[ing] in certain gaps and verify[ing] certain chronological calculations."[17] Autobiographical elements in the text that would not fit the Confessor could thus be related to George. This line of reasoning has been taken over by Warren Treadgold in the chapter dedicated to both writers in his recent monograph on the middle Byzantine historians;[18] on many points Treadgold goes way beyond Mango's cautious remarks.

Both scholars naturally focalize on the Preface to the *Chronicle*, in which the author tells about his work, presenting it as a continuation of an ambitious historiographical project initiated by "the most blessed Father George, who had also been *synkellos* of Tarasios, the most holy patriarch of Constantinople."[19] The author goes on to describe, with much praise, the compendium that we know as the *Chronography* of George Syncellus. Then he points out that George, "overtaken by the end of his life," "was unable to bring his plan to completion" (εἰς πέρας ἀγαγεῖν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ σκοπὸν οὐκ ἴσχυσεν); we are not told what this plan was.

In order to discover George's design we need to consult his own introduction, which our author may have had in mind when composing his Preface. There, George states his aim to bring up his historical narrative to the point in present when he starts his work, AM 6300 (March 25, 807 – March 24, 808), in the first indiction (September 1, 807 – August 31, 808).[20] Yet, as pointed out in the Preface to the *Chronicle* in conformity with the actual content of the *Chronography*, George did not live to pursue further than Diocletian's rise to power. More than five centuries of history still needed to be filled in.

George's demise explains our author's involvement in the project. As he states in the Preface (in Mango's translation), George, on his deathbed, "both bequeathed to me, who was his close friend (ἡμῖν, ὡς γνησίοις φίλοις), the book he had written and provided materials with a view to completing what was missing" (καὶ ἀφορμὰς παρέσχε τὰ ἐλλείποντα ἀναπληρῶσαι). The author explains that he attempted to decline the task that was above his powers, but was constrained by his obedience to his friend (ἀναγκασθέντες διὰ τὴν τούτου ὑπακοήν) to assume it nevertheless. With no false modesty, he describes the extent of his engagement: "I expanded an uncommon amount of labor. For I, too, after seeking out to the best of my ability and examining many books, have written down

17. Mango, Who wrote the Chronicle, p. 16.
18. Treadgold, *Middle Byzantine historians*, pp. 38–77.
19. Theoph. Preface, pp. 3–4; transl. Mango – Scott, pp. 1–2.
20. Georg. Sync., p. 6; on the same page the author situates the beginning of the year on March 25.

accurately—as best I could—the chronicle from Diocletian down to the reign of Michael and his son Theophylaktos, namely the reigns [of the emperors] and the patriarchs and their deeds, together with their dates." He adds that in performing his research, he "did not set down anything of [his] own composition (οὐδὲν ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν συντάξαντες), but ha[s] made a selection from the ancient historians and prose-writers and ha[s] consigned to their proper places the events of every year, arranged without confusion."

Cyril Mango's translation of ἀφορμαί as (written) "materials" for completing George's historiographical project has been largely accepted by scholars, most recently by Anthony Kaldellis.[21] This translation has led to far-reaching conclusions, well resumed by Robert Hoyland: "It is not obvious what were the *aphormai* that George had pressed upon Theophanes, but it has been argued convincingly by Mango that they constituted almost the whole of what goes under the name of Theophanes' *Chronographia*, and that Theophanes himself did little beyond a certain amount of redaction and the verification of some facts and calculations."[22] The author's description of his own contribution in the Preface is implicitly dismissed as mere self-glorification.

The transfer of "materials" from George to Theophanes acquires absolute value in the study of Warren Treadgold, who mentions them several times (cf. below) while taking a further step to exclude Theophanes from involvement in his own *Chronicle*. Treadgold's reasoning deserves to be presented verbatim. After having cited Theophanes' admission of having received from George "the materials to complete what was lacking," the scholar continues: "Theophanes claims then to have excerpted 'many [more] books' in order to bring the narrative down to the reign of the emperor Michael I, but to have added 'nothing of my own.' If taken literally, this last claim implies that Theophanes copied from someone else—whether George or another written source—even the final, contemporary portion of the *Chronography*, which ends with Michael I's abdication in August 813."[23]

By adding the word "more" in square brackets, Treadgold creates a semblance of logical transition between Theophanes' alleged admission of having received "materials" from George and his eager description of his own research (without a word about his use of the "materials"). In this way, Theophanes' perusal of sources becomes complementary to George's. Moreover, Treadgold also attributes to Theophanes the recognition that he copied every word in his *Chronicle* from somebody else. This point is repeated several times over, first in the conditional ("if Theophanes really did add nothing of his own to the *Chronography*," p. 40), then as a fact ("because Theophanes professed to have added nothing of his own to the chronicle," p. 49); it serves as a proof for attributing the whole last part of the *Chronicle* to George Syncellus (p. 44). And yet, it is based on utter misstatement of what the Preface actually says. The author's claim to have added nothing of his own relates to his perusal of "ancient historiographers and writers" (κατὰ τὸ δυνατὸν ἡμῖν ἀκριβῶς συνεγραψάμεθα, οὐδὲν ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν συντάξαντες, ἀλλ᾽ ἐκ τῶν ἀρχαίων ἱστοριογράφων τε καὶ λογογράφων ἀναλεξάμενοι ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις τόποις τετάχαμεν ἑκάστου χρόνου τὰς πράξεις). The author of the Preface presents himself as the one who

21. A. Kaldellis, Byzantine historical writing, 500-920, in *Oxford history of historical writing. 2. 400-1400*, S. Foot and Ch. F. Robinson volume eds., Oxford 2012, pp. 201–17, on p. 212.
22. Hoyland, *Seeing Islam*, p. 430.
23. Treadgold, *Middle Byzantine historians*, p. 39. In fact, Michael I abdicated on July 11, while khan Krum's return to Bulgaria, with which the *Chronicle* ends, probably belongs in the early fall.

composed (συνεγραψάμεθα) the historical narrative down to the reign of Michael I, giving his best effort to make it precise (κατὰ τὸ δυνατὸν ἡμῖν ἀκριβῶς). For the ancient period his sources, which he claims to have never retouched, would bear the blame for any errors, but this disclaimer cannot reasonably be extended to the events of the author's own time.

Even if we eliminate this misconception, however, the notion of "materials" remains problematic. The basic meaning of ἀφορμή or ἀφορμαί (singular and plural are often used indistinctly) is "starting point," "occasion," "opportunity," "pretext." The word is used seven more times in Theophanes, only in this meaning *(TLG)*.[24] In classical Greek the word acquires the derived meaning of "means" or "resources" *(LSJ)*, but I find no parallel for its use for designating anything as material and concrete as written notes for composing a chronicle.[25] In the passage discussed it should be understood in the same sense as in the rest of the *Chronicle*. By bequeathing to his friend the part of the book he had accomplished and by imploring him to take care of what he had not, George provided him with the occasion, opportunity, or incentive for "completing what was missing." This interpretation creates a logical link between the sentence discussed and the one that follows, in which the author, rather than explaining the use he made of George's "materials," ascribes the content of "his" chronicle entirely to his own research. Independently of any theory we might formulate regarding the Chronicler's debt to George Syncellus in the form of notes, books or other, it was clearly not his intention to acknowledge it. In other words, he who wants to deny Theophanes the authorship of his *Chronicle* should make no attempt to make him testify against himself.

In defending this interpretation of the Preface, I readily admit that it is not original. Ihor Ševčenko, who briefly addressed the issue in 1992, suggested that "we should believe what Theophanes' preface asserts." This would imply maintaining Theophanes' image as "an 'independent' researcher," just as he claims he was. As for the idiom ἀφορμὰς παρέσχε, it could be "referring to a general stimulus, or even a bequest of material assistance rather than to detailed drafts and notes put at Theophanes' disposal."[26] If Ševčenko's remarks, however reasonable they sound, found little echo, this was for a reason, just as there was a very strong reason for promoting the original scheme dispossessing Theophanes of his *Chronicle*. This was, paradoxically, the only way of saving the *Chronicle*'s attribution to Theophanes the Confessor: his name on the title page could only be kept by reducing his actual contribution to naught. Ševčenko did not explore this paradox that needs to be explained.

24. Theoph. AM 5826, p. 30: εὑρὼν δὲ ἀφορμὴν ("having found a pretext"); 6021, p. 179: ἀφορμὴν δὲ ἔλαβε περὶ τῶν χρυσωρυχίων ("he made the gold-mines… his pretext"); 6079, p. 260: φοβηθεὶς μὴ ἀφορμὴ τυραννίδος γένηται τοῦτο ("out of fear that this would provoke an uprising"); 6113, p. 304: ὅπως ἕκαστος ἐκ τῆς ἀκινδύνου σφαγῆς λαβὼν ἀφορμὰς ἀσφαλέστερος μένῃ ("so that each man might draw a lesson from that safe slaughter and remain more secure" [describing military training]); 6295, p. 480: ἀφορμῆς δραξάμενος ("seizing on an excuse"); 6301, p. 484: ἀφορμῆς δραξάμενος ("seizing this opportunity"); 6305, p. 503: ἀφορμῆς δραξάμενος ("grasping this opportunity"). English translation by MANGO – SCOTT.

25. MANGO, Who wrote the Chronicle, p. 10, n. 3, cites two examples from the *Chronicle* of George the Monk, but in both passages *aphormai* can better be interpreted as starting point or incentive.

26. I. ŠEVČENKO, The search for the past in Byzantium around the Year 800, *DOP* 46, 1992 (= *Homo Byzantinus : papers in Honor of Alexander Kazhdan*), pp. 279–93, on pp. 287–8; A. KAZHDAN, *A history of Byzantine literature (650–850)*, Athens 1999, pp. 216–7, also opposes with good arguments the interpretation of *aphormai* as materials.

2. The Confessor's visible defects as author

Cyril Mango lists in his study of 1979, and then in the introduction to the English translation of the *Chronicle*, several striking features in the biography of Theophanes the Confessor that would disqualify him as the *Chronicle*'s author. His solution consists in shifting the authorship to George Syncellus. Warren Treadgold elaborates on these comments and adds some of his own in a way so as to preserve for the Confessor some degree of participation in the *Chronicle*'s composition. I will examine Mango's observations, which I believe to be fatal for any notion of the Confessor's involvement, as well as the solutions proposed for keeping it, which I find unsatisfactory.

a. The entry for the AM 6303 is one of the few, in which the Chronicler intervenes in the first person, as a witness of the events. He describes the oppressive fiscal measures announced by Emperor Nicephorus "as he was departing from the Imperial City" to fight the Bulgars in May or early June 811: "he ordered the patrician Niketas, the logothete of the genikon, to raise the taxes of churches and monasteries and to exact eight years' arrears from the households of dignitaries." On this occasion, "one of his faithful servants, I mean the patrician Theodosios Salibaras, complained to him saying, 'Everyone is clamouring against us, O lord, and, in a time of temptation, will take pleasure in our downfall.' But he replied, 'If God has hardened my heart as He hardened Pharaoh's, what good can come to my subjects? Do not, O Theodosios, expect from Nikephoros anything other than what you see.' The Lord is my witness that I, the author, heard these very words from the mouth of Theodosios." We read in the same entry that "the patrician Theodosios Salibaras who had caused much sorrow and distress to the blessed [Empress] Irene" was among those killed by the Bulgars together with Emperor Nicephorus later in June.[27]

As pointed out by Cyril Mango, this episode reinforces the general impression that the lengthy description of the reigns of Nicephorus and his successors in the *Chronicle* is due to an author living in the capital. It is not inconceivable yet unlikely that Theophanes happened to be visiting Constantinople just as the army was leaving for the Bulgarian front.[28] I share this appreciation. My main reason for citing this episode, however, resides in the treatment it received from Warren Treadgold, who, for reasons exposed in the next chapter, brings the patrician Theodosius Salibaras to Theophanes' monastery of Megas Agros in Bithynia. Treadgold hypothesized "that Salibaras was sent by Nicephorus to collect the requisitions from the monastery where the chronicler was," and "after hearing the monks' protests, tried to defend himself by saying that he too had protested to the emperor."[29] This scenario is both intrinsically and extrinsically implausible. What sense would it make for a patrician to go in person to an obscure Bithynian monastery to collect taxes, and then publically tell compromising stories about his emperor to protesting monks? What is more, we are expressly told that the official in charge of collecting the

27. Theoph. AM 6303, pp. 489–91; Mango's translation in MANGO – SCOTT, pp. 672–3. For the idiom ζώσῃ φωνῇ, *viva voce*, in the key phrase of this testimony: ταῦτα, κύριος οἶδεν, αὐτὸς ἐγὼ ζώσῃ φωνῇ ὁ συγγραφόμενος ἀκήκοα παρὰ Θεοδοσίου (translated by Mango "from the mouth of" above), TREADGOLD, *Middle Byzantine historians*, p. 49, proposes the pleonastic rendering "from Theodosius from his lips while he was still alive," which is erroneous.

28. MANGO, Who wrote the Chronicle, p. 15; ID., in MANGO – SCOTT, pp. lix–lx.

29. TREADGOLD, *Middle Byzantine historians*, p. 49.

new tax was the patrician Niketas, *logothetes* of the *genikon*, and that Theodosius Salibaras confided in the chronicler about the emperor's harshness just as he was about to leave with the emperor for Bulgaria.

This artificial construction announces even more strained attempts to bend evidence in order to make it compatible with the biographical data of Theophanes the Confessor, George Syncellus, or both. The main point of my arguments is to eliminate such constrains.

b. Theophanes, the future confessor, lacked literary education. Having lost his father, a high-ranking navy officer, in his third year of age, he was, according to his *Life* by Methodius, educated by his mother; the biographer, citing Saint Paul, insists on him being raised in piety rather than with any formal schooling (μητρῴοις ἤθεσι καὶ παιδεύμασιν ἐκτρεφόμενος ἐν πάσῃ παιδείᾳ καὶ νουθεσίᾳ Κυρίου, καθὰ τῷ Παύλῳ παρήγγελται).[30] Methodius goes on to describe Theophanes' youthful predilection for sports. Theodore the Studite, an old-time friend of Theophanes, is, in his own way, even more explicit in speaking of the saint's great simplicity of heart and gift of knowledge despite him being stranger to the "insipid wisdom" (ἄπειρος ὢν τῆς μωρανθείσης σοφίας), by which idiom this author, following Saint Basil, designates the formal literary education; many of those believed to possess it (πολλοὺς τῶν γραμματίζειν καὶ φιλοσοφεῖν δοκούντων) Theophanes defeated through his inner wisdom.[31] Yet, how could these qualities assist Theophanes in perusing the intricate poems of George of Pisidia or the highly rhetorical prose of one Theophylact Simocatta?

In his monastic life, Theophanes exercised his duty of manual labor for the benefit of the monastery by copying books. According to Methodius, with much effort he became skilled at calligraphy even though he had trouble mastering accentuation and spelling.[32] Treadgold suggests optimistically that "after almost thirty years of copying manuscripts, he had learned enough about history and literature that he could appreciate what George was trying to do and could make and keep the promise to continue it."[33] This is, however, to forget that for Theophanes copying books was not an intellectual pastime but a chore for the purpose of filling his monastery's chest. In his career as scribe he must have copied countless Psalters and whatever liturgical books could find buyers in Bithynian monasteries and churches. The chances of him copying an Eusebius or Procopius even once were slim. Theophanes' practice as a provincial monastic scribe could not compensate for his lack of education; rather, the latter necessarily restricted the scope of orders that he could take for execution.

30. Methodius, *Vita Theophanis*, p. 4, § 5.

31. S. Efthymiadis, Le panégyrique de S. Théophane le Confesseur par S. Théodore Stoudite (*BHG* 1792b) : édition critique du texte intégral, *AnBoll* 111, 1993, pp. 259–90, see p. 274, § 8. In defending Theophanes' literary credentials, Kazhdan, *A history* (quoted n. 26), pp. 217–8, does not quote this passage but rather the opposite testimony of the *Anonymous life*, according to which Theophanes got the best education from his tender childhood, including a training in "external wisdom," ed. de Boor in Theoph., 2, p. 4.18–9; for the author of this mid-tenth-century text—on which see Yannopoulos, *Théophane de Sigriani* (quoted n. 3), pp. 45–9—Theophanes was necessarily a learned chronicler.

32. Methodius, *Vita Theophanis*, p. 16, § 22.

33. Treadgold, *Middle Byzantine historians*, p. 66, cf. p. 77 (describing Theophanes as "half-educated").

None of Theophanes' *Lives* mentions him as an author of a chronicle. Scholars explain this silence by the hagiographers' lack of interest for secular literary production; they do not perceive it as an argument against attributing to Theophanes the Confessor the *Chronicle* that bears his name. My point is though that the hagiographers draw a positive image of a man wholly incapable of such a task. Theophanes must have hidden his literary skills both from his friends, such as Theodore the Studite, and from his monks, Methodius' informants. As observed by Cyril Mango, "Theophanes is not portrayed as a scholar; and while the absence of any allusion to the composition of the Chronicle in both biographies is not altogether surprising, there is an undeniable discrepancy between the Saint's character and the attributes one would expect in the compiler of a massive work of historiography and computation."[34]

The notion of "materials," allegedly bequeathed by George Syncellus, strives to resolve this difficulty. Mango suggests that "Synkellos compiled a bulky dossier on the period from Diocletian to the Emperor Nikephoros (or even Michael I) and, shortly before his death, conveyed it to Theophanes for minor editing and publication." The *Chronicle* of Theophanes that we know is, essentially, this dossier: "a file (and a very poorly edited one at that) rather than a finished work."[35] The inability of Theophanes to improve on George's draft would not come as a surprise given his lack of literary skills. More surprisingly, in Mango's scenario, not only he did not (properly) edit the text—he did not publish it either. I remind the reader of the "absent-minded editor," whose intervention has been hypothesized as a way to explain the presence of the passage on the Council *in Trullo* (above). His intervention was made possible by the assumption that "Theophanes left nothing but a boxful of loose papers."[36] Publishing would have meant transcribing loose papers into a manuscript, and this is what, in the scheme discussed, Theophanes failed to do. Not only he deceived his deceased friend on all counts, he also claimed full credit in the Preface for what he, visibly, did not accomplish: composing "this history-book" (τόδε τὸ χρονογραφεῖον... συνεγραψάμεθα) that a reader could read from beginning to end—which was certainly not the case with a box of loose notes. I will argue below that the author of the *Chronicle*, most likely, did not work with such notes.

c. Both main hagiographers of Theophanes the Confessor agree that he suffered in his last years from a debilitating kidney disease. According to Theodore the Studite, early in 815, when Emperor Leo V's iconoslastic turn became a matter of public knowledge and the icon-worshipers around Patriarch Nicephorus made an attempt to organize resistance, Theophanes was unable to move from his bed. When summoned by the emperor to the capital late in the year, he was brought there in a litter.[37] Methodius, as is his habit, is more specific with dates. He indicates that Theophanes fell ill with kidney stones in his fiftieth year (809/10 according to the accepted chronology of his life) and since that time remained bedridden and immobile (κλινήρης τε καὶ ἀκίνητος) to the end of his days.[38]

34. Mango in Mango – Scott, p. li.

35. Mango, Who wrote the Chronicle, p. 12.

36. Mango – Scott, p. lxii.

37. Efthymiadis, Le panégyrique (quoted n. 31), pp. 279–80, §§ 12 and 14, with nn. 29 and 33 (pp. 288–9).

38. Methodius, *Vita Theophanis*, p. 27, §§ 43–4.

Warren Treadgold attributes the last part of the *Chronicle*, down to its ending in August–September 813, to George Syncellus, thus placing the transfer of the "materials" from George to Theophanes not before the end of 813.[39] By that time Theophanes was an invalid immobilized in his bed and suffering from constant pain. What would have been the point of Syncellus seeking him out in this state for a task requiring library work and high intellectual concentration? This question has less practical implications for Mango, in whose scenario Theophanes does not perform any real work, yet it is crucial in the scheme presented by Treadgold, whose vision of the "materials" inherited by Theophanes is less comprehensive than Mango's. He mentions them many times (pp. 39, 40, etc.), but seems to conceive them as historical works to peruse rather than as prefabricated yearly entries. The first among them is Theophanes' much debated Oriental source, which Treadgold imagines as a Syriac chronicle translated into Greek and updated by George Syncellus in person, as well as the "account of events in Constantinople from 781 to 813," composed by George as a sequel to his update of this chronicle (pp. 43 ff.). Elsewhere Treadgold speaks of the numerous "books that George owned" (p. 51, cf. p. 66), of "extensive notes" (p. 66), of chronological tables that George "apparently" prepared for Theophanes (p. 74). In his scheme, however, the laborious perusal of the sources bequeathed or indicated by George and their consolidation into a chronicle falls upon Theophanes. Intellectually, the future Confessor was not, as we have seen, prepared in the least for this challenge: this is why Treadgold argues that he must have acquired some bookish skills from his work as a copyist. But what about his physical shape?

Unlike Mango, Treadgold needs to have Theophanes in a good working condition for at least a year after the transfer of the "materials" at the turn of 813–4 (assuming that the *Chronicle* could be composed in a year). Thus, he observes that since "Theophanes makes no mention of his illness" in his Preface, which "probably dates from late 814 or early 815," his health condition could not be such as to prevent him "from doing the extensive research that he claims he did." Accordingly, Methodius' chronology is declared unreliable and "self-contradictory," since he "indicated that Theophanes became permanently bedridden with kidney disease in either 809/10 or 811/812."[40] This presentation is misleading, and it is important to understand its origin.

Methodius provides only one chronological indication for Theophanes' disease situating its outbreak in the saint's fiftieth year. He also gives two clear clues regarding Theophanes' birth year. Theophanes was in his 21st year, thus accomplishing his third "age" (of seven years), when Leo IV died (September 8, 780) and Irene came to power (chap. 19, p. 13). He was 53 years old, in the middle of his eighth "age" (that is, in his 54th year), on the accession of Leo V in July 813 (chap. 45, p. 28). These indications would be in agreement if Theophanes was born between mid-July and early September 759.[41] The start of Theophanes' seventh "age" is vaguely synchronized with the beginning of the reign of Nicephorus I (chap. 41, p. 26). Since this indication fits with

39. Treadgold, *Middle Byzantine historians*, pp. 43–6 and 66.
40. *Ibid.*, p. 64.
41. My calculation corrects P. Yannopoulos, Le lieu et la date de naissance de Théophane le Confesseur, *REB* 68, 2010, pp. 225–30, on p. 228; the author is right, however, to take the position for Theophanes' birth in 759 rather than 760, see pp. 228–30, cf. now Id., *Théophane de Sigriani* (quoted n. 3), pp. 76–8.

the other two—on Nicephorus' accession in October 802 Theophanes would have been 43 years old—Mango adds it to the list of clues provided by Methodius for the saint's birth year;[42] Treadgold leaves it out. At the end of the same passage describing the pious reigns of Nicephorus, his son Stauracius, and Michael I (τούτων γοῦν ἀναπληρούντων τὰς θεοχαρίτους ἡμέρας τῆς βασιλείας αὐτῶν), we read that Theophanes shone by his monastic exploits until the completion of his seventh "age" at the age of 49, and then, in his 50th year, he was struck by disease (p. 27). Mango (as above) considers this passage to indicate, in contradiction to those previously cited, that Theophanes "reached the age of 49 in the reign of Staurakios or in that of Michael I (811–3)." Treadgold (as above) uses this interpretation to dismiss as self-contradictory Methodius' chronology of Theophanes' life. Yet the root of the problem is not in the text but in the unhappy division, by the editor of the *Life* Vasilij V. Latyšev, of a single sequence into two chapters (41–2).[43] Theophanes' misfortune, noted against the peaceful background of three orthodox reigns, may be situated under Nicephorus just as well as under his successors. As to its date, it can be calculated according to the afore-cited indications of the saint's year of birth.

Following the conventions of the hagiographic genre, Methodius did not indicate Theophanes' date of birth (the saint's birthday being the day of his death), but he must have known it and used in his calculations. There is no indication that Methodius ever met Theophanes, but his information is so full and precise that we should be able to surmise its source. Stephanos Efthymiadis has sharply observed that the saintly predecessor of Abbot Stephen, mentioned in Theodore the Studite's *Ep.* 487, addressed to Stephen, was probably none other than Theophanes the Confessor: a friend of the Studite (they exchanged frequent letters), the deceased abbot is described by Theodore, not known for his modesty, as an unattainable role model. Efthymiadis further suggests identifying this Stephen with the homonymous sponsor of Theophanes' *Life* by Methodius.[44] Building on these observations we should be able to explain the emergence, in close sequence, of two *Lives* of Theophanes. Abbot Stephen, who was in close contact with Theodore the Studite (as *Ep.* 487 indicates), commissioned from him a Eulogy of Theophanes for the celebration of transfer of the saint's relics to the monastery he had founded around Easter 823.[45] Theodore executed the task, but the text he read scandalized the abbot. True to his vindictive character, Theodore chose to revive in public his personal crusade against the second marriage of Emperor Constantine VI, "the second Herod," and to castigate the newly celebrated saint for not having supported him nearly thirty years earlier. As pointed out by Panayotis Yannopoulos, "the most reverend abbot" who, according to Theodore's *Ep.* 443, took offence for his way of treating Saint Theophanes was the abbot of Megas Agros.[46] Using Theodore's Eulogy for the future liturgical celebration of Theophanes at

42. Mango in Mango – Scott, p. i.
43. This sequence is clearly marked by the repetition of the same phrase at the beginning (p. 26.6–7) and the end (p. 27.14–5). Its unity was recognized by the first editor, D. S. Spiridonov, who presented it as chapter XXIV (Spiridonov's division is indicated by Latyšev in Roman numerals).
44. Efthymiadis, Le panégyrique (quoted n. 31), pp. 264–5.
45. I will bring arguments for this date (rather that the generally accepted 822) in a forthcoming study.
46. Theodorus Studita, *Ep.* 443, ed. Fatouros (quoted n. 11), p. 625; cf. Yannopoulos, *Théophane de Sigriani* (quoted n. 3), p. 33. This point is not commented by Fatouros, who does not clearly identify the saint Theophanes in question (see the index, p. 868).

his monastery was out of question. Therefore, Abbot Stephen solicited a new *Life* of his predecessor, needed for reading at his feast, from a learned iconodule, Methodius. The execution of this order, probably placed as early as 823, was delayed by Methodius' exile, the same year (and not in 821) to the island of Saint Andrew—the delay and the harsh circumstances of the author at the time of writing are mentioned in the *prooimion*—but no doubt completed by the mid-820s. For this project to be accomplished, the abbot and the brethren had to supply Methodius with abundant biographical data of the monastery founder, which included a precise chronology of his life.

In the Alexandrian year of creation 6302 (March 25, 809 – March 24, 810), over a year (and up to two years) after he wrote the first pages of his *Chronography* (above), George Syncellus was still working on his manual, reaching the middle of the text that he lived to write.[47] Advancing at the same pace, he may have continued working for about a year and a half more, until fairly late in 811. By that time Theophanes, who fell ill in his fiftieth year (ca. August 808 – August 809), was suffering from renal calculus for at least two years. In Methodius' detailed account, he had an acute form of this chronic decease, with constant ejection of stones through the urethra.[48] He was possibly not yet bedridden as in the beginning of 815 (above), but necessarily exhausted by frequent pains. How then to explain that George Syncellus selected him in this condition for an ambitious historiographical project?

The explanations proposed epitomize the difficulty of associating Theophanes the Confessor with the chronicle that bears his name. Warren Treadgold, after his attempt to discredit Methodius' chronology, claims that Theodore the Studite, who refers to Theophanes' "chronic wasting away" (χρονίου μαρασμοῦ) to explain his inability to move in 815 (above), should be taken "to mean [by 'chronic'] 'unremitting' rather than 'of long standing'." Treadgold's argument is based on the observation that "in the preface to the *Chronography*, which cannot be earlier than 813 and probably dates from late 814 or early 815, Theophanes makes no mention of his illness" (cf. above). Theodore though speaks expressly, beforehand, of Theophanes' "long malady" (μακρᾶς ἀσθενείας), explaining how his hero, who practiced only moderate fasting (νηστείαν [illegible]) and grew portly (πληθωρικός) as befitting his good nature, ended his life thin like a skeleton.[49] Panayotis Yannopoulos evacuates the problem by claiming that "les sources hagiographiques exagèrent, comme d'habitude" in describing Theophanes' state of health.[50]

3. *The story of an unlikely friendship*

In the foggy story of collaboration between George Syncellus and Theophanes the Confessor, the most obscure yet crucial element is the origin of their relationship. George's *Chronography* attests to his travels in the Holy Land and to his stay in a monastery near

47. See for the date Georg. Sync., p. 244. The printed text of the *Chronography* makes up 478 pages of Mosshammer's edition.

48. Methodius, *Vita Theophanis*, p. 27, § 45 (lines 16–21).

49. Treadgold, *Middle Byzantine historians*, p. 68, esp. n. 105, with reference to ed. Efthymiadis, *Le panégyrique* (quoted n. 31), p. 264, § 12, [illegible] *ibid.*, p. 275, § 7.

50. Yannopoulos, *Théophane de Sigriani* (quoted n. 3), p. 146.

Jerusalem, probably pointing to his Oriental extraction.[51] Once in Constantinople, he rose to the high position as personal assistant *(synkellos)* of Patriarch Tarasius (December 25, 784 – February 25, 806). The Preface to the *Chronicle* describes George only as Tarasius' *synkellos*. There is no evidence indicating that a new patriarch would take over his predecessor's closest collaborators, so George must have lost his rank of *synkellos* as of spring 806. His new leisure was the probable reason why a year and a half or two later, between September 807 and March 808, he could embark on the actual composition of his *Chronography*,[52] a work that had necessarily required substantial preliminary research. Both in exercising his duties as *synkellos* and while doing his research, he must have sojourned in Constantinople, while Theophanes lived in Bithynia, only leaving his monastery to visit neighboring abbots.[53] In their background and social milieu George and Theophanes the Confessor had nothing in common. What could then bring them together and create a friendship so strong that George's dying words would have compelled Theophanes to mobilize all his energy and time for a long project that he professed to be above his forces?

Panayotis Yannopoulos offers a partial answer to this question, which he claims to have found in the very text ("le texte lui-même") of the Preface. Its author, Theophanes the Confessor, "signale que Georges le Syncelle est venu s'installer dans son monastère en apportant avec lui le matériel qui devait servir à la rédaction d'une chronique universelle; d'un âge avancé, il a demandé à Théophane de l'assister, ce que ce dernier à fait, bien que l'histoire ne soit pas son domaine de prédilection. Georges a ainsi terminé la première partie de sa chronique. Pressentant sa fin, il a forcé son collaborateur à poursuivre son œuvre."[54] The scholar does not explain why would the elderly retired *synkellos* drop in on Theophanes in his Bithynian retreat, like a bolt from the blue, with his books and archives. What is more, none of the crucial details cited by Yannopoulos can actually be found in the Preface. There is no question of a monastery, even less so of George Syncellus arriving at a monastery or bringing any materials, just as there is no question of anyone assisting George in the composition of his *Chronography*. In a straightforward reading, the Preface provides no clue as to the nature of the relations between its author and George Syncellus.

Warren Treadgold solves the problem by offering an unexpected scenario. First, he declares George to have been the *synkellos* not only of Tarasius but also of his successor Nicephorus. He does not explain why the author of the Preface chose to dissimulate this close association between George, whom he highly respects, and Nicephorus, venerated

51. On George's Oriental background, see Mango, Who wrote the Chronicle, pp. 13–4; Ševčenko, The search for the past (quoted n. 26), p. 289. His biography composed by Treadgold, *Middle Byzantine historians*, pp. 44–51, etc. (and in the present volume), is excessively hypothetical.

52. For this date, see n. 20 above. Ševčenko, The search for the past (quoted n. 26), p. 287, states emphatically, using italics, that "by that time he was only a *former* patriarchal synkellos."

53. See the references in Yannopoulos, *Théophane de Sigriani* (quoted n. 3), p. 138.

54. Yannopoulos, *Théophane de Sigriani* (quoted n. 3), p. 20, cf. p. 218: "L'auteur de cette *Préface* indique que, dans le monastère où il vivait, séjournait aussi le moine Georges, ancien secrétaire du patriarche Taraise." Cf. *ibid.*, p. 241, discovering in the Preface a clear avowal that a substantial part of the work on the *Chronicle* was performed by George Syncellus. I understand this position even less since Yannopoulos refuses to follow Mango in interpreting the *aphormai* as preparatory materials or notes.

in the *Chronicle*.[55] Then he suggests that George was the unnamed *synkellos*, who took part in the conspiracy of the patrician Arsaber, thwarted in February 808, and who was punished by Emperor Nicephorus.[56] The rebellious *synkellos* was presumably banished to a monastery, none other than Theophanes' Megas Agros. This relegation is conceived as a writers' retreat. George "seems to have been allowed to bring his personal library along with him into exile;" his friends "could send him additional books from the capital, which was not far off." "He and Theophanes evidently became intimate friends during George's three years of internment, when George was working on his chronicle. Theophanes, a friendly and hospitable man, evidently looked up to his erudite friend."[57]

The modalities of relegation to a monastery have been little studied, but I am not aware of cases of criminals being banished to *private* monasteries of recent foundation. As the legal status of Megas Agros was, basically, that of Theophanes' private estate, transforming it into a prison and its owner into a prison-guard would have been the most unlikely decision for an emperor to take. What is more, a neglected eyewitness testimony describes the actual conditions, in which the conspirators were imprisoned. Several years after having written the *Life of Theophanes*, in the early months of 832, his biographer Methodius produced another hagiography, the *Life of Euthymius of Sardis*, with whom he had shared for a short while imprisonment on the island of Saint Andrew.[58] Methodius provides a chilling description of his monastic prison with its monk-gaolers (ἅμα τοῖς δυσὶ μοναχοῖς φύλαξι, l. 389), but his cellmate—for whom the tiny dark cell in the monastery, described as a "grave," was initially constructed—was not a cleric. This man who had spent twenty-four years in prison by the time Methodius was writing (ll. 321-2), was incarcerated, according to the *Life of Methodius*, for a conspiracy (ἐπὶ τυραννίδι κατακέκλειστο).[59] Unless we wish to admit an unattested conspiracy against Emperor Nicephorus and if we allow Methodius a slight approximation (twenty-four years instead of twenty-three), his cellmate was one of the fellow-plotters of the patrician Arsaber. His situation, as described, was a far cry from the idyllic setup imagined by Treadgold for George Syncellus as an exile arriving at Megas Agros in a britzka full of books and claiming the best room in the abbey for his study. Fortunately for George, there is no reason to believe that he was ever involved in any conspiracy.

The imaginary scenarios devised by the two scholars are highly symptomatic. The close relations between George Syncellus and the Chronicler could have only developed in Constantinople, which is also the only place where each of them could accomplish his work. Despite some words of deferential praise, the Chronicler describes George as a "friend" (φίλος), thus treating him as an equal despite his senior ecclesiastical rank.

55. Treadgold, *Middle Byzantine historians*, p. 47, infers from "the fact that the *Chronography* gives especially strong approval to the patriarch Nicephorus," "that George retained his high office of synkellos after Tarasius' death," listing in n. 42 the reverential references to Nicephorus. The fact that the Preface presents George as *synkellos* of Tarasius only remains unexplained.

56. Theoph. AM 6300, pp. 483–4.

57. Treadgold, *Middle Byzantine historians*, see pp. 51 and 66 for the quotes.

58. Ed. J. Gouillard, La vie d'Euthyme de Sardes († 831), une œuvre du patriarche Méthode, *TM* 10, 1987, pp. 1–101. I refer in the text to the lines of this edition.

59. See *PG* 100, col. 1248C. A confused entry in *PMBZ* (Anonymous #11735) affirms, misreading the source, that Methodius' cellmate had spent twenty-four years in prison *before* Methodius' arrival (supposedly in 821) and concludes "daß dieser Anonymus vielleicht als fiktiv angesehen werden muß."

This would point to a well-positioned cleric within the patriarchal apparatus who had shared for years George's intellectual pursuits and had proven his capacities enough to be chosen as his continuator.

III. Theophanes the Chronicler

1. The title

In commenting on the *Chronicle*'s title, Warren Treadgold states that its "attribution to 'Theophanes, Sinner, Monk, and Abbot of Agros' is presumably by the author himself." He adds in a footnote: "The final words 'and Confessor' must of course be a later addition."[60] Where there perceptible grounds for the proposed decomposition of the title, the present article would not have seen the light of day. The title, which is the only link between Theophanes the Confessor and the *Chronicle*, carries the attribution Θεοφάνους ἁμαρτωλοῦ μοναχοῦ καὶ ἡγουμένου τοῦ Ἀγροῦ καὶ ὁμολογητοῦ Χρονογραφία (etc.), and all we can learn from it with certainty is that the title as it stands did not originate with the author. Neither Theophanes nor any other writer would have described himself as a confessor.

The combination of ἁμαρτωλός and ὁμολογητής forms such a conspicuous oxymoron that I would not hesitate to recognize the phrase ἁμαρτωλὸς μοναχός as part of the author's original self-presentation. It would seem to me unlikely, however, that a monk professing to be a humble sinner would state in the title his quality of abbot.[61] George the Monk entitles his *Chronicle* as Χρονικὸν σύντομον ἐκ διαφόρων χρονογράφων τε καὶ ἐξηγητῶν συλλεγὲν καὶ συντεθὲν ὑπὸ Γεωργίου ἁμαρτωλοῦ μοναχοῦ,[62] and this presentation neither implies nor rules out that George was the abbot of his monastery. The *Chronicle* of Theophanes was most probably presented in the same way.

Once we admit the retouching of the title by a later editor, the title's probative value for attributing the *Chronicle* to the abbot of Megas Agros declines sharply. We do not know how and where the *Chronicle* carrying the name of Theophanes had been preserved under the iconoclasts, but whoever put it in circulation soon after the Triumph of the Orthodoxy could have also been the one who attributed it, for whatever reason, to the Confessor. By the time Anastasius the Librarian came into possession of the *Chronicle* about a quarter of a century later, its author had been firmly identified as the abbot of Megas Agros. Unlike Cyril Mango, I would not consider Anastasius' testimony to this effect as additional independent evidence for this identity.[63] While Anastasius does not translate the title, his Latin text being in the early part an adaptation rather than a translation of the Greek, there is every chance that the Greek manuscript he used carried the very same title as the manuscripts available to us.

60. Treadgold, *Middle Byzantine historians*, p. 67, with n. 115.

61. Cf. Speck, Der "zweite" Theophanes (quoted n. 10), p. 456 (cf. p. 441), with some hesitation on the value to attribute to the mention of the abbot's title.

62. Georg. Mon., p. 6.

63. Mango in Mango – Scott, p. li, with n. 32.

2. The author's voice

Four times in the *Chronicle* the author speaks with his own voice, in the first person. We have examined his statements in the Preface claiming full authorship of the *Chronicle*. Three more personal interventions are inserted in the historical narrative. The most significant one involves the rude winter of 763/4 when the northern part of the Black Sea and of the Propontis froze between early October and February. Most of the *Chronicle*'s description finds a close correspondence in the *Short history* of Nicephorus that shares a common source with the *Chronicle* for most of the eighth century. Our author also evokes, however, his personal experience of climbing up onto an iceberg, holding animals frozen into the ice, and "play[ing] on it together with some thirty boys of the same age."[64]

All possible attributions have been proposed for this passage. Cyril Mango has pointed out that Theophanes' mother would have been unlikely to let her four-years-old son play on an iceberg. He has tentatively identified the boy as George (the future) Syncellus.[65] Yet, the only sure element in George's early biography is that he was a monk near Jerusalem (above), and it would be awkward to have him grow up in Constantinople, spend some years in the East and then return to the Byzantine capital. Thus, Warren Treadgold attributes the personal recollections to Patriarch Tarasius, his proposed author of the common source.[66] Without discussing this conjectural attribution, I would object that the parallel text in the *Short history* contains no trace of the *Chronicle*'s "personal" data; besides, this would be the only instance when the Chronicler, whether George or Theophanes, would let a different writer speak in the first person in his text. Panayotis Yannopoulos, who believes that Theophanes was five in the winter 763/4, defends the option, admitted implicitly by scholars before Mango, that the child playing on ice was Theophanes the future Confessor. But he does not exclude him being George either since, in his view, there is no evidence for the claim that George was ever a monk in Palestine.[67]

According to my calculation (above), Theophanes the Confessor had just turned four in the early October; in February he was four and a half years old. It would be absurd to imagine a flock of aristocratic toddlers climbing over an iceberg washed up against the shore of the Propontis; a child that age was most unlikely to keep a vivid image of the event and the idea that he could count his thirty playmates defies imagination. The experience described belongs to a boy growing up in Constantinople, about ten years older than Theophanes the Confessor.

Another instance of the Chronicler adding a personal note concerns the transfer of the relics of Saint Euphemia in 796, at which he remembers being present "in the company of the most pious emperors and Tarasios the most holy patriarch." This recollection is inserted, with no real reason (the abuse of churches by the Arabs makes the author muse on the mistreatment of relics by the iconoclasts), in the entry for AM 6258 (765/6).[68] It would appear that the Chronicler, when working on the events of mid-760s, was

64. Theoph. AM 6255, pp. 434–5; transl. Mango in MANGO – SCOTT, pp. 600–1; cf. Niceph., *Brev.* 74, pp. 144–9.
65. Mango in MANGO – SCOTT, p. lviii–lix.
66. TREADGOLD, *Middle Byzantine historians*, p. 22.
67. YANNOPOULOS, *Théophane de Sigriani* (quoted n. 3), pp. 81–2, 244–5.
68. Theoph. AM 6258, pp. 439–40; transl. Mango in MANGO – SCOTT, pp. 607–8.

somewhat relaxed and prone to autobiographical reflections. His last personal interference is the account of his encounter with the patrician Theodosius Salibaras and of the latter's testimony revealing the evil nature of Emperor Nicephorus (above).

The author of the Preface shows such a strong sense of authorship that an omission on his part to transform the first person in quoting testimonies of others would seem to me unlikely. And all the more so since his personal remarks build a coherent image of a high-ranking cleric born ca. 750 and raised in Constantinople, who participated together with the highest dignitaries in a ceremony in 796 and who enjoyed in 811 the full trust of the patrician Theodosius Salibaras. This could not be Theophanes the Confessor, born ten years later. This was Theophanes the Chronicler.

*
* *

My study, on the most basic level, is about labeling: whether the *Chronicle* should be inscribed with the name of Theophanes the Confessor or Theophanes *tout court*. This question is of little practical consequence for the casual users of the *Chronicle* who draw the evidence they need from this font of historical data. They will long keep the preference, I presume, for the euphonic Theophanes the Confessor over the abrupt Theophanes. The issue presents itself differently, however, for the students of the *Chronicle* as a specimen of historiographical craft, a monument of theological thought or a literary work (assuming that one can separate these aspects). On this level the question of attribution and authorship becomes essential.

Cyril Mango's objections to the effective authorship of Theophanes the Confessor provoked a rapid rebuttal from Igor S. Chichurov and Jacov N. Ljubarskij, who considered the problem from the angle of literary criticism.[69] Their polemics, greatly enhanced by Alexander Kazhdan, focused on Mango's view of the *Chronicle* as a "scissors and paste job." In analyzing the *Chronicle* as a work of a single author with his distinct patterns of thinking and style, Kazhdan resumes his case by declaring: "Theophanes was an historian."[70] Regardless of the way we define "Theophanes," there is truth in this statement. However, Mango's "literary" opponents did not properly address his arguments, which ἀφορμὰς παρέσχε for the present article.

Meanwhile, Warren Treadgold and Panayotis Yannopoulos have made independent attempts to apply Mango's scheme in practice and to propose a functional division of labor between the two "co-authors" of the *Chronicle*, George Syncellus and Theophanes the Confessor. While not sharing the same premises, they draw remarkably similar scenarios involving a prolonged stay by George in the monastery of Megas Agros in the role of the *maître*, with Theophanes as his eager apprentice. As I hope to have shown, both scenarios, in order to work, require assumptions that are not only arbitrary and unsupported by evidence but also stand in square contradiction to the actual data of our sources.

69. Among both authors' numerous publications, see esp. И. С. Чичуров, Феофан Исповедник — публикатор, редактор, автор?, *VV* 42, 1981, pp. 78–87; Я. Н. Любарский, Феофан Исповедник и источники его «Хронографии»: К вопросу о методах их освоения, *VV* 45, 1984, pp. 72–86.
70. KAZHDAN, *A history* (quoted n. 26), pp. 218 and 224. The description of Theophanes as "a scissors-and-paste compiler" is retained by ŠEVČENKO, The search for the past (quoted n. 26), p. 287.

This large-scale simulation of the "collaborative" scheme is useful, however, in revealing the problem embedded in the very notion of "materials," regardless of the way we translate the word *aphormai*. Where would the "materials" come from? On the eve of his death, George Syncellus was composing his *Chronography*, not just gathering notes for a future composition. There is a rough seam between his compendium and the *Chronicle* in the form of a large number of unfilled yearly entries at the beginning of the latter;[71] manifestly, George left no "materials" for the years that followed the period he lived to describe. This fact could find an explanation of a kind in Treadgold's suggestion that George Syncellus had worked on his own text until 811/12 and then "he took a bit more time [until the end of 813, C.Z.] to prepare the further 'materials' that he gave to Theophanes."[72] Should we assume that George, having anticipated his death more than a year ahead, dropped the ancient history and started preparing notes for his chosen successor? A modern scholar can visualize each entry in the *Chronicle* as an article in preparation. Leaving behind about five hundred or so such drafts, dealing with different periods and sources, would be no blessing and no help. Yet, I see no indication that George had ever prepared them and, what is more, I doubt that Theophanes worked much with notes. For each period described he rarely compiled more than two sources, which he probably paraphrased directly from open manuscripts after having marked the passages he wanted to use and thought out the way to dispose them.

If we give consideration to the Chronicler's statement in the Preface, he accomplished all the work invested in the *Chronicle*, research and composition combined, entirely on his own. This should not mean to say that his friend George Syncellus did not leave him books, bibliographic indications, or notes, on the period that he had initially planned on describing himself. But this clearly means that this Chronicler was not Theophanes the Confessor.

I will terminate this study by one last argument for separating the Confessor and the Chronicler: it concerns the former's personality. Unlike Theophanes the Confessor, a truly pleasant character according to Theodore the Studite who knew him well, the Chronicler was a misanthrope of the worst kind. He hated the iconoclasts,[73] but also the very orthodox emperor Nicephorus, his son and his ministers, Theodore the Studite and the Fathers of the Council *in Trullo*, and who not. As Konstantin N. Uspenskij has shown in his study of the *Chronicle*, printed many years after his death and unfortunately little read, the attitude of hate became the author's method of writing history (of the Iconoclast period).[74] This is one more reason, a positive one this time, to relieve Theophanes the Confessor of any link to the *Chronicle* posthumously attached to his name.

71. Treadgold, *Middle Byzantine historians*, p. 67.
72. *Ibid.*, p. 40.
73. Yannopoulos, *Théophane de Sigriani* (quoted n. 3), p. 61, observes that the *Chronicle* projects the image of an author who is an "iconophile fanatique," which does not fit Theophanes the Confessor; his solution consists in attributing this attitude to George Syncellus. Yet, as shown by Kazhdan, *A history* (quoted n. 26), pp. 206–7, George, in his own text, "seems to have been unenthusiastic about the debate concerning icon worship."
74. К. Н. Успенский, Очерки по истории иконоборческого движения в Византийской империи в VIII–IX вв. Феофан и его Хронография, *VV* 3, 1950, pp. 396-438, and 4, 1951, pp. 211–62.

FRAMING UNIVERSAL HISTORY: SYNCELLUS' CANON AND THEOPHANES' RUBRICS[1]

by Marek Jankowiak

The annalistic format of Theophanes' *Chronicle* accounts to a large extent for its influence on modern historiography, so concerned with chronological exactitude. Its convenient arrangement by annual entries sets it apart from other Byzantine chronicles and has earned it as much gratitude from contemporary historians, who often overconfidently rely on its chronology, as criticism from those disenchanted with its mistakes. Modern discussions tend, however, to concentrate on Theophanes' chronological blunders in isolation from each other rather than to investigate his method globally. Constrained by the rigorous structure that he imposed on his work, Theophanes was confronted with a problem faced by few of his fellow Byzantine historians: how to establish the precise yearly date of every single event. The first part of this paper proposes to retrace the approach that he adopted in order to create the chronological framework of the *Chronicle*, in particular to establish the correct number and the sequence of years. Its elaboration will be attributed to Theophanes' mentor, George Syncellus, author of a world chronicle reaching to AM 5776 (AD 283/4), the continuation of which Theophanes claimed to write. If accepted, this hypothesis reinforces the connection between Syncellus' *Chronography* and Theophanes' *Chronicle*.[2] I will then proceed to discuss the apparent, as I will argue, mistake that is thought to have marred Theophanes' chronology of much of the last two centuries of the *Chronicle*. Its study reveals interesting information on Theophanes' method and on his sources, especially on the much-discussed "Oriental source" frequently attributed to Theophilus of Edessa.[3] It also leads to a fuller appreciation

1. This study was written thanks to the Newton International Fellowship funded by the British Academy. Many thanks to Phil Booth for critical remarks; all mistakes are mine.
2. Argued, in this volume, by A. Kompa, J. Torgerson and W. Treadgold.
3. I accept this convenient label. See recently W. Brandes, Der frühe Islam in der byzantinische Historiographie : Anmerkungen zur Quellenproblematik der *Chronographia* des Theophanes, in *Jenseits der Grenzen : Beiträge und frühmittelalterlichen Geschichtsschreibung*, hrsg. von A. Goltz, H. Leppin und H. Schlange-Schöningen (Millennium Studien 25), Berlin – New York 2009, pp. 313–43; Howard-Johnston, *Witnesses*, pp. 192–236; Hoyland, *Theophilus*; M. Jankowiak, The first Arab siege of Constantinople, in *Constructing the seventh century*, ed. by C. Zuckerman (= *TM* 17), Paris 2013, pp. 237–320, at pp. 256–62; M. Conterno, *La "Descrizione dei tempi" all'alba dell'espansione islamica* :

Studies in Theophanes, ed. by M. Jankowiak & F. Montinaro (Travaux et mémoires 19), Paris 2015, pp. 53–72.

of the effort invested by Theophanes into the compilation of his *Chronicle* and to a better understanding of the ways in which its overambitious chronological scheme shapes our reconstructions of the Dark Centuries of Byzantium.

I. The rubrics and the construction of the canon

Modern editions and translations of the *Chronicle* are organized by *anni mundi* (AM), years of the world. Theophanes adopted the Alexandrian era that counted them from Creation on 25 March 5492 BC.[4] The *anni mundi* figure prominently on the margins of de Boor's edition and at the beginning of each annual entry in the English translation of Cyril Mango and Roger Scott; in the latter they are printed in bold font, conveniently recalculated into our chronological system (AD), and typographically differentiated from the notices on the chronology of kings and patriarchs.[5] Both the edition and the translation make it clear that most *anni mundi* do not belong to the original text—the former by placing them in the margins outside the main text, the latter by enclosing most of them in square brackets—but at the same time in both the *anni mundi* constitute the only consistent internal subdivision of the *Chronicle* and are as such the most convenient way of referring to its text.[6]

Although the pre-eminence of the *anni mundi* in the chronological scheme of Theophanes' *Chronicle* is generally accepted,[7] this misrepresents its appearance in most manuscripts.[8] Two types of headings (or "rubrics") precede the notices for individual years: the full and the abbreviated. The full headings consist of up to nine columns of text arranged, for example, as in the heading of AM 5968 (Table 1).[9] The columns provide the year of the world (AM), of the Incarnation (obtained by a simple subtraction of 5500 from the AM,[10] therefore 7-8 years in advance of our AD), the regnal years of the Roman and Persian rulers (later replaced by the Arab caliphs), and the years of the bishops of the five patriarchal sees (Rome, Constantinople, Jerusalem, Alexandria, Antioch), in an unusual order where Jerusalem is promoted to third place. This is sometimes taken as an indication of the hand of George Syncellus, who was a Palestinian monk before moving to

un'indagine sulla storiografia greca, siriaca e araba fra VII e VIII secolo (Millennium Studien 47), Berlin – Boston 2014; and M. Conterno, M. Debié and R. Hoyland in this volume.

4. V. Grumel, *Traité d'études byzantines. I, La chronologie*, Paris 1958, pp. 92–5.

5. See Mango – Scott, pp. xi–xii, for the explanation of their conventions.

6. Similar emphasis on the *annus mundi* also in H. Turtledove, *The Chronicle of Theophanes: anni mundi 6095–6305 (AD 602–813)*, Philadelphia 2006; less so in *Bilderstreit und Arabersturm in Byzanz: das 8. Jahrhundert (717–813) aus der Weltchronik des Theophanes*, übers. von L. Breyer, Graz 1957, where, however, the *anni mundi* are introduced to all the annual notices.

7. At least since V. Grumel, L'année du monde dans la *Chronographie* de Théophane, *Échos d'Orient* 33, 1934, pp. 396–408.

8. I have consulted the originals or microfilms of *Paris. gr.* 1710, *Wake gr.* 5, *Vatic. gr.* 155, and *Vatic. gr.* 154. My understanding of these manuscripts owes much to Filippo Ronconi and Jesse Torgerson; needless to say, all confusions are mine.

9. Theoph. AM 5968, p. 122.11–20.

10. In accordance with the dating of the Incarnation to AM 5501 in Georg. Sync., pp. 381–2.

κόσμου ἔτη εϡξη´	τῆς θείας σαρκώσεως ἔτη υξη´	Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς Ζήνων ἔτη ιζ´ β´	Περσῶν βασιλεὺς Περόζης ἔτη κδ´ κδ´	Ῥώμης ἐπ· Σιμπλίκιος ἔτη ιδ´ ζ´
year of the world 5968	year of the divine Incarnation 468	emperor of Romans Zeno, 17 years, 2nd year	king of Persians Peroz, 24 years, 24th year	bishop of Rome Simplicius, 14 years, 7th year

Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἐπ· Ἀκάκιος ἔτη ιζ´ ε´	Ἱεροσολύμων ἐπ· Ἰουβενάλιος ἔτη λη´ λη´	Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐπ· Τιμόθεος ὁ Ἐλοῦρος ἔτη β´ α´	Ἀντιοχείας ἐπ· Πέτρος ὁ Κναφεύς ἔτη γ´ β´
bishop of Constantinople Acacius, 17 years, 5th year	bishop of Jerusalem Juvenal, 38 years, 38th year	bishop of Alexandria Timothy the Cat, 2 years, 1st year	bishop of Antioch Peter the Fuller, 3 years, 2nd year

Table 1 – An example of a full heading (AM 5968).

Constantinople.[11] This type of heading is, however, less frequent in the manuscripts than the abbreviated format composed of simple series of figures, such as in the heading for AM 5812: ις´. ιη´. κ´. α´. ς´. ιδ´. ς´., which stands for the 16th year of Emperor Constantine, 18th year of the Persian king Sabores (Shapur II), and the 20th, 1st, 6th, 14th and 6th years of the respective patriarchs. In around 20 cases, the abbreviated headings include also the figures for the years of the world and of Incarnation.

In de Boor's edition—based on all the most significant manuscripts except for *Wake gr.* 5 (which is close to the edited text) and *Paris. gr.* 1710 (on which see below)—, 133 of the 529 annual entries are prefaced with the full headings, which corresponds on average to one year in four (25%), although this proportion sinks to one year in eight in the last century of the *Chronicle*. No obvious pattern governs the choice of years in which they appear: they are rarer in the first decades and especially in the last decades of the *Chronicle* than in its middle section; there is no obvious correlation with the first years of decades; and there is no fixed interval between their successive occurrences—they not infrequently appear in consecutive years (35 times), but can also be separated by as many as 21 years (between AM 6212 and 6233, and between AM 6283 and 6304). There are decades without a single full rubric, but conversely six years in the AM 6090s have them.

It is difficult to account for this irregularity. De Boor hesitated over whether to attribute it to the elimination of the *anni mundi* from an initially consistent scheme or to later erratic insertions.[12] Mango observed a frequent coincidence between the full rubrics

11. Mango in Mango – Scott, p. lxxv, although in the *Chronography* of Syncellus the order is different: the bishops of Jerusalem are listed in the last position, after those of Rome, Antioch (unusually promoted to the second place), and Alexandria.

12. Theoph. 2, p. 465. The earlier canons of Eusebius and Jacob of Edessa also sparingly used world eras, providing them usually only for the full decades, see E. W. Brooks, The chronological canon of James of Edessa, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft* 53, 1899, pp. 261–327, at p. 261 and n. 3.

and the accession of a Roman emperor—although there are several exceptions[13]—and such important events as the First Council of Nicaea. But he also noticed that the full rubrics recur at regular "intervals of about forty lines of text in de Boor's edition or multiples thereof," perhaps because the scribe of the archetype "sometimes started a page with a full rubric."[14] This is confirmed by the manuscripts, for instance *Wake gr.* 5, in which years with full rubrics form regularly spaced sequences, such as the one from AM 6029 (fol. 167ᵛ) to 6075 (fol. 184ᵛ), where they are separated by broadly a folio and a half, or by a double or triple of it. But there is no general rule, given that no such pattern can be detected in some other parts of the manuscript.

A similarly irregular use of the *anni mundi* can be observed in the work of Theophanes' predecessor, the *Chronography* of George Syncellus, especially in its second volume beginning with Pompey's sack of Jerusalem in 63 BC. The modern edition and translation are again misleading in that they overemphasize the years of the world (printed in separate lines in capital letters), which in the manuscripts of the *Chronography* are only one of the elements of prominent rubrics that mostly consist of the names of kings and bishops (see fig. 1).[15] The frequency of years that Syncellus chose to emphasise by the mention of the year of Creation is close, in the almost three centuries between the Incarnation and the end of the *Chronography*, to that in Theophanes' *Chronicle*, and their choice does not obey, again, any self-evident rules such as the first year of a new ruler or bishop. The format of the two works is thus more similar than modern editions and translations would have it, even if Theophanes converted the list format of Syncellus' rubrics into the more clear tabular headings described above.

The rubrics, both full and abbreviated, are, however, absent from the two earliest witnesses of the *Chronicle*: the oldest Greek manuscript *Paris. gr.* 1710, now dated by Filippo Ronconi to the mid-ninth century,[16] and the Latin translation executed by Anastasius the Librarian in the 870s. The *Parisinus* and Anastasius do not share the same format: in the former most annual entries are introduced by τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει or a similar formula (if the change in the year is at all marked), without reference to any chronological system,[17] while Anastasius consistently uses the regnal years of the emperors. But both Anastasius and the *Parisinus* occasionally begin their yearly notices with *anni mundi*. Their location coincides almost perfectly with the full rubrics of the later Greek tradition, especially in the *Parisinus*.[18] The omissions and additions by Anastasius are

13. Mango in MANGO – SCOTT, p. lxiv, lists as exceptions Arcadius, Heraclonas, Justinian II for the second time, Leo III, Irene for the second time, and Nicephorus, to which one should add Constantine IV and Leontius. Note that the exceptions concentrate in the last third of the *Chronicle*.

14. Mango in MANGO – SCOTT, pp. lxiii–lxiv.

15. Conventions: Georg. Sync., p. xxiv, and TUFFIN – ADLER, p. lxxxvii; Syncellus' headings: Ibid., p. lvii and n. 125; on the original two-volume edition of Syncellus' work, see TORGERSON in this volume.

16. F. RONCONI in this volume.

17. Only the names of the new emperors are printed at the top of the respective folios, see J. SIGNES CODOÑER in this volume.

18. Out of 153 full rubrics of de Boor's edition, 116 are replaced by *anni mundi* in *Paris. gr.* 1710 (and further seven correspond to the missing folios of the manuscript), and only one is added at AM 6209, where it corresponds to an abbreviated rubric with the years of the world and of Incarnation: *Paris. gr.* 1710, fol. 126ᵛ; Theoph. AM 6209, p. 391.4; Anast., p. 251.28, also has here an *annus mundi*.

Fig. 1 – Oxford, Christ Church College Library, *Wake gr.* 5, fol. 59ᵛ. An example of Syncellus' rubric. Note the indistinctive position of the *anni mundi* in lines 13, 20 and 29.

more frequent, but they conform to a pattern: the former belong to the first part of the *Chronicle*, significantly abbreviated in his translation, whereas the additional *anni mundi* concentrate in the last century and a half of the *Chronicle*, when Anastasius followed his model more closely.[19] This is when the full rubrics become rare in the main branch of the Greek manuscript tradition: Anastasius' translation suggests that they were eliminated from it at an early stage of the transmission.

The coincidence of the years with full rubrics in the later manuscripts with those with *anni mundi* in Anastasius and the *Paris. gr.* 1710 implies that the same annual entries were already marked in a distinctive way in the common archetype. This inference is supported by an error common to the entire tradition of Theophanes' *Chronicle*: the year of the world 6042 is mistakenly identified as AM 6046 in all the manuscripts, including *Paris. gr.* 1710, and in Anastasius.[20] But how were these special years originally singled out: by a simple *annus mundi*, or by a full rubric? In other words, are the full rubrics original to the *Chronicle*, or were they added later, for instance when the prestigious *Wake gr.* 5 and its poorer sibling *Vatic. gr.* 155 were produced around the year 900, perhaps at the behest of the empress Zoe Karbonopsina?[21]

The Alexandrian *anni mundi*, the main organisational principle of both the *Chronicle* of Theophanes and the *Chronography* of his mentor George Syncellus, were a learned concept of limited practical use. The real chronological backbone of the *Chronicle* is the regnal years of the Roman emperors, which were easier to correlate with the chronological systems used by Theophanes' sources.[22] It is these that allow us to understand how Theophanes (or Syncellus) built his chronological canon and to explain many of its apparent inconsistencies, in the first place the notorious missing year in the seventh century.

The importance of the regnal years is emphasised by Theophanes himself in his preface to the *Chronicle*:

> *For I, too, after seeking out to the best of my ability and examining many books, have written down accurately—as best I could—this chronicle from Diocletian down to the reign of Michael and his son Theophylaktos, namely the reigns*[23] *and the patriarchs and their deeds, together with their dates. […] In this manner the readers may be able to know in which year of each emperor what event took place, be it military or ecclesiastical or civic or popular or of any other kind.*[24]

19. Anastasius omitted 38 full rubrics and added 20 *anni mundi* at AM 6151, 6158, 6160*, 6164, 6166, 6190*, 6202*, 6209*, 6210*, 6216, 6219, 6222, 6234, 6235, 6238, 6239, 6242, 6246, 6259, 6296 (asterisked years correspond to the abbreviated rubrics with the years of the world and of the Incarnation). See Anast., p. 35.16–9 on the scope of his translation: *ex civilibus autem gestis quaedam summatim excerpsi, quamvis a Iustiniano principe ac deinceps pauca omiserim eorum, quae ab his chronographis relata sunt*. Indeed, only seven of the 38 omitted rubrics are later than the death of Justinian.

20. Theoph. AM 6042, p. 226.25; Anast., p. 144.5; *Paris. gr.* 1710, fol. 190v.

21. As argued by J. Signes Codoñer and F. Ronconi in this volume.

22. Thus also J. Signes Codoñer in this volume; *contra*: Grumel, L'année du monde (quoted n. 7).

23. Mango – Scott, p. 2, supply "[of the emperors]," but the regnal years of both the emperors and the caliphs are meant.

24. Theoph., Preface, p. 4.8–18; transl. Mango – Scott, p. 2.

The regnal years of the Roman emperors indeed stand in the first place in the abbreviated rubrics of the Greek manuscripts. They are more prominent in the Latin translation of Anastasius, where they introduce the notices for the individual years and form the main—and, for the major part of it, the only—system of reference. That this format was inherited from the original of the *Chronicle*, and does not result from Anastasius' simplification of his Greek *Vorlage*, is confirmed by the early Slavonic translation of the *Chronicle*, produced probably in the early tenth century.[25] Interestingly, it combines both formats, the rubrics and the annual entries beginning with the regnal year of an emperor. Although the Slavonic rubrics suffered much corruption, it is possible to recover their original shape. The full headings are preserved in a more or less fragmentary form for AM 5777, 5788, 5797, 5803, 5810 and 5815, that is for all the years of this section of the *Chronicle* in which the Greek manuscripts have them (in all these cases they are replaced by Anastasius and the *Paris. gr.* 1710 with the *anni mundi*). The entry for AM 5780 contains the only abbreviated rubric extant in the Slavonic text:

> *Vararanes, emperor of the Persians 1 year. 304. 11. 10. 6. 304. 15. In the fourth year, [Diocletian appointed] Maximianus Herculius as partner in his rule.*[26]

Correcting for several scribal errors—the intrusive τ (300) and the misreading of the tens and units—this mirrors the rubric as it appears in the Greek manuscripts and in de Boor's edition: Περσῶν βασιλεὺς Οὐαραράνης ἔτος α΄. δ΄. α΄. ι΄. ις΄. ιδ΄. ε΄. Τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει Διοκλητιανὸς Μαξιμιανὸν τὸν Ἑρκούλιον κοινωνὸν ἀνέδειξε τῆς αὐτοῦ βασιλείας τῷ τετάρτῳ αὐτοῦ χρόνῳ.[27] A trace of a similar arrangement survives in AM 5795, where the Slavonic rubric reads: "Sabores 9th emperor, 19 years,"[28] which is an inapt abbreviation of the Greek rubric Περσῶν βασιλεὺς θ΄ Σαβώρης ἔτη ο΄. ιθ΄. α΄. γ΄. ζ΄. θ΄. ς΄. ("Sabores, 9th emperor of Persians, 70 years. 19. 1. 3. 7. 9. 6."), where "19 years" refers to the years of Emperor Diocletian. The Slavonic translation also preserves a number of notices announcing a new ruler or patriarch, which in the Greek manuscripts precede the abbreviated rubrics. Finally, the annual notices are consistently introduced by the regnal years of Diocletian or Constantine.

Several conclusions can be drawn as to the Greek original of the Slavonic translation. In many respects it was similar to the manuscripts reflected in de Boor's edition: it contained the full rubrics for some years (the same as in the Greek tradition) and notes on the accession of new rulers and bishops at the beginning of the relevant years, probably followed by the abbreviated headings. But it differed from them in two significant respects: on the one hand, it omitted the years lacking any events and consisting only of the abbreviated rubrics, which are frequent in the first part of the *Chronicle*; on the other, it began each annual entry with the mention of the regnal year of the emperor, similarly to what we observe in the Latin text of Anastasius.

Such an arrangement—full rubrics in selected years, more or less systematically used abbreviated rubrics for the remaining annual entries, and regnal years at the beginning

25. See A.-M. Totomanova in this volume.

26. A.-M. Totomanova in this volume, p. 213.

27. Theoph. AM 5780, p. 6.16–9. The notice on the new Persian ruler and the digits of the canon appear in a single line in *Wake gr.* 5, fol. 62r and *Vatic. gr.* 155, fol. 65v.

28. A.-M. Totomanova in this volume, p. 218.

of every yearly notice—not only corresponds to Theophanes' insistence in his preface on making clear "in which year of each emperor what event took place," but also provides the common denominator for all the branches of the tradition of the *Chronicle*:

- the minimalistic format of the *Paris. gr.* 1710 resulted from the elimination of the full and abbreviated rubrics (the former being reduced to the *anni mundi*), and of the regnal years;
- Anastasius replaced most of the full rubrics with the *anni mundi* and summarized some of their chronological information—which is an additional proof that his Greek *Vorlage* had them[29]—, but kept the regnal years at the beginning of the notices;
- the later manuscripts removed the mentions of the regnal years,[30] while retaining the full rubrics and perhaps systematizing the use of the abbreviated ones;
- the Slavonic translation, although corrupt, preserves both the rubrics (both full and abbreviated) and the regnal years, and may thus be the closest to the hypothetical format of the original *Chronicle*.

That the rubrics were part of the original format of the *Chronicle* is in fact stated by Theophanes in his preface, where he attributes the compilation of the tables of rulers and bishops, that is of the chronological canon of his chronicle, to his mentor George Syncellus:

> *He made a very exact study of the dates, reconciled their divergences, corrected them, and set them together in a manner surpassing all his predecessors. He recorded the lives and dates of the ancient kings of every nation and, as far as he was able, accurately inserted, with their dates, the bishops of the great ecumenical sees, I mean those of Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, both those who had tended the Church in the right faith and those who, like robbers, had ruled in heresy.*[31]

George thus synchronised the lists of the rulers with those of the patriarchs of the five main sees of the imperial Church and provided them with an absolute chronology.

29. See e.g. Anast., pp. 86 (*per idem tempus et Athanasius Alexandrinus antistes habetur. vicesimo septimo subsequenti imperii eius anno Iulius papa Romanus agnoscitur, mundi anno VDCCCXXIII, divinae incarnationis anno CCCXXIII*: the first sentence refers to AM 5822, the first year of Athanasius in Theophanes' canon, and the second to AM 5823), 150 (*quarto imperii Iustini anno rursus Macarius Hierosolymis praefertur episcopus, et Alexandriae Iohannes habetur antistes*, cf. Theoph. AM 6061), 182 (*anno imperii Phocae septimo Sergius Constantinopolitanus, Zacharias Hierosolymitanus et Iohannes Alexandrinus habetur antistes*, cf. Theoph. AM 6101), 223 (*anno imperii Constantini sexto Constantinus habetur, qui Constantinopolitanae per duos annos ecclesiae fuit antistes*, cf. Theoph. AM 6166), and 224 (*anno imperii Constantini octavo Theodorus Constantinopolitanus habetur antistes, qui duobus annis ecclesiae praefuit*, cf. Theoph. AM 6168). In none of these cases the relevant information is contained in the text of the yearly notices, it must therefore have come from the rubrics.

30. There are some rare remnants: Theoph. AM 5780, p. 6.19, and AM 6033, p. 219.19. In none of these cases the extant Slavonic or Latin version suggests an unusual arrangement of the original. Together with Theophanes' words quoted above and the low probability that the Greek prototypes of the two translations were closely related (which is unlikely in the light of their incompatible formats and difficult to establish given the brevity of the Slavonic text), this makes less likely the alternative scenario that the regnal years were added in the translations, rather than removed from both branches of the Greek manuscript tradition. I am grateful to Federico Montinaro for discussing this matter with me.

31. Theoph., Preface, p. 3.15–23; transl. Mango – Scott, p. 1.

Theophanes gives two hints that George's canon extended beyond AM 5776 (AD 283/4), the ending date of the *Chronography*: it included the bishops of Constantinople, entirely absent from George's work but included in Theophanes' rubrics from AM 5810 on, and the bishops who "like robbers, had ruled in heresy" (τοὺς ἐν αἱρέσει λῃστρικῶς ἄρξαντας). The only such case in the period covered by George was Paul of Samosata, the 15[th] bishop of Antioch, who "renewed the heresy of Artemon." Heretical—Arian or miaphysite—bishops are more frequent in Theophanes' rubrics; in one case, the rubric uses the same word as the preface: "Timothy the Cat held Alexandria like a robber for 2 years" (Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐκράτησε λῃστρικῶς Τιμόθεος ὁ Ἐλοῦρος ἔτη β´).[32]

There are grounds to suspect that work on the canon was well under way in AD 803/4 (AM 6296), four years before Syncellus began the final redaction of the *Chronography*:[33] Pope Leo III of Rome (795–816) is initially given 8 years in the rubric of AM 6289 (AD 796/7), but his tenure is later extended to 16 years (AM 6304), and an additional seventeenth year is given to him in AM 6305, the last year of the *Chronicle*. These are updates, not mistakes;[34] the ascription to Leo of eight years, which must have been written in AM 6296, in conjunction with Theophanes' words in his preface and the unusual position of the patriarchs of Jerusalem, implies that the full chronological canon was produced by Syncellus several years before his terminal illness when Theophanes took over from him. Theophanes preserved Syncellus' canon as the skeleton of the *Chronicle*, even if he made several minor adjustments, such as modifying the sequential numbering of some bishops before eventually giving it up, and changing some lengths of tenures and spellings of names.[35]

According to Theophanes, George composed his canon in two stages: he first "recorded the lives and dates of the kings"—that is, he established the sequence of the regnal years of Roman emperors and synchronised it with the world era—and then "accurately inserted, with their dates, the bishops of the great ecumenical sees," that is he added the lists of the patriarchs to his canon. George was no doubt working from the lists of rulers and bishops similar to those included in the *Chronographikon syntomon* attributed to Patriarch Nicephorus, which provided him, however, only with the lengths of their tenures, usually rounded to full years, but not with absolute dates. These had to be established on the basis of calculations and occasional synchronisms suggested by the sources.

The rule of thumb was to count the years of an emperor from the year in which he ascended the throne. The problems inherent in determining which year this was are illustrated by the treatment of the reign of Julian. George's canon places his first year

32. Paul of Samosata: Georg. Sync., p. 465; Timothy the Cat: Theoph. AM 5951, p. 111.13.

33. He mentions AM 6300 (AD 807/8) as the "current year" in the first pages of his work: Georg. Sync., p. 6.12; see also Adler – Tuffin, p. 3 n. 3.

34. *Pace* Mango – Scott, pp. lxxii and 649 n. 1.

35. Theophanes corrected the ordinal number of Gaius of Rome from 28[th] (Georg. Sync., pp. 472.2 and 473.1) to 29[th] (Theoph. AM 5777, p. 6.10), probably in order to take into account Gaius' second predecessor, Pope Eutychianus, who is given no number by Syncellus (Georg. Sync., p. 472.1–2); but he mistakenly counted Hymenaius as the 28[th], rather than 38[th], bishop of Jerusalem, and gave him 24 years instead of 12 (Theoph. AM 5777, p. 6.10-2; Georg. Sync., pp. 472.6 and 473.4). Finally, the Persian king is called Ourarakes in Georg. Sync., p. 470.16, and Ouarrakhes in Theoph. AM 5777, p. 6.6.

in AM 5853 (AD 360/1), one year too early.[36] This mistake arose from the chronology of Julian's predecessor, Constantius II, whose twenty-four years of reign are correctly counted from AM 5829 (AD 336/7),[37] but end too early in AM 5852 (AD 359/60). Even if Syncellus was aware of the necessity of crediting Constantius II with at least another year,[38] he had little room for manoeuvre, as his sources mistakenly extended Julian's reign, which in reality spanned only a year and seven months (November 361 – June 363), to three years.[39] Julian's last year is consequently placed in AM 5855 (AD 362/3), even though this was the accession year of the next emperor Jovian and as such should have been counted under his name. If the above-mentioned rule of thumb was followed rigorously, Julian should have been credited with one year only, namely AM 5854.

Jacob of Edessa, who in the late seventh century brought up to date the canon of Eusebius of Caesarea (which extended to AD 324/5), arrived at yet another conclusion. In the preface to his work, he explains that his canon was based on "the precise explanation of the sequence of times of each reign separately;"[40] in other words, Jacob built his canon bottom-up, beginning with the determination of the number of years of each emperor. A handful of such detailed notes on the chronology of individual emperors survives in the damaged unique manuscript of the canon (*Brit. Libr. Add.* 14685), including those for Julian and Jovian:

> *[Julian] became emperor [on the 3rd day of Kanun I]. Before he became emperor, he [had been] Caesar for four years, and was killed, [at the age of 31,] on the 26th day of Tammuz in the consulate of himself for the fourth time and of Sallustius. The years of his reign are three, [and since] he became Caesar—[seven]. But [two] years will be reckoned for him.*
>
> *Jovian, after he had become emperor on the 27th day of Tammuz [one day] after the death of Julian and reigned for only 7 months, died on the 17th day of Shebat in the consulate of himself and his son the nobilis Varronianus. He was 39 years old. But in the sum of years one year is assigned to him.*[41]

The distinction between the actual length of their reigns and the number of years for inclusion in the canon demonstrates Jacob's awareness of the risk of accumulation of rounding errors. Although Jacob estimated Julian's reign at two years and seven months,[42]

36. There is no hint that Syncellus/Theophanes considered the acclamation of Julian as emperor in Gaul in February 360 as the beginning of his reign.

37. Constantius II reigned from 9 September 337, when he was proclaimed Augustus, to his death on 3 November 361, but it was logical to count his reign from the death of his father Constantine I on 22 May 337. In both cases his reign lasted for less than 24 years and a half and could be rounded down to 24 years. On 1 September as the starting date of Theophanes' calendar year see Mango's critique of GRUMEL, L'année du monde (quoted n. 7), in MANGO – SCOTT, p. lxvi.

38. As did Socr., II, 47, 6 who gives him 25 years of reign after Constantine's death.

39. Already Socr., III, 21, 18 and, following him, Theod. Lect. 149 (p. 61.21) placed Julian's death in the third year of his reign. Theoph. AM 5855, p. 53.2–4, speaks of two years and nine months.

40. Jacob of Edessa, *Chronicle*, interpretatus est E.-W. Brooks in *Chronica minora. 3* (CSCO 5–6), Paris 1907, pp. 197–258, at p. 201; abbreviated text in Mich. Syr., VII, 2, transl., I, pp. 254–5.

41. Jacob of Edessa, *Chronicle* (quoted n. 40), p. 212. The words in brackets were supplied by Brooks on the basis of Mich. Syr.

42. Judging from the dates quoted above and from Mich. Syr., VII, 5, transl., I, p. 282. See above on the inclusive year in the chronology of Julian's reign.

he shortened it to two years, no doubt in order to avoid a systematic error in his canon. Paradoxically, this discrepancy between the canons of Jacob and Syncellus resulted in their synchronisation: in both of them Julian's reign ends in a year equivalent to AD 362/3.

A stray note on the lengths of the reigns of Leo III and Constantine V extant in Theophanes' *Chronicle* shows that George Syncellus followed a similar procedure and first determined the dates of individual emperors. In the last year of Leo III, Theophanes inserted chronological comments that probably served to establish the canon he was using in his *Chronicle*:

> *It was the year 6248 from the creation of the world, that is from Adam according to the Romans, 6232 according to the Egyptians, that is the Alexandrians, 1063 from Philip according to the Macedonians. Leo reigned from 25 March of the 15th indiction until 18 June of the 9th indiction, a reign of 24 years, 2 months, 25 days. So also his son Constantine, who succeeded to his impiety and his kingdom, reigned from the same 18 June of the 9th indiction until 14 September of the 14th indiction. He reigned, by God's dispensation, 34 years, 3 months, 2 days.*[43]

Despite a shared methodology, Syncellus' canon, as preserved in the rubrics of Theophanes' *Chronicle*, differs from Jacob's in many points of detail: in particular, the first years of nine out of twenty-five emperors listed in both canons do not coincide.[44] It also differs from other contemporary lists of emperors, especially that included in the *Chronographikon syntomon* attributed to Patriarch Nicephorus, notwithstanding the fact that this work frequently precedes the *Chronicle* in the manuscripts.[45] Theophanes attributes, for instance, 32 years to Constantine I and 14 to Arcadius, while the *Chronographikon syntomon* gives 31 to the former and 13 years and 3 months to the latter; both lists also differ in their absolute chronology: the *Chronographikon syntomon* places the death of Constantine in AM 5836, eight years later than Theophanes.[46] It follows that the list in the *Chronographikon syntomon* is independent from the rubrics of Theophanes' *Chronicle*. These discrepancies suggest that the Byzantines had no standardised chronology of their rulers: each author of a canon had to compile it anew.

The other lists included in Syncellus' canon were synchronised with the world era less meticulously. Numerous ad-hoc adjustments show the difficulties faced by Syncellus in making the lists of patriarchs and foreign rulers conform to the few absolute dates that he could glean from his sources. He dated, for example, the patriarchate of Athanasius of Alexandria, to AM 5822–64 (AD 329/30–371/2) inclusive; but this left Athanasius with

43. Theoph. AM 6232, pp. 412.21–413.1. Traces of similar calculations are perhaps preserved in AM 5983, p. 136.16–22, and AM 6010, p. 164.11–6.

44. These are Constantine I (first year in AD 304/5 in Syncellus/Theophanes, and in AD 305/6 in Jacob), Constantius II (336/7, 337/8), Julian (360/1, 361/2), Arcadius (394/5, 395/6), Leo I (457/8, 456/7), Zeno (474/5, 475/6), Heraclius (609/10, 610/1), Constans II (641/2, 642/3), and Constantine IV (668/9, 669/70). I omit the two emperors absent from Jacob's canon i.e., Valens and Heraclonas. Jacob's canon begins with the 21st year of Constantine, which is placed in the first year of the 276th Olympiad, corresponding to AD 325/6.

45. See J. TORGERSON in this volume.

46. Niceph, *Chron.*, pp. 95.20–2, 97.19 and 96.11–2 (date of Constantine's death).

only 43 years, instead of the 46 years he is traditionally allotted.[47] Syncellus was able to solve this contradiction only by silently inserting three years in the middle of his tenure: the 30th year of Athanasius (AM 5848) follows immediately on his 26th year (AM 5847). This is again not a mistake, but an expedient intended to restore the correspondence between the list of the patriarchs of Alexandria and absolute chronology. Similar adjustments abound in the rubrics of the *Chronicle*: years are repeated, omitted or added, especially at the end of the tenures; empty years are left between successive patriarchs; the total length of a patriarchate is adjusted in its course.[48] The lists of bishops are more careless than that of the emperors, free from this type of (no doubt intentional) "mistake," but they were also secondary to Syncellus' purpose of establishing a coherent sequence of years.

Despite these shortcomings, Syncellus succeeded remarkably well in his endeavour. His calculations established the correct total number of years for the period between the earlier chronological works of Eusebius of Caesarea, Panodorus and Annianus, and his own times. No year has been omitted or added, although there are some inconsistencies in their attribution to the emperors. Most of the time, however, it mattered relatively little whether the first year of an emperor corresponded to the year of his accession or to the first full year of his reign. It required the special circumstances of the last two centuries of Theophanes' *Chronicle* for such an inconsistency to become significant.

2. Theophanes' chronology of the seventh century

It has long been noted that the chronology of the last section of Theophanes' *Chronicle* is distorted by a major chronological mistake that appears at some point in the early seventh century. On the face of it, the mistake consists in a discrepancy between the *anni mundi* and the indictional dates provided by Theophanes (Table 2).

Indiction	AD corresponding to the indiction	AM	Regnal year
4	600/1	6093	Maurice 19
5	601/2	6094	Maurice 20
6	602/3	6095	Phocas 1
7	603/4	6096	Phocas 2

47. Athanasius' death (2 May 373) is correctly placed by Theophanes in AM 5865 (AD 372/3), which is therefore the first year of his successor. Athanasius is given 46 years already by Soz., VI, 19 (whence Theod. Lect. 183); see also Niceph., *Chron.*, p. 128.2; Mich. Syr., VII, 7, transl., I, p. 298.

48. Repeated years: AM 5866 (1st year of Artaxer of Persia and 4th year of Demophilus of Constantinople), AM 5879 (7th year of Timothy of Alexandria, but this may be a scribal error as Timothy is given a total of 8 years), AM 5988 (1st year of Martyrius of Jerusalem), AM 5998 (3rd year of Sallustius of Jerusalem). Omitted last years: AM 5798 (Zabdas of Jerusalem), AM 5847 (Cyril of Jerusalem), AM 5890 (Anastasius of Rome), AM 6045 (Menas of Constantinople). Omitted middle year: AM 6114 (34th year of Chosroes). Additional years at the end of a tenure: AM 5789 (Tyrannos of Antioch), AM 5851 (Macedonius of Constantinople), AM 5886 (Vararanes of Persia), AM 6135 (Cyrus of Alexandria). Empty years between two bishops: AM 5796 (Antioch), AM 5910 (Jerusalem), AM 5981 (Antioch). Adjusted length of a patriarchate: AM 5942 and 5945 (Maximus of Antioch changed from 3 to 9 years), AM 5990, 5992 and 5993 (Anastasius of Rome given first 2 years, then 9 years, before being allotted 4 years).

Indiction	AD corresponding to the indiction	AM	Regnal year
14	610/1	6102 (should be: 6103)	Heraclius 1
15	611/2	6103 (should be: 6104)	Heraclius 2
1	612/3	6104 (should be: 6105)	Heraclius 3
5	616/7 (in fact 631/2)	6108 (should be: 6109)	Heraclius 7
10	621/2	6113 (should be: 6114)	Heraclius 12
11	622/3	6114 (should be: 6115)	Heraclius 13
15	626/7 (refers to Oct 627[49])	6118 (should be: 6119)	Heraclius 17
4[50]	630/1	6122 (should be: 6123)	Heraclius 21
14	640/1	6132 (should be: 6133)	Heraclius 31
15	641/2	6133 (should be: 6134)	Heraclonas 1
2	658/9	6150 (should be: 6151)	Constans II 17 (should be: Constans II 18)
1	672/3 (refers to Jun 680)	6171 (Jun 680 corresponds to AM 6172)	Constantine IV 11 (Jun 680 corresponds to Constantine IV 12)
13	714/5	6207	Artemius 2 (probably correct)
1	717/8 (refers to Sep 717)	6209 (corresponds to AD 716/7)[51]	Leo III 1 (corresponds to AD 716/7)
3	719/20	6212	Leo III 4
9	725/6	6218	Leo III 10

Table 2 – *Anni mundi*, indictions and regnal years in the section of the *Chronicle* on the seventh century.[52]

Various explanations for this discrepancy have been suggested.[53] J. B. Bury thought of a reform of the indictional system introduced by Leo III, which however does not account for the similar mistake in the seventh century, nor for the re-establishment of the correct chronology towards the end of the eighth century. G. Ostrogorsky refuted this and several even more complicated interpretations and demonstrated that it is the indictions, not the *anni mundi*, that give the correct dates of the events, but he offered no comprehensive explanation. V. Grumel thought that Theophanes could not err in such

49. Indictional year started on 1 September.

50. Theophanes mentions also an event dated to indiction 5, but he explicitly establishes the equivalence between indiction 4 and AM 6122, see p. 335.1.

51. Grumel, L'année du monde (quoted n. 7), p. 406 n. 3, plausibly suggests that the events of indiction 1 (AD 717/8) were included in the previous year to maintain the coherence of the account of the second siege of Constantinople, in which case there would be no chronological mistake in this year.

52. For a fuller table with all the precise dates given by Theophanes for the seventh and eighth centuries, see Grumel, L'année du monde (quoted n. 7), pp. 405–8.

53. J. B. Bury, *A history of the later Roman Empire : from Arcadius to Irene (395 AD to 800 AD)*, London 1889, II, pp. 425–7; E. W. Brooks, The chronology of Theophanes 607–775, *BZ* 8, 1899, pp. 82–97; G. Ostrogorsky, Die Chronologie des Theophanes im 7. und 8. Jahrhundert, *Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher* 7, 1928/9, pp. 1–56; Grumel, L'année du monde (quoted n. 7); Id., *Traité* (quoted n. 4), pp. 95–6; Mango in Mango – Scott, pp. lxvi–lxxi.

a fundamental matter as correlating the *anni mundi* with the indictions, and suggested that most of the apparent discrepancies can be explained by the fact that Theophanes counted his years from 25 March, rather than 1 September, and that for this reason he was compelled to distribute, more or less successfully, the events of a single indictional year between the two *anni mundi* to which it corresponds. This complex theory found little support, mainly because there is no reason to doubt that Theophanes' years were beginning on 1 September. Finally, C. Mango proposed recently that Theophanes "quite simply [...] went astray" when he "assigned eight indictions to Phokas but only seven regnal years." He concludes that "once the discrepancy is seen to be due to muddle it no longer requires a comprehensive explanation."

It has not yet been noted, however, that Theophanes' chronology of the seventh century contains in reality two mistakes, not one. The commentators have so far concentrated on the discrepancy between the indictions and the *anni mundi*, systematic from the beginning of the reign of Heraclius at least into the reign of Constantine IV. It is noteworthy, however, that the indictions are correctly synchronised with the regnal years of Heraclius and of his ephemeral successor Heraclonas. This correspondence breaks down in the reigns of Constans II and Constantine IV: the earthquake of June indiction 2 (AD 659), for instance, is placed by Theophanes in AM 6150 and in the 17th year of Constans II, which both correspond to AD 657/8 (as Constans II's reign began in AD 641/2). Judging from the other natural events that can be independently dated, the discrepancy between their dates and both the *anni mundi* and the regnal years extends from the first years of Constans II (the solar eclipse of 5 November 644 is noted in his third regnal year and in AM 6136, both of which are equivalent to AD 643/4) until late in the reign of Constantine IV (the earthquake of Easter Sunday 679 is placed in the his tenth year and in AM 6170, that is in AD 677/8, one year too early in terms of both the regnal year and the year of Creation).[54]

The first of Theophanes' mistakes thus consists in the erroneous synchronisation of the regnal years of Heraclius with the *anni mundi*: Theophanes placed the first year of his reign one year too early, in AM 6102 (AD 609/10). The events described in the annual entry for this year—among others, Heraclius occupation of Constantinople in October 610 and the birth of his daughter Epiphania-Eudocia in July 611—are thus placed in the wrong *annus mundi*, but they are correctly dated to the first regnal year of Heraclius (AD 610/1). As a result of this slip, the last eighth year of Phocas' reign (AD 609/10) is absent from the *Chronicle*—even though Phocas is consistently given an eight-year reign by other sources—and the events that can be dated to it are scattered between three years, AM 6099-6101.[55]

54. The eclipse of 644 is mentioned also by Agapius, p. 479 (11th year of 'Umar, equivalent to the 3rd year of Constans II), and Mich. Syr., XI, 8, transl., II, p. 432 (year not given). Its date: D. J. Schove, *Chronology of eclipses and comets, AD 1–1000*, Woodbridge 1984, pp. 123–4. For the earthquake of 679, see Jankowiak, The first Arab siege (quoted n. 3), p. 259 n. 94.

55. Length of Phocas' reign: Niceph., *Chron.*, p. 99; Jacob of Edessa, *Chronicle* (quoted n. 40), p. 246. Events recorded in the 8th year of Phocas (AD 609/10) by Mich. Syr., X, 25, transl., II, pp. 378–9, are placed by Theophanes in AM 6099 (the crossing of the Euphrates by the Persians and their conquest of Syria, Palestine and Phoenicia), AM 6100 (the Persian conquest of Armenia, Cappadocia, Galatia and Paphlagonia, dissensions among the Romans), and AM 6101 (a severe cold).

The second mistake resulted from an attempt, conscious or not, to correct the first one. In addition to 31 years of Heraclius, Theophanes' canon assigns a full year to his son and successor Heraclonas (AM 6133 = AD 640/1). Given that the reigns of Heraclius and his sons spanned almost exactly 31 years (October 610 – September? 641), this amounts to intercalating a year, which compensates for the omitted eighth year of Phocas. The agreement between the *anni mundi* and the regnal years is thus restored: the first year of Constans II is correctly equated with AM 6134 (AD 641/2). But, confusingly, Theophanes still places the events described in each annual entry one year early, as results from the indictions (see Table 2) and other events that can be independently dated, such as eclipses or earthquakes.[56]

Why, then, despite a correction to his chronological scheme, does Theophanes consistently insert the events one year too early? The answer must be that he was using an annalistic source organised by regnal years, the chronology of which, however, was shifted by one year in respect of the correct absolute chronology. In other words, Theophanes' source probably placed the first year of Constans II one year too late, in a year equivalent to AD 642/3, a mistake perhaps due to the confusingly rapid turnover of the emperors in the year 641. Theophanes logically copied the events of this year into his entry dated to the first year of Constans II. The discrepancy arose from the fact that this year corresponded in his canon to the year AD 641/2.

This source can only be the famous "Oriental source" of Theophanes, for which I accept the tentative attribution to Theophilus of Edessa. Its format has been much debated. Dionysius classifies Theophilus among the authors of "narratives resembling ecclesiastical history," whom he criticises for "setting forth their accounts in a compartmentalised and discontinuous fashion, without paying strict heed to chronological accuracy or the order of succession of events."[57] On the basis of this critique and of frequent chronological discrepancies between his dependants, Theophilus is usually thought to be an unlikely candidate to have provided Theophanes with a consistent chronological sequence of events.[58] But this is to dismiss the sophisticated synchronisms shared by Theophilus' three Syriac and Arabic dependants: Agapius, Michael the Syrian, and the *Chronicle of 1234*. It is noteworthy that these are frequently placed at the same points of their narratives,[59] in a way not dissimilar to how the "dependants" of Theophanes (*Paris. gr.* 1710, Anastasius, the Slavonic translation, and the later Greek manuscript tradition) mark in different ways the

56. See above, note 54.

57. Mich. Syr., X, 20, transl., II, p. 358; transl. Hoyland, *Theophilus*, pp. 5 and 22.

58. E.g. Hoyland, *Theophilus*, p. 19: "it is evident from the frequency with which Dionysius or Agapius either begin a notice with 'at this time' or else disagree with each other on dating that Theophilus' work was not annalistic and was indeed rather sparing with dates."

59. See for instance the notices corresponding to AG *(anno Graecorum)* 933 (Agapius, p. 456; Mich. Syr., XI, 2, transl., II, p. 403; *Chron. 1234*, p. 178), 936 (Agapius, p. 458; Mich. Syr., XI, 3, transl., II, p. 408; *Chron. 1234*, p. 181), 946 (Agapius, p. 469; Mich. Syr., XI, 5, transl., II, p. 417; no synchronism in *Chron. 1234*, pp. 191–2), 952 (Agapius, p. 478; Mich. Syr., XI, 7, transl., II, p. 426; *Chron. 1234*, p. 203), 966 (Agapius, p. 483; Mich. Syr., XI, 11, transl., II, p. 445; *Chron. 1234*, p. 214), 976 (no synchronism in Agapius, see R. Hoyland in this volume, p. 363; Mich. Syr., XI, 12, transl., II, p. 451; *Chron. 1234*, p. 220), 980 (no synchronism in Agapius, p. 490; Mich. Syr., XI, 12, transl., II, p. 450; *Chron. 1234*, p. 223), and 981 (Agapius, p. 491; Mich. Syr., XI, 13, transl., II, p. 454; *Chron. 1234*, p. 224).

original full rubrics. One could go as far as to wonder if the peculiar format of Syncellus' and Theophanes' works was not inspired by that of Theophilus of Edessa. Furthermore, the frequently emphasised chronological contradictions between Theophilus' dependants are to a large extent explicable. Each of them reworked the original chronological scheme, which was originally no doubt based on the regnal years of Roman emperors and Arab caliphs, and supplemented it with equivalences with other systems of time reckoning, such as the Macedonian and Hijri eras. Inevitably, many errors appeared in the process,[60] and they were later compounded by scribal mistakes. Recalculation of solar years into the Hijri lunar calendar was fraught with special difficulties, of which at least Agapius was well aware.[61] But most discrepancies disappear once the dates are recalculated into the regnal years of the emperors or the caliphs, which suggests a shared chronological backbone for all the dependants.

The existence of such a common chronological framework underlying the chronicles of Agapius, Michael the Syrian and that of 1234 is demonstrated by their chronology of the reigns of Constans II and Constantine IV. In all of them the former's regnal years are counted from AG 954 and the ninth year of 'Umar—both dates equivalent to AD 642/3—, and they all give him 27 years of rule, consequently placing the first year of Constantine IV in AG 981 and the tenth year of Caliph Mu'awiya, that is in a year equivalent to AD 669/70 (see Table 3).[62] As we have seen, this erroneous chronology—both emperors in reality ascended the throne one year earlier—corresponds exactly to that of Theophanes' source that induced him into his notorious chronological mistake. In the Syriac and Arabic sources it resulted from attributing Heraclius—whose first year they correctly placed in AD 610/1—and his sons one year too much, in total 32 years.[63] Theophanes (or Syncellus) must have been confused by this chronology, but instead of removing one year from the reign of Heraclius and his sons, he suppressed the last year of Phocas (which the other sources retained) and shifted the entire chronology of the Heraclian dynasty one year earlier. This implies that Theophanes started to use the "Oriental source" at some point during the reign of Heraclius, probably around AM 6122 (AD 629/30), when the first longer notice traceable to it, the biography of Muhammad, is placed; it is preceded by a lengthy digression on the monothelete controversy that

60. Agapius, for instance, seems to have shifted the years of Heraclius by one year starting in AG 935: AG 922 = Heraclius 1; AG 935 (for 925) = Heraclius 4; AG 931 = Heraclius 10, but AG 933 = Heraclius 11, and AG 940 = Heraclius 18.

61. His solution consisted in inserting an additional lunar year every 32 solar years: Agapius, p. 483.

62. First year of Constans II: Agapius, p. 478 (AG 954 = AH 21 = 'Umar 9); Mich. Syr., XI, 7, transl., II, p. 426 (same synchronism); *Chron. 1234*, p. 203 (same synchronism). 27 years of Constans' reign: Agapius, p. 478; Mich. Syr., XI, 12, transl., II, p. 450; *Chron. 1234*, p. 223. First year of Constantine IV: Agapius, p. 491 (AG 981 = AH 50, which corresponds to Mu'awiya 10); Mich. Syr., XI, 13, transl., II, p. 454 (AG 981 = AH 55 = Mu'awiya 10); *Chron. 1234*, p. 224 (AG 981 = AH 49 = Mu'awiya 10). The Hijri dates are as a rule inconsistent in the chronicles of Michael the Syrian and of 1234.

63. Agapius, p. 478; Mich. Syr., II, pp. 535-6; *Chron. 1234*, p. 203; see also Jacob of Edessa, *Chronicle* (quoted n. 40), p. 249. All these sources assigned eight years to Phocas and accordingly placed the first year of Heraclius in AG 922 (AD 610/1): Agapius, p. 448; Mich. Syr., X, 25, transl., II, p. 378; *Chron. 1234*, p. 177; see also Jacob of Edessa, *Chronicle* (quoted n. 40), p. 248. I am not sure why A. PALMER, *The seventh century in the West-Syrian chronicles* (Translated texts for historians 15), Liverpool 1993, pp. 255-6, argues that "Dionysius made Heraclius' reign begin one year too late."

forms a transition between the section of the *Chronicle* based on Byzantine sources and the next century or so founded primarily on the "Oriental source."

Both Theophanes and the other dependants of Theophilus of Edessa removed the discrepancy at the accession of Justinian II in 685. This results from the correct placing by all of them of the solar eclipse of Sunday 5 October 693 in the 9th year of his reign (AM 6186 = AD 693/4).[64] In Theophanes' *Chronicle* this is the first event to be demonstrably placed in the right *annus mundi* since the reign of Phocas. The presence of the notice on this eclipse in three of four dependants of Theophilus of Edessa shows that it originated in the "Oriental source," but it is possible to trace its source even further: it also appears in the early eleventh-century chronological work of Elias of Nisibis, which, as far as is known, is independent from the tradition of Theophilus of Edessa, but relied extensively on the chronicle of Jacob of Edessa.[65] The chronological work of Jacob of Edessa—who was an eye-witness of the eclipse of 693—was no doubt the original source of this notice, which in turn implies that it was used also by the "Oriental source."[66]

The correct correspondence between the regnal years of the Roman emperors and the absolute chronology was restored by Theophilus of Edessa by a simple device: he removed a year from the reign of Constantine IV (see Table 3). Although his reign extended over 17 years—from the assassination of his father on 15 July 668 to his own death probably on 10 July 685[67]—, the dependants of Theophilus unanimously give him 16 years of rule.[68] The suppression of this year passed unnoticed, as Theophilus had no information on the last years of Constantine IV's reign when his attention was captured by the second *fitna* in the Caliphate. As for Theophanes, he wisely retained the seventeenth year of Constantine IV and thus re-established the correct absolute dates of the events, that, as we have seen, he had so far been placing one year too early. It is impossible to judge whether he did this consciously; it is, however, noteworthy that he filled this additional year (AM 6177), for which the "Oriental source" was of no use, with chronological divagations on the date of the Quinisext council and on the succession of

64. Theoph. AM 6186, p. 367.8–9; Agapius in HOYLAND, *Theophilus*, pp. 189 and 322 (10th year of 'Abd al-Malik, equivalent to AG 1005, and therefore to the 9th year of Justinian II who started to reign in AG 997); Mich. Syr., XI, 16, transl., II, p. 474 (AG 1005 = AH 75, equivalent to the 9th year of Justinian II, see the chronological table at p. 537); no such notice in *Chron. 1234*. The rectification of Theophanes' chronological error *c.* 685 has been noted by W. TREADGOLD, Seven Byzantine revolutions and the chronology of Theophanes, *GRBS* 31, 1990, pp. 203–27, at pp. 203–8; the correct date of the eclipse among others by ROCHOW, *Byzanz im 8. Jh.*, p. 53. Date of the eclipse: SCHOVE, *Chronology of eclipses and comets* (quoted n. 54), pp. 132-3.

65. *La Chronographie d'Élie bar-Šinaya, métropolitain de Nisibe*, trad. par L. Delaporte, Paris 1910, pp. 94–5 (Elias hesitated between AH 74 and 75). On the attribution of this notice to Jacob of Edessa, see Jacob of Edessa, *Chronicle* (quoted n. 40), p. 257 n. 9.

66. See Jacob of Edessa, *Chronicle* (quoted n. 40), pp. 256–7 for other notices attributed by Elias of Nisibis to Jacob of Edessa: of the five entries later than the death of Phocas, three appear in the *Chronicle* of Theophanes (apart from the eclipse of 693, a sign in the sky in AM 6167, and the beginning of the reign of Apsimarus in AM 6191) and another in the other dependants of Theophilus of Edessa (the plague in Syria in AH 19).

67. For the chronology of Constantine IV's reign, see JANKOWIAK, The first Arab siege (quoted n. 3), pp. 256 n. 76 and 305–9.

68. Agapius, p. 491; Mich. Syr., II, pp. 536–7; *Chron. 1234*, p. 227. They accordingly place the accession of Justinian II in a year equivalent to AG 997 (AD 685/6).

the patriarchs of Constantinople, which hints at his perplexity in regard to the chronology of this period.[69]

AM	AD	Syncellus/Theophanes	Jacob of Edessa
6101	608/9	Phocas 7	Phocas 7
6102	609/10	Heraclius 1	Phocas 8
6103	610/1	Heraclius 2	Heraclius 1
...	...	...	...
6132	639/40	Heraclius 31	Heraclius 30
6133	640/1	Heraclonas 1	Heraclius 31
6134	641/2	Constans II 1	Heraclonas 1
6135	642/3	Constans II 2	Constans II 1
...	...	...	...
6160	667/8	Constans II 27	Constans II 26
6161	668/9	Constantine IV 1	Constans II 27
6162	669/70	Constantine IV 2	Constantine IV 1
...	...	...	...
6177	684/5	Constantine IV 17	Constantine IV 16
6178	685/6	Justinian II 1	Justinian II 1

Table 3 – The regnal years of the seventh-century emperors in the canons of Syncellus/Theophanes and Jacob of Edessa.

The discrepancy between the rubrics of Theophanes' *Chronicle* and the content of his annual entries for the reigns of Heraclius, Constans II, and Constantine IV is thus due to his use of the "Oriental source," and can be ultimately explained by the divergence between the canons underlying the two works. As we have seen, Theophanes used the canon compiled by George Syncellus; as for Theophilus of Edessa, the canon upon which his work was founded was none other than that of Jacob of Edessa. This is demonstrated not only by the synchronisms shared by Michael the Syrian, who used Jacob's canon directly, with the other dependants of Theophilus of Edessa who do not seem to have had a direct access to it, but also by the idiosyncratic chronology of the emperors, especially Constans II and Constantine IV. It is significant that shared synchronisms disappear from the three Oriental sources in the course of the late seventh century,[70] which corresponds

69. This supports the view that the notice of AM 6177 is not a scholion, but was written by the author of Theophanes' *Chronicle*, as argued by C. Zuckerman in this volume.

70. They are almost absent from the newly published section of the chronicle of Agapius covering the years 685–705, see Hoyland, *Theophilus*, pp. 320–3.

to the end of the canon of Jacob of Edessa which reached to AG 1021 (AD 709/10).[71] Given that, according to a laudatory note by Michael the Syrian, Jacob's canon was the only available continuation of the canon of Eusebius of Caesarea,[72] it is unsurprising that the chronology of the "Oriental source" was based on it. This would also explain why the chronology of the first half of the eighth century in Theophilus' dependants is difficult to synchronise: the section of the "Oriental source" that extended beyond Jacob's canon appears to have been based on a looser chronology of Roman rulers, which perhaps explains Dionysius' criticism of the chronological mistakes of Theophilus of Edessa quoted above.

Let us recapitulate the conclusions that can be drawn from Theophanes' mistake. Firstly, it was not a simple slip: his miscalculation of the regnal years of the seventh-century emperors results from his attempt to integrate the erroneous chronology of the "Oriental source" into his work. Secondly, the work of Theophilus of Edessa appears to have been based on Jacob's computations;[73] it is therefore likely that it had a consistent annalistic structure organised by the regnal years of the Roman emperors. The synchronisms shared in selected years by Agapius, Michael the Syrian and the *Chronicle of 1234* suggest perhaps that its format was close to that of Theophanes' *Chronicle*. Taken together with the consistent chronological mistake in the reigns of Constans II and Constantine IV, this implies, thirdly, that Theophanes was using a single "Oriental source," rather than a constellation of Syriac chronicles that he was synchronising himself. Fourthly and finally, Theophanes turned to this source for the second part of the reign of Heraclius, which forced him to push the beginning of his reign one year back and led to another chronological mistake.

A similar mechanism misled Theophanes also in the eighth century.[74] Although he correctly placed the first years of Leo III and Constantine V in AM 6209 (AD 716/7) and AM 6233 (AD 740/1), the "Oriental source" was again one year late.[75] Notices copied from the "Oriental source" are therefore inserted one year early starting with the beginning of Leo III's reign, which is confirmed by the placement of the death of Caliph Sulayman (8 October 717) under AM 6209. The discrepancy in the notices concerning Arab affairs seems to be removed at the latest in AM 6252 (20th year of Constantine V = AD 759/60), to which two events—the confusion over the date of Easter and the solar

71. W. Witakowski, The Chronicle of Jacob of Edessa, in *Jacob of Edessa and the Syriac culture of his day*, ed. by R. B. ter Haar Romeny, Leiden 2008, pp. 25–47, at p. 39. Sources give two dates for the end of Jacob's canon, AG 1003 (AD 691/2) and AG 1021 (AD 709/10), but Witakowski argues that the former refers to another work by Jacob.

72. Mich. Syr., XI, 17, transl., II, pp. 482–3.

73. There is no trace either in Theophanes' *Chronicle* or in Syncellus' *Chronography* of a direct awareness of Jacob's canon.

74. See the chronological tables in Grumel, L'année du monde (quoted n. 7), pp. 406–7, and in Rochow, *Byzanz im 8. Jh.*, pp. 328–37.

75. Probably as a result of the confused chronology of Leo III's predecessors. Theophanes gave two years to Philippicus and Artemius each and one year to Theodosius III, while Michael the Syrian's chronological tables have two years for Philippicus, three years for Artemius, and one year for Theodosius III, see Mich. Syr., II, pp. 537–8. The chronology of Agapius and of the *Chronicle of 1234* is very confused. On the dates of the ephemeral predecessors of Leo III, see G. V. Sumner, Philippicus, Anastasius and Theodosius, *GRBS* 17, 1976, pp. 287–94.

eclipse of 15 August 760—are correctly assigned.[76] But the chronology of the last years of the "Oriental source" is uncertain and awaits a closer study. Theophanes probably adjusted the chronology of the other source that he was using for the reigns of Leo III and Constantine V, an iconophile pamphlet that appears to have dated the events mainly by indictions,[77] to match this chronological scheme. He corrected his error only when he attributed an additional 35th year to Constantine V in AM 6267 (AD 774/5), thus restoring the correspondence between the indictions and the *anni mundi* and regnal years.

Conclusion

In the absence of a system of absolute chronology that would be shared by late antique and early Byzantine historians, the task of synchronising their works into a coherent world chronicle was a demanding one. On the face of it, judging by the number of chronological slips in the *Chronicle*, Theophanes did not stand up to it. But it would be mistaken to adjudicate on the quality of his work by its exactitude in terms of absolute chronology. Entrusted by his "close friend" (γνήσιος φίλος) George Syncellus with the "starting point" (ἀφορμαί) for his work[78]—which this paper proposes to identify as the chronological canon upon which the *Chronicle* is founded—, Theophanes invested significant effort in harmonising the two dozen sources he had access to into a consistent whole.[79] The most difficult task consisted in reconciling George's canon with the works that were based on their own rigorous, but not necessarily correct, chronological calculations. The hypothesis that the "Oriental source" was such a source, and that it used the canon established by Jacob of Edessa around the year 700, allows to account for Theophanes' confused chronology of the seventh century. His absolute dates are wrong by a year, but—contrary to the *communis opinio*—this mistake does not testify to his inadequate skills. Quite the contrary: Theophanes' real achievement was to have avoided major chronological discrepancies that would have invalidated his chronological framework. Syncellus had a lucky hand in the choice of his continuator.

76. As noticed by Bury, *A history of the later Roman Empire* (quoted n. 53), p. 426, and Rochow, *Byzanz im 8. Jh.*, pp. 53–4, where she also argues that notices copied by Theophanes from the "Oriental source" have in fact correct absolute dates for the period between AM 6219 (AD 726/7) and AM 6230 (AD 737/8). Her argument is, however, based on correspondences with the work of Elias of Nisibis, not with the other dependants of Theophilus of Edessa who appear to share Theophanes' dates.
77. On which see D. Afinogenov in this volume.
78. See, on this term, C. Zuckerman in this volume.
79. See Mango – Scott, pp. lxxiv–xci for an overview of Theophanes' sources.

IN SEARCH OF SYNCELLUS' AND THEOPHANES' OWN WORDS: THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE *CHRONOGRAPHIA* REVISITED[1]

by Andrzej Kompa

A distinctive trait of the *Chronographia* of Theophanes is the unique bond with the *Ekloge chronographias* of George Syncellus. Taken together, the two works form the grandest and the most comprehensive universal chronography in Byzantium, but the nature of this connection is as opaque as the ties between the two authors, with Theophanes adamantly admitting in his preface to doing nothing but continue George's work, that ended with Diocletian, with recourse to the enigmatic ἀφορμαί (below) provided to him by George himself. Beyond the topoi, this raises the problem of the authorship of the *Chronographia*. Theophanes' role and the very relevance of the term "authorship" in connection with the *Chronographia* have been discussed for a few decades and there is no real consensus[2]. One tendency consists in minimising or denying the contribution of Theophanes, to the point of considering the author of the *Chronographia* to be distinct from the Confessor known from several hagiographic *vitae*. The other consists in the wholesale acceptance of the authorship of Theophanes.

1. This is an abridged version of my Gnesioi filoi : the search for George Syncellus' and Theophanes the Confessor's own words, and the authorship of their oeuvre, *Studia Ceranea* 5, 2015 (forthcoming).
2. Mango, Who wrote the Chronicle; И. С. Чичуров, Феофан Исповедник, публикатор, редактор, автор?, *VV* 42, 1981, pp. 78–87; P. Speck, *Das geteilte Dossier : Beobachtungen zu den Nachrichten über die Regierung des Kaisers Herakleios und seiner Söhne bei Theophanes und Nikephoros* (Ποικίλα βυζαντινά 9), Bonn 1988, pp. 499–519; Rochow, *Byzanz im 8. Jh.*, pp. 40 f.; P. Speck, Der "zweite" Theophanes : eine These zur *Chronographie* des Theophanes, in *Varia. 5* (Ποικίλα βυζαντινά 13), Bonn 1994, pp. 431–83; I. Ševčenko, The search for the past in Byzantium around the year 800, *DOP* 46, 1992, pp. 279–293, at pp. 287 ff.; Mango – Scott, pp. xliii–lxiii, esp. liii–lxiii; *Thesaurus Theophanis Confessoris : Chronographia*, cur. B. Coulie, P. Yannopoulos (Corpus Christianorum. Thesaurus Patrum Graecorum), Turnhout 1998, pp. xxvii–lxi; A. Kazhdan, *A history of Byzantine literature (650–850)*, Athens 1999, pp. 215–24; P. Yannopoulos, Les vicissitudes historiques de la *Chronique* de Théophane, *Byz.* 70, 2000, pp. 527–53, at pp. 527–31; L. Brubaker and J. Haldon, *Byzantium in the Iconoclast era (ca 680–850). The sources : an annotated survey* (Birmingham Byzantine and Ottoman monographs 7), Aldershot 2001, pp. 168 f.; A. Καρπόζηλος, *Βυζαντινοί ιστορικοί και χρονογράφοι. 2*, Αθήνα 2002, pp. 117–53; P. Yannopoulos, "Comme le dit Georges le Syncelle ou, je pense, Théophane", *Byz.* 74, 2004, pp. 139–46; Howard-Johnston, *Witnesses*, pp. 272 f.

Studies in Theophanes, ed. by M. Jankowiak & F. Montinaro (Travaux et mémoires 19), Paris 2015, pp. 73–92.

A purely biographical approach to this problem seems insufficient. On the contrary, juxtaposing and comparing the texts of George and Theophanes, namely their style, content, and narrative techniques, may open a promising avenue of research. Now, such comparison is methodologically sound only insofar as it is conducted on authorial comments: passages borrowed from earlier sources should be excluded.[3] The idiosyncratic style of George Syncellus is easily identifiable in his chronicle, in particular in his polemical remarks on the chronological works of his predecessors. His linguistic habits and his own additions to the sources can, therefore, be quite straightforwardly defined.[4] But how to find the true words of Theophanes, very much a "scissors and paste" historian?[5] Cross-references, such as "as I have already mentioned," "as has been said," "as will be related in the proper place," "as we have already demonstrated," or similar may prove a rewarding means of comparison.

Forms of πρόφημι as an indicator of the authorship of the *Chronographia*

I will first concentrate on the following set of expressions: ὡς προέφην, καθὼς καὶ προέφην, ὡς προέφημεν, and καθὼς προέφημεν. As is illustrated by the table below, these expressions occur all in all eleven times in the *Chronographia*. The first two instances can be found in the proemium and at the very beginning of the work, the last one in its final part, the remaining eight cases being evenly distributed in between.

3. On Theophanes' sources, see: N. Pigulevskaja, Theophanes' *Chronographia* and the Syrian chronicles, *JÖBG* 16, 1967, pp. 55–60; И. С. Чичуров, Феофан, компилятор Феофилакта Симокатты, *ADSV* 10, 1973, pp. 203–6; A. S. Proudfoot, The sources of Theophanes for the Heraclian dynasty, *Byz.* 44/2, 1974, pp. 367–439; И. С. Чичуров, Феофан Исповедник, компилятор Прокопия, *VV* 37, 1976, pp. 62–73; H. Hunger, *Die Hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner* (Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft 12/5), München 1978, vol. 1, p. 337; J. Ferber, Theophanes' account of the reign of Heraclius, in *Byzantine papers : proceedings of the first Australian Byzantine studies conference, Canberra, 17-19 May 1978*, ed. by E. and M. Jeffreys and A. Moffatt (Byzantina Australiensia 1), Canberra 1981, pp. 32–42; M. Whitby, The great chronographer and Theophanes, *BMGS* 8, 1982–3, pp. 1–20; I. Rochow, Malalas bei Theophanes, *Klio* 65, 1983, pp. 459–74, at pp. 472 f.; M. Whitby, Theophanes' Chronicle source for the reigns of Justin II, Tiberius and Maurice (AD 565–602), *Byz.* 53, 1983, pp. 312–45, at pp. 314 ff. and 319–37; Я. Н. Любарский, Феофан Исповедник и источники его «Хронографии». (К вопросу о методах их освоения), *VV* 45, 1984, p. 72–86; Rochow, *Byzanz im 8. Jh.*, pp. 44–51; D. Olster, Syriac sources, Greek sources, and Theophanes lost year, *Byz. Forsch.* 19, 1993, pp. 218–28; Ja. N. Ljubarskij, Concerning the literary technique of Theophanes the Confessor, *BSl* 61, 1995, pp. 317–322; R. Scott, Writing the Reign of Justinian : Malalas versus Theophanes, in *The sixth century : end or beginning* (Byzantina Australiensia 10), ed. by P. Allen and E. Jeffreys, Brisbane 1996, pp. 21–34; Mango – Scott, pp. lxxiv–xcv, part. xci–xcv; R. Scott, From propaganda to history to literature : the Byzantine stories of Theodosius' apple and Marcian's eagles, in *History as literature in Byzantium : papers from the fortieth Spring Symposium of Byzantine studies, University of Birmingham, April 2007*, ed. by R. Macrides (Publications of the Society for the promotion of Byzantine studies 15), Farnham 2010, p. 122–7; Howard-Johnston, *Witnesses*, pp. 272–313.

4. See, in general, Ševčenko, The search for the past (quoted n. 2), pp. 281, 287, 293; Kazhdan, *A history* (quoted n. 2), pp. 206 ff., 218. Occasional problems arise because of George's ambivalent attitude towards his Alexandrian sources: see Adler – Tuffin, pp. lx and lxxvii ff.

5. C. Mango, The availability of books in the Byzantine Empire, AD 750–850, in *Byzantine books and bookmen*, ed. by C. Mango and I. Ševčenko, Washington DC 1975, pp. 29–45, at p. 36.

Theoph.	Anast.	Sources and parallels
praef., p. 3.23–4.2 ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ τέλος τοῦ βίου τοῦτον κατέλαβε καὶ εἰς πέρας ἀγαγεῖν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ σκοπὸν οὐκ ἴσχυσεν, ἀλλά, **καθὼς προέφημεν**, μέχρι Διοκλητιανοῦ συγγραψάμενος τὸν τῇδε βίον κατέλιπε καὶ πρὸς κύριον ἐξεδήμησεν ἐν ὀρθοδόξῳ πίστει, ἡμῖν, ὡς γνησίοις φίλοις, τήν τε βίβλον ἣν συνέταξε καταλέλοιπε καὶ ἀφορμὰς παρέσχε τὰ ἐλλείποντα ἀναπληρῶσαι.	Preface not translated	–
AM 5796, p. 11.19–22 τούτων οὖν ἐκ μέσου γενομένων, καὶ τοῦ χριστιανόφρονος Κωνσταντίου τελευτήσαντος, τὴν βασιλείαν, **ὡς προέφην**, κατέσχον Κωνσταντῖνος Σεβαστὸς καὶ Μαξιμιανὸς ὁ Γαλλέριος.	p. 78.26–8 *Hic ergo de medio factis et quae christianitatis sunt sententie Constantio defuncto, imperium,* ***ut praedixi****, optinuere Constantinus Augustus et Maximianus Galerius.*	–
AM 5942, p. 102.13–8 Τοῦ δὲ στόλου, **ὡς προέφημεν**, ἐν Σικελίᾳ ἐκδεχομένου τὴν τῶν πρεσβευτῶν Γιζερίχου ἄφιξιν καὶ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως κέλευσιν, ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ Ἀττίλας, ὁ Μουνδίου παῖς, Σκύθης, γενόμενος ἀνδρεῖος καὶ ὑπερήφανος, ἀποβαλὼν Βδελλάν, τὸν πρεσβύτερον ἀδελφόν, καὶ μόνος ἄρχων τὸ τῶν Σκυθῶν βασίλειον, οὓς καὶ Οὔννους καλοῦσιν, κατατρέχει τὴν Θρᾴκην.	p. 107.24–8, remote translation *interea Attilas Scytha, vir fortis atque superbus, deposito Bdella seniori fratre solus Scytharum, quos et Hunnos vocant, principatus regno per Thracem discurrit et omnem civitatem et castra in servitutem redegit praeter Hadrianopolim et Heracliam, quae quondam Perinthus vocabatur.*	–
AM 5943, p. 105.1–4 καὶ οὕτως ἀβλαβὴς ἀπολυθεὶς ὁ Μαρκιανὸς ἦλθεν εἰς τὸ Βυζάντιον. χρόνου δὲ ὀλίγου διελθόντος, καὶ Θεοδοσίου τελευτήσαντος, βασιλεὺς ἀνεδείχθη, **ὡς προέφημεν**. ἐγένετο δὲ χρηστὸς περὶ πάντας τοὺς ὑπηκόους.	Theoph., pp. 103.30–105.13 not translated	Proc., *BV* I, 4.10–1

Theoph.	Anast.	Sources and parallels
AM 5963, p. 117.11–4 ὕποπτος γάρ, **ὡς προέφην**, γενόμενος τῷ βασιλεῖ ὁ Ἄσπαρ καὶ πολλὴν περικείμενος δύναμιν δόλῳ παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως φονεύεται μετὰ βραχὺ σὺν τοῖς αὐτοῦ παισίν, Ἀρδαβουρίῳ καὶ Πατρικίῳ, ὃν καίσαρα ὁ βασιλεὺς πεποίηκε πρότερον, ἵνα τὴν Ἄσπαρος εὔνοιαν ἔχῃ.	AM 5950–64 not translated (cf. p. 112)	–
AM 6026, p. 192.3–8 ὁ δὲ Γελίμερ τὸν ἀνεψιὸν Κιβαμοῦνδον ἐκέλευσεν ἅμα δισχιλίων κατὰ τὸ εὐώνυμον μέρος ἰέναι, ὅπως Ἀματᾶς μὲν ἐκ Καρχηδόνος, Γελίμερ δὲ ὄπισθεν, Κιβαμοῦνδος δὲ ἐκ τῶν ἀριστερᾷ χωρίων εἰς ταὐτὸ τὴν κύκλωσιν τῶν πολεμίων ποιήσωνται. Βελισάριος δὲ τὸν μὲν Ἰωάννην, **ὡς προέφην**, προάγειν ἐκέλευσεν, Μασσαγέτας δὲ ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τῆς στρατιᾶς ἰέναι.	Theoph., pp. 191.7–193.25 not translated	Proc., *BV* I. 18.1–3 Ἐν δὲ δὴ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ταύτῃ Γελίμερ τὸν ἀνεψιὸν Γιβαμοῦνδον ἐκέλευεν ἅμα Βανδίλων δισχιλίοις φθάνοντα τὸ ἄλλο στράτευμα κατὰ τὸ εὐώνυμον μέρος ἰέναι, ὅπως Ἀμμάτας μὲν ἐκ Καρχηδόνος, Γελίμερ δὲ αὐτὸς ὄπισθεν, Γιβαμοῦνδος δὲ ἐκ τῶν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ χωρίων ἐς ταὐτὸ ξυνιόντες ῥᾷον δὴ καὶ ἀπονώτερον τὴν κύκλωσιν τῶν πολεμίων ποιήσονται. ἐμοὶ δὲ τά τε θεῖα καὶ τὰ ἀνθρώπεια ἐν τῷ πόνῳ τούτῳ ἐπῆλθε θαυμάσαι, ὅπως ὁ μὲν θεός, πόρρωθεν ὁρῶν τὰ ἐσόμενα, ὑπογράφει ὅπῃ ποτὲ αὐτῷ τὰ πράγματα δοκεῖ ἀποβήσεσθαι, οἱ δὲ ἄνθρωποι ἢ σφαλλόμενοι ἢ τὰ δέοντα βουλευόμενοι οὐκ ἴσασιν ὅτι ἔπταισάν τι, ἂν οὕτω τύχοι, ἢ ὀρθῶς ἔδρασαν, ἵνα γένηται τῇ τύχῃ τρίβος, φέρουσα πάντως ἐπὶ τὰ πρότερον δεδογμένα. εἰ μὴ γὰρ Βελισάριος οὕτω διῳκήσατο τὴν παράταξιν, τοὺς μὲν ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἰωάννην προτερῆσαι κελεύσας, τοὺς δὲ Μασσαγέτας ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τῆς στρατιᾶς ἰέναι, οὐκ ἄν ποτε διαφυγεῖν τοὺς Βανδίλους ἰσχύσαμεν.
AM 6124, p. 336.14–6 Τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει ἔπεμψεν Ἀβουβέχαρος στρατηγοὺς τέσσαρας, οἳ καὶ ὁδηγηθέντες, **ὡς προέφην**, ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀράβων ἦλθον καὶ ἔλαβον τὴν Ἥραν καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν χώραν Γάζης.	p. 210.29–32 *Mundi anno VIcxxiiii, divinae incarnationis anno dcxxiiii, anno imperii Heraclii vicesimo tertio cum misisset Abubacharus praetores quattuor, qui ducti fuerant,* ***ut praetuli****, ab Arabibus, venerunt atque ceperunt Ran et omnem regionem Gazae.*	Different phrasing in the parallel Syriac sources (Hoyland, *Theophilus*, p. 92), but cf. *Chron. 1234* (*ibid.*) *After Muhammad died, Abu Bakr became king and in the first year of his reign he dispatched troops of Arabs to the land of Syria, to conquer it, some 30,000 soldiers. He appointed over them four generals… Of the four generals sent out by Abu Bakr one came,* ***as we have said****, to the land of Moab en route for Palestine, the second headed for Egypt and Alexandria, the third went to the Persians and the last to the Christian Arabs who were subject to the Romans.*

Theoph.	Anast.	Sources and parallels
AM 6221, p. 409.11–8 τῇ δὲ κβʹ τοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἰαννουαρίου μηνὸς χειροτονοῦσιν Ἀναστάσιον τὸν ψευδώνυμον μαθητὴν καὶ σύγκελλον τοῦ αὐτοῦ μακαρίου Γερμανοῦ συνθέμενον τῇ Λέοντος δυσσεβείᾳ, διὰ φιλαρχίαν κοσμικὴν προχειρισθεὶς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ψευδεπίσκοπος. Γρηγόριος δέ, ὁ ἱερὸς πρόεδρος Ῥώμης, **καθὼς καὶ προέφην**, Ἀναστάσιον ἅμα τοῖς λιβέλλοις ἀπεκήρυξεν ἐλέγξας τὸν Λέοντα δι' ἐπιστολῶν ὡς ἀσεβοῦντα, καὶ τὴν Ῥώμην σὺν πάσῃ τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ ἀπέστησεν.	p. 265.12–9 *Porro undecimo kalendas Februarias creant falsi nominis Anastasium, discipulum et syncellum eiusdem beati Germani, consentientem Leonis impietati propter amorem principatus mundani, hunc in pseudepiscopum Constantinopoleos provehentes. sane Gregorius, sacratisimus praesul Romanus,* ***quemadmodum praedixi****, Anastasium una cum libellis abiecit, Leonem per epistolas tamquam impie agentem redarguens, et Romam cum tota Italia ab illius imperio recedere faciens.*	Niceph. *Brev.*, § 62.8–12, p. 130 μετ' αὐτὸν δὲ προχειρίζονται ἀρχιερέα Ἀναστάσιον κληρικὸν τῆς μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας τυγχάνοντα. ἐξ ἐκείνου τοίνυν πολλοὶ τῶν εὐσεβούντων, ὅσοι τῷ βασιλείῳ οὐ συνετίθεντο δόγματι, τιμωρίας πλείστας καὶ αἰκισμοὺς ὑπέμενον.
AM 6232, pp. 412.24–413.4 ἐβασίλευσεν οὖν Λέων ἀπὸ κεʹ τοῦ Μαρτίου μηνὸς τῆς ιεʹ ἰνδικτιῶνος ἕως μηνὸς Ἰουνίου ιηʹ τῆς θʹ ἰνδικτιῶνος, βασιλεύσας ἔτη κδʹ, μῆνας βʹ, ἡμέρας κεʹ. ὁμοίως καὶ Κωνσταντῖνος, ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς ἀσεβείας αὐτοῦ καὶ βασιλείας διάδοχος, ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς ιηʹ τοῦ Ἰουνίου μηνὸς τῆς θʹ ἰνδικτιῶνος ἕως τῆς ιδʹ τοῦ Σεπτεμβρίου μηνὸς τῆς ιδʹ ἰνδικτιῶνος, βασιλεύσας καὶ αὐτός, παραχωρήσαντος τοῦ θεοῦ, ἔτη λδʹ, μῆνας γʹ, ἡμέρας βʹ. οὕτως οὖν, **ὡς προέφημεν**, τῷ αὐτῷ ἔτει τῆς θʹ ἰνδικτιῶνος μηνὶ Ἰουνίῳ ιηʹ τέθνηκε Λέων σὺν τῷ ψυχικῷ καὶ τὸν σωματικὸν θάνατον, καὶ αὐτοκρατορεῖ Κωνσταντῖνος, ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ.	pp. 267.30–268.7 *regnavit ergo Leo ab octavo kalendarum Apriliarum quintae decimae indictionis usque ad quarto decimo kalendas Iulias nonae indictionis, cum regnasset annis viginti quattuor, mensibus duobus, diebus viginti quinque. similiter et Constantinus, filius eius, imperii et impietatis ipsius successor, ab eodem quarto decimo kalendas Iulias nonae indictionis usque ad octavo decimo kalendas Octobrias quartae decimae indictionis, cum regnasset et ipse annis triginta quattuor, mensibus tribus, diebus duobus.* *Taliter ergo,* ***ut praediximus****, eodem anno nonae indictionis mortuus est Leo una cum animae simul et corporis morte, et imperat Constantinus, filius eius.*	–

Theoph.	Anast.	Sources and parallels
AM 6239, p. 424.9–10 Τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει κτείνεται Γρηγόριος ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀρουρετῶν, καὶ ἐξενίκησε Μαρουὰμ ὁ τῶν Ἀράβων ἀρχηγός, **ὡς προέφην**.	p. 277.25–7 *Mundi anno VICCXXXVIIII, divinae incarnationis anno DCCXXXVIIII, anno vero imperii Constantini septimo occiditur Gregorius ab Arirutensibus, et evicit Maruham,* ***ut praetuli***.	The parallel Syriac sources have a very different account (HOYLAND, *Theophilus*, p. 265)
AM 6278, p. 461.12–8 Τῷ δ᾽ αὐτῷ ἔτει ἀποστείλαντες οἱ βασιλεῖς προσεκαλέσαντο πάντας τοὺς ὑπὸ τὴν ἐξουσίαν αὐτῶν ἐπισκόπους, καταλαβόντων καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥώμης πεμφθέντων ὑπὸ τοῦ πάπα Ἀδριανοῦ γραμμάτων τε καὶ ἀνθρώπων, **ὡς προέφημεν**, καὶ τοῦ Ἀντιοχείας καὶ Ἀλεξανδρείας, καὶ τῇ ζ´ τοῦ Αὐγούστου μηνὸς τῆς θ´ ἰνδικτιῶνος προκαθίσαντες ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων ἐν τῇ βασιλίδι πόλει ἤρξαντο τὰς ἁγίας γραφὰς ὑπαναγινώσκειν...	p. 306.24–30 *Anno imperii sui sexto mittentes imperatores convocaverunt omnes, qui sub eorum erant potestate, antistites, pervenientibus quoque a Roma transmissis ab Hadriano papa litteris et hominibus,* ***ut praediximus***, *et ab Antiochia et Alexandria, et septimo idus Augustas nonae indictionis praesidentes in templo sanctorum apostolorum apud regiam urbem coeperunt sanctas scripturas relegere...*	–

The words καθὼς προέφημεν in the proemium are especially important, since they certainly represent a sample of Theophanes' style. Further on, the fact that Anastasius translates six of these instances (AM 5796, 6124, 6221, 6232, 6239, and 6278) as *ut/ quemadmodum praedixi*, *ut praediximus*, and *ut praetuli*, proves that these phrases were present in the early manuscripts of the *Chronographia*. Even in the numerous cases in which Anastasius offers no translation, the passages seem to have been more generally summarised or omitted by him (proemium, AM 5943, 5963, and 6026). Only in AM 5942 Anastasius appears to have deleted a repetition in Theophanes' entry. Now, the cross-references do not seem to have been copied from any sources when this can be checked: even the apparent similarity between AM 6124 and the *Chronicle of 1234* is likely to be the result of independent narrative choices. At any rate, they are employed at points in the narrative where an authorial intervention is somehow expected, such as the opening or final parts of the *anni mundi*, passages in longer entries where a certain number of repetitions was unavoidable, places where the continuity of the narrative is broken, recapitulations of facts or actions described several entries earlier and then mentioned again in the entries that do not follow the one-year rule in the internal structure, and résumés.

In the light of all this, it seems of special significance that none of the four forms of πρόφημι can be found in the *Ekloge chronographias*, where cross-references are expressed in other ways. In order to assess the full meaning of this divergence, one must take a broader perspective, by first looking at the frequency of such expressions among other

writers. I have used the online *Thesaurus linguae Graecae* (TLG) for this purpose. In spite of the mechanical character of the approach and such little drawbacks as the hazards of transmission, the variety of genres and styles, and the gaps in coverage, the search showed that the forms that interest us here are attested 230 times in the works of ca. 90 authors from the Hellenistic era down to the 16th century, from theological writings and hagiography through scientific treatises and historical narratives to magical spells (e.g. in a Christian incantation from the 4th century[6]), from almost all parts of the Greek-speaking world. In spite of appearances, these are not very large numbers, for the TLG sample currently includes 2,380 authors.

The vast majority of Byzantine *literati* did not use the expression ὡς προέφην/προέφημεν. There is not a single occurrence in Nilus of Ancyra, Julian, Gregory Nazianzen, Procopius, Arethas, John Zonaras, Gemistus Pletho and many others, and only two in the works of John Chrysostom (plus another one in his *spuria*); one instance is to be found in Palamas, three in Photius. There are very a few historians, including authors who only occasionally wrote historical works throughout their lives or who shared historical interests: Palladius (1 sg.), John the Lydian (4 pl.), the unknown author of the *Chronicon Paschale* (1 sg.), George the Monk (1 pl.), Photius (3 pl.), Constantine VII (2 pl.), Michael Attaleiates (3 pl.), John Tzetzes (3 sg., 3 pl.), George Acropolites (1 sg., 1 pl.), Nicephorus Gregoras (1 pl.), the editor of Pachymeres (1 pl.), John Cananus (1 pl.), Ducas (2 pl.), Macarius Melissenus (1 sg., 2 pl.), and the author of the *Ekthesis chronica* (1 pl.). Only four of them lived earlier than Theophanes, but none used the expression more frequently than he did; single instances predominate.

Expressions with πρόφημι thus appear to be rare and to reflect the linguistic preferences of individual authors. This is illustrated, for example, by the way in which the plural form ὡς προέφημεν was used to replace the archaising phrase ἣν ὅς δὴ καὶ πάλαι in the abridgement of the *History* of George Pachymeres.[7] In fact, in the extant corpus of the ancient and mediaeval Greek literature, only three authors use our expressions more often than Theophanes: the early Christian apologist Justin Martyr (17 sg. and 15 pl.); the monastic writer Neophytus the Recluse, who died in Cyprus in 1214 (6 sg. and 9 pl.); and his contemporary Nicholas of Otranto, who died in 1235 (3 sg. and 10 pl.). The number of occurrences in the works of the next writers—Irenaeus (7 pl.), John Tzetzes (as above), Theodore Meliteniotes (6 pl.)—is substantially smaller. The distance in space and time between Justin, Theophanes, Neophytus and Nicholas is obvious: προέφην/προέφημεν can indeed be taken to be a characteristic feature of the Theophanes' individual style.

Theophanes' style may or may not have been inspired by Justin. A comparison with Justin's *Dialogus cum Tryphone* and both apologies[8] highlights, however, another

6. *Papyri Graecae magicae = Die griechischen Zauberpapyri. 2*, hrsg. von K. Preisendanz und A. Henrichs, 2., verb. Auflage, Stuttgart 1974, p. 225.

7. Compare *Georgii Pachymeris de Michaele et Andronico Palaeologis libri tredecim*, rec. I. Bekker, Bonnae 1835, VI, 24, p. 613.17 and *La version brève des Relations historiques de Georges Pachymérès. 1, Livres I-VI*, éd. du texte grec et commentaire par A. Failler (Archives de l'Orient chrétien 17), Paris 2001, *ibid.* (v. 28), p. 179.12.

8. Justin is notable for the exceptional density of the parenthetical clauses that interest us here, sometimes found close to one another in the same passage or sentence: cf. ὡς προέφημεν and ὡς προεμηνύσαμεν in *Apol.* I, 54, 5.

individual aspect of Theophanes' usage of cross-references with προέφην/προέφημεν, namely high syntactic variety (different adverb, καὶ as a separator between the adverb and the verb), matched by the variation between singular and plural. Some authors opened phrases of this kind with both ὡς and καθὼς, or with other adverbs and conjunctions, others used both singular and plural forms, but Theophanes is the only writer who uses the four combinations (ὡς προέφην, καθὼς καὶ προέφην, ὡς προέφημεν, καθὼς προέφημεν).

The table below resumes these results and illustrates another characteristic, this time common to George and Theophanes: the absence of the simple forms ὡς ἔφην and ὡς ἔφημεν/-αμεν. This absence gains on meaning when compared to the universality of these expressions in ancient and Byzantine Greek.[9]

	ὡς προέφην and similar	ὡς/καθὼς ἔφην + ὥσπερ ἔφην	ὡς προέφημεν and similar	ὡς/καθὼς ἔφη(α)μεν + ὥσπερ ἔφη(α)μεν
Arius Didymus	1	–	–	–
Nicomachus	–	1	2	1
Galen	1	ca. 370 + 10	–	15
Justin Martyr	17	2	15	1
Irenaeus of Lyons	–	–	6 or 7	1
Clementina	1	25	–	2
Hist. Alexandri (ε)	2	2 + 1	1	–
Basil of Caesarea	1	6 + 1	–	4 + 2
Ps.-Ephrem of Chersonesus	–	–	3	–
Gregory of Nyssa	2	1	3	7
Evagrius Ponticus	–	–	1	–
Ps.-Athanasius	–	–	1	–
Epiphanius of Salamis	–	90	2 (in quot.)	7
John Chrysostom	2	19 + 12	–	–
Ps.-Macarius	–	–	4	–
John Stobaeus	1	2 + 1	1	2
Palladius	1	–	–	–
Philostorgius	1	–	1	–
Eutyches	1	–	–	–
Vita Alexandri	–	1	1	–
Diadochus of Photice	1	12	–	–
Gennadius I	1	1	1	–
Proclus	1	15 + 9	1	7 + 3
anon. papyr. mag.	1	–	–	–

9. Conversely, for example, Andrew of Crete displays a particular set of cross-referencing expressions in just a few of the works attributed to him: *Homilia in exaltatione s. crucis*, ed. de Groote, *Harvard theological review* 100, 2007, pp. 443–87, ὡς ἔφην, §§ 5 (l. 358) and 8 (l. 510), ὥσπερ ἔφην, § 6 (l. 450); *In S. Patapium*, PG 97, ὡς ἔφημεν, col. 1209D, ὡς ἔφαμεν, col. 1216A and 1217C; *In exaltationem s. crucis*, ibid., ὡς μικρῷ πρόσθεν ἔφαμεν, col. 1037A. No such expressions appear in any of the other works collected in PG 97.

	ὡς προέφην and similar	ὡς/καθὼς ἔφην + ὥσπερ ἔφην	ὡς προέφημεν and similar	ὡς/καθὼς ἔφη(α)μεν + ὥσπερ ἔφη(α)μεν
Pseudo-Gelasius	1	–	–	0 + 1
Procopius of Gaza	0	–	–	2
Ps.-Caesarius	4	1	–	–
John the Lydian	–	19 + 1	4	3
Abraham of Ephesus	–	–	1	–
Fl. Phoebammon	1	–	–	–
Chronicon Paschale	1	3	–	1
John Climacus	–	–	1	–
Maximus Confessor	4	35	–	1
Vita Alypii Stylitae[1]	–	–	1	2 + 1
Pamphilus of Jerusalem	(1?)	(1?)	1	–
Tarasius I	1	–	–	–
George Syncellus	–	–	–	–
Theophanes	6	–	5	–
George Choiroboscus	–	–	1	1 (in quot.)
Michael Syncellus	–	–	2	1
Vita Nicephori medicii	–	–	1	–
Methodius I	–	5	1	9 + 5
Vita Andreae in trib.	1	–	–	–
Saba *(Vita Ioannicii)*	1	5	–	–
Saba *(Vita Petri Atroatae)*	1	3	–	1
Vita Athanasiae	–	–	1	1
George the Monk	–	15	1	–
Paul of Nicaea (sp.)	1	–	–	1
Photius I	–	18 + 3	3	34 + 18
Nicholas Mysticus	1	1 + 2	4	2 + 3
Basil	–	–	1	–
Constantine VII	–	2	2	7 + 2
Pseudo-Heron	–	–	1	–
Nicephorus *(Vita s. Andreae)*	2	–	–	–
Vita Pauli iun.	–	–	1	0 + 3
De velitatione bellica	–	2	1	9
Digenis Acritas	1	2	–	–
John of Sicily	2	10 + 1	–	1
Michael Attaleiates	–	–	3	1
Vita Niconis	–	–	2	–
Christodulos	–	–	4	–
Vita Phantini iun.	1	–	–	–
Translatio Nicolai	–	–	1	–
John Tzetzes	3	45 + 3	3	14 + 6
Eustathius of Thessalonica	–	–	1	11

	ὡς προέφην and similar	ὡς/καθὼς ἔφην + ὥσπερ ἔφην	ὡς προέφημεν and similar	ὡς/καθὼς ἔφη(α)μεν + ὥσπερ ἔφη(α)μεν
Neophytus the Recluse	6	1	9	8 + 1
Nicholas of Otranto	3	3	10	9
Manuel Holobolos	1	–	–	–
Andrew Libadenus	1	0 + 1	–	–
George Acropolites	1	9	1	9 + 1
George Metochites	1	1	2	4
Gregory Acindynus	–	16	1	1
Gregory Palamas	–	5	1	3
David Dishypatus	–	2	3	1
Schol. coll. Marciana	–	–	2	1
Thomas Magister	–	–	2	7
Nicephorus Gregoras	–	5	1	21
Philotheus Coccinus	1	32 + 1	–	6 + 2
Theodore Meliteniotes	–	–	6	26 + 3
editor of Pachymeres	–	–	1	20 + 1
Symeon of Thessalonica	2	–	2	4
Manuel II	1	2 + 1	–	–
John Cananus	–	–	1	–
Ducas	–	–	2	2
Sphrantzes/Melissenus	1	–	2	3
Ekthesis chronica	–	–	1	–

In spite of its circumstantial character, this evidence points strongly to Theophanes' fingerprint, distinguishable both from George and from other Constantinopolitan writers. In sum, a standardising redaction of the *Chronicle* was undertaken only once as a single process and was not repeated later for the whole narrative from Diocletian to the 9th century. This does not mean that individual entries did not undergo further deliberate modifications before the split of the manuscripts tradition that followed Anastasius the Librarian's translation. The arrangement of the narrative with the use of προέφην, προέφημεν was, however, of a primary character, and was an author's work rather than an editor's. There is at present no reason to think of anybody else but Theophanes himself.

George's own words

In many cases, it is hard to attribute apparently typical expressions to Theophanes, George, or their sources.[10] Some forms of the verbs δελῶ and δείκνυμι and compounds seem, however, to have been favoured by George alone. Thus only one reference to the past with δεδήλωται is found in the *Chronographia* and it most likely comes from

10. ὡς (προ)λέλεκται, expressions with ἐπιμιμνήσκομαι, μιμνήσκω or μνημονεύω.

Theophanes' source[11]. On the contrary, the past forms of (προ)δελῶ, including the participle, appear throughout the *Ekloge chronographias* (Georg. Sync.):

δεδήλωται / ὡς δεδήλωται / ὡς [...] δεδήλωται

1. p. 43.6–7: μετὰ γὰρ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν εὐθὺς **οὐδαμοῦ δεδήλωται** ἐν αὐτῇ βασιλεύς
2. p. 77.1–6: οἶμαι τὸν Ἀφρικανὸν ἀγνοεῖν ὅτι καὶ ὁ παρ' αὐτῷ Ἀμὼς Ἄμωσις ἐκαλεῖτο ὁ αὐτὸς καὶ Τέθμωσις υἱὸς Ἀσήθ, **ὡς δηλωθήσεται**· καὶ ὁ μετ' αὐτὸν ἕκτος Μισφραγμούθωσις ὁμοίως καὶ Ἄμωσις εὕρηται λεγόμενος. ἀλλὰ κατὰ μὲν τὸν πρῶτον Ἄμωσιν, ἤτοι Ἀμὼς παρ' αὐτῷ, ἢ πρὸ δ´ τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῦ ἐτῶν, Μωυσῆς γεγένηται, **ὡς δεδήλωται**, κατὰ τὸ ͵γψλβ´ ἔτος τοῦ κόσμου·
3. p. 278.3–7: ὁ μέντοι Ἰώσηππος συνηρίθμησεν αὐτά, **ὡς καὶ ἀνωτέρω δεδήλωται**, ν´ ἔτη, εἰπὼν ἀφανῆ τὸν ναὸν μεῖναι ἀπὸ τοῦ ιθ´ ἔτους Ναβουχοδονόσωρ ἕως τοῦ β´ ἔτους Κύρου τοῦ πρώτου Περσῶν καὶ Μήδων καὶ Ἀσσυρίων καὶ Χαλδαίων Συρίας τε καὶ Λυδῶν βασιλείας κρατήσαντος.
4. p. 335.9–15: μετὰ τὴν ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου καθαίρεσιν Περσῶν τῷ ζ´ τῆς αὐτοῦ βασιλείας ἤτοι πρώτῳ τῆς Ἑλλήνων βασιλείας ἔτει (Ἕλληνας γὰρ καὶ Μακεδόνας κατὰ τὴν τῶν Μακκαβαίων γραφὴν τοὺς αὐτοὺς μεμαθήκαμεν), ἐξ ὧν ἥ τε κατὰ τὴν Μακεδονίαν μετὰ θάνατον Ἀλεξάνδρου διαιρεθεῖσα ἀρχὴ εἰς ἀρχάς, τήν τε κατ' Αἴγυπτον τῶν Πτολεμαίων καὶ Ἀντιόχειαν τῶν Ἀντιόχων καὶ τὰς λοιπάς, **ὡς ἐκεῖ δεδήλωται**, καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν Μακεδονίαν [...].
5. p. 354.2–7: τότε δύο στρατηγοὶ Ῥωμαίων ἡττηθέντες εἷς μὲν ἀνῃρέθη, θάτερος δὲ ζωγρηθεὶς εἰς Ῥώμην ἐστάλη σὺν αἰχμαλώτοις πολλοῖς, αὐτός τε ἀναζεύξας Σκηπίων <...> τῶν ἐξ αὐτῶν καταγόντων τὸ γένος ἔτι κρατούντων ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου χρόνων Αἰγύπτου καὶ Συρίας καὶ Ἀσίας, ἐν μέρει δὲ ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ Βαβυλωνίας, τῆς Μακεδόνων δυναστείας ὑποφόρου Ῥωμαίοις ταχθείσης. **ὡς πρὸ βραχέος δεδήλωται.**

ὡς προδεδήλωται

6. p. 56.7–10: Οὕτως οὖν ὑπὸ τοῦ Νῶε τῆς ὅλης οἰκουμένης διαμερισθείσης θείῳ προστάγματι, **ὡς προδεδήλωται**, τῷ ͵βφοβ´ ἔτει τοῦ κόσμου, ͵γλ´ δὲ τῆς τοῦ δικαίου

11. Theoph. AM 6232, p. 413.4–10: καὶ ὅσα μὲν ἐπὶ Λέοντος τοῦ ἀσεβοῦς κακὰ Χριστιανοῖς συνέβη περί τε τὴν ὀρθόδοξον πίστιν καὶ περὶ τῶν πολιτικῶν διοικήσεων αἰσχροῦ κέρδους καὶ φιλαργυρίας ἐπινοίᾳ κατά τε Σικελίαν καὶ Καλαβρίαν καὶ Κρήτην, ἥ τε τῆς Ἰταλίας ἀποστασία διὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ κακοδοξίαν, σεισμοί τε καὶ λιμοὶ καὶ λοιμοὶ καὶ ἐθνῶν ἐπαναστάσεις, ἵνα τὰ κατὰ μέρος σιγήσω, **ἐν τοῖς προλαβοῦσι δεδήλωται κεφαλαίοις**. Cf. Anast., p. 268.7–13: *et quidem quaecumque sub Leone impio Christianis evenerunt, sive circa orthodoxam fidem, sive super civilibus dispositionibus, sive super turpis lucri quaestu et avaritia per Siceliam, Calabriam et Cretam adinventa pariter et imposita, sive in Italiae apostasia propter huius cacodoxiam, sive in fame ac pestilentia gentiumque pressuris, ut particularia taceam,* ***in praecedentibus ostenduntur capitulis***. The cross-reference points to nothing in the transmitted text. See Mango – Scott, p. 574 n. 11, suspecting that "this passage has been mechanically copied from an iconophile tract similar in spirit to Nikephoros' Antirrheticus III, which dwells on the plague, famine, and earthquakes in the reign of Constantine V." On the *Chronicle*'s source here see W. Brandes, Pejorative Phantomnamen im 8. Jahrhundert : ein Beitrag zur Quellenkritik des Theophanes und deren Konsequenzen für die historische Forschung, in *Zwischen Polis, Provinz und Peripherie : Beiträge zur byzantinischen Geschichte und Kultur*, hrsg. von L. M. Hoffmann (Mainzer Veröffentlichungen zur Byzantinistik 17), Wiesbaden 2005, pp. 93–125, esp. pp. 120–2.

Nῶε ζωῆς πρὸ σδ´ ἐτῶν τῆς κατὰ τὴν πυργοποιίαν διασπορᾶς, τοῖς τρισὶν αὐτοῦ υἱοῖς. [...]

7. p. 90.4–6: περὶ ὧν ὁ Καισαρεὺς Εὐσέβιος οὗτος σφόδρα αὐτὸν καταμέμφεται πλειοτέρως σφαλεὶς ἐν ταὐτῷ καὶ ἐν τοῖς λοιποῖς, **ὡς προδεδήλωται**, ἕως ἐτῶν σϙ´.

8. p. 263.27–30: ταῦτα παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς <ἦν> προφητεύων κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους τούτους Οὐρίας υἱὸς Ἀμαίου, ὃν φυγόντα εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἀγαγὼν ὁ Ἰωακεὶμ ἀνεῖλε, καὶ Ἱερεμίας ἀρξάμενος καὶ αὐτός, **ὡς προδεδήλωται**, τῆς προφητείας ἀπὸ τοῦ ιγ´ ἔτους Ἰωσίου.

9. p. 271.12–21: Ὅτι μὲν οὖν ἑαυτὸν παρελογίσατο καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐν τοῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ ια´ ἔτους Σεδεκίου ἕως τοῦ β´ ἔτους Δαρείου τοῦ Ὑστάσπου τὰ ο´ ἔτη ἐπιλογισάμενος φανερόν. ἀνθ᾽ ὧν γὰρ ἐχρῆν αὐτὸν τὰ λοιπὰ κ´ ἔτη τοῦ Ναβουχοδονόσωρ, τοῦ καὶ τὴν ἅλωσιν τοῦ ἔθνους ποιησαμένου, λογίσασθαι καὶ τῶν ἐφεξῆς ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ, λέγω δὴ τοῦ τε υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ Εὐειλὰδ Μαροδὰχ καὶ Νιριγλησάρου τοῦ γαμβροῦ αὐτοῦ, **ὡς προδεδήλωται**, εἶθ᾽ ἑξῆς ἐπὶ τὸν Ναβόννηδον τὸν καὶ Δαρεῖον Ἀστυάγην τὸν Ἀσσουήρου ἐλθεῖν (ὃς γέγονεν ἔσχατος βασιλεὺς Μήδων ἀπὸ Ἀρβάκου τοῦ καθελόντος σὺν τῷ Βελεσῦ τὴν Ἀσσυρίων ἀρχὴν καὶ τὸν ταύτης ὕστατον βασιλέα Σαρδανάπαλον).

τὸν προδεδηλωμένον

10. p. 281.9–12: Κῦρος οὗτος Ἀστυάγην **τὸν προδεδηλωμένον** ἑαυτοῦ πάππον βασιλεύοντα Μήδων καθελών, τὴν Περσικὴν εἰσῆξε βασιλείαν, Μήδων βασιλευσάντων ἔτη που μετὰ Σαρδανάπαλον ἀπὸ Ἀρβάκου Μήδου τοῦ καθελόντος αὐτὸν καὶ τὴν Ἀσσυρίων ἀρχήν.

In all probability, the examples above provide us with George's own words. We can be sure of this for nos. 2 and 3, which express the chronographer's criticism of his source, and for no. 9, where Syncellus comments on Eusebian chronology. The cross-reference in no. 4 is absent both from 1 Macc. 1, 1–11 and Eusebius (I, 59, 4–10),[12] while no. 5, placed in the final section of the *sporaden* rubric ("miscellany"), has no equivalent in any known source. No. 8 is the chronicler's epitome of a biblical account and in no. 10 it is probably his paraphrase; the participle is absent from George's sources, and it is consistent with his own narrative.[13] In the whole chronicle, only one passage of this kind is not original: p. 413.10–2 (αἵρεσιν δὲ μετῄει τὴν Σαδδουκαίων, οἵπερ εἰσὶ περὶ τὰς κρίσεις ὠμοὶ παρὰ πάντας τοὺς Ἰουδαίους, **καθὼς ἤδη δεδηλώκαμεν**), a quote from Josephus.[14] All in all, these passages reflect a higher, academic style of discourse that is typical of George as long as he is not copying his sources.

The occurrences of δηλῶ in the future tense complement the picture. Again, these are very rare in Theophanes and mostly derivative.[15] This is not the case of George, who

12. Cf. the remarks of A.-M. TOTOMANOVA, *Славянската версия на Хрониката на Георги Синкел* ([illegible] 474), София 2008, pp. 108 f., 474–7, 531. Cf. EAD., A lost Byzantine chronicle in Slavic translation, *Studia Ceranea* 1, 2011, pp. 191–204.

13. Eusebius of Caesarea, *Church history* I, 30, 23–6; and I, 32, 29–33.

14. *Antiquitates Iudaicae* XX, 199 f., in *Flavii Iosephii opera*, ed. B. Niese, Berolini 1890, vol. 4, p. 309 f.

15. Theoph. AM 5841, p. 39.22, ὡς ἐν τοῖς ἑξῆς δηλωθήσεται, the parallel source being *Chron. Paschale*, p. 537.5; Theoph. AM 6221, p. 408.18, ὡς δηλωθήσεται ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ τόπῳ; for the

used phrases of the ὡς-δηλωθήσεται-type four times, three of which certainly expressing authorial comments,[16] one referring, however, to a calculation that does not appear elsewhere.[17] This could well be just an episodic inconsistency. Be that as it may, the use of δελῶ in similar constructions, a rare phenomenon in Theophanes, appears to be typical of George. In short, the differences described here stem from the highly discursive language of George Syncellus, reflected in his chronological commentaries and in his critical approach towards his sources. The analysis of George's similar use of the forms of δείκνυμι (below, Appendix) brings us to the very heart of the question of the authorship of the *Chronographia*.

THEOPHANES AND GEORGE'S ἀφορμαί

Theophanes was much less of a polemical writer than George. As the English translators acutely pointed out, however, he occasionally engaged in arguments that required some demonstrative strength. Two entries reveal this attitude and should be reconsidered in the present context.[18]

AM 5827 (AD 334/335), pp. 32.25–33.8: ταῦτα τῷ τριακοστῷ πρώτῳ ἔτει γέγονε τοῦ μεγάλου Κωνσταντίνου, τοῦ θείου Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐπισκοποῦντος τὴν Κωνσταντινούπολιν, καὶ οὐχ ὥς φησιν Εὐσέβιος μόνος, ὅτι ὁ Νικομηδείας Εὐσέβιος, ὅτε εἰς τὰ ἐγκαίνια τὰ κατὰ Ἀθανασίου ἐσκεύαζεν, τὸν Κωνσταντινουπόλεως θρόνον ἐπεῖχεν. τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ ἐκ τῆς τῶν χρόνων ὁμάδος **δείκνυται** ψεῦδος, ἐπείπερ Κωνσταντῖνος τὰ ὅλα ἔτη λβ´ ἐβασίλευσεν. ὃς μετὰ τὴν πρώτην δεκαετηρίδα, τῷ δεκάτῳ τρίτῳ αὐτοῦ ἔτει, καταλαβὼν τὸ Βυζάντιον Μητροφάνην τὸν πρὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου εὗρεν ἐπισκοποῦντα, εἶτα Ἀλέξανδρος ἔτη τρία καὶ εἴκοσιν ἐπισκόπησεν· ὡς εἶναι ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ μεγάλου Κωνσταντίνου ἕως κοιμήσεως Ἀλεξάνδρου ἔτη λζ´, ἅπερ Κωνσταντῖνος οὐκ ἔφθασεν· καὶ οὕτω μὲν ἐκ τῆς χρονικῆς ὁμάδος **δείκνυται** μὴ ἄρξαι τὸν Εὐσέβιον ἐπὶ Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ θρόνου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως. **δείκνυται δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων** ἀνωτέρω περὶ Ἀρείου καὶ Ἀθανασίου. ἥ τε γὰρ Ἀθανασίου ἐξορία καὶ ἡ Ἀρείου κατάλυσις μετὰ τὸ τριακοστὸν ἔτος Κωνσταντίνου γέγονε καὶ μετὰ τὰ ἐγκαίνια Ἱεροσολύμων· ὁ δὲ μέγας Ἀλέξανδρος ἔτι περιῆν.

AM 5828 (AD 335/336), p. 33.17–22: καὶ ἐπιβὰς Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ εὐσεβὴς τῇ Νικομηδέων πόλει κατὰ Περσῶν παραταξάμενος, ἀσθενήσας ἐκοιμήθη ἐν εἰρήνῃ, ὥς τινές φασιν Ἀρειανόφρονες τότε καταξιωθεὶς τοῦ ἁγίου βαπτίσματος ὑπὸ Εὐσεβίου τοῦ Νικομηδείας μετατεθέντος ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει· ὅπερ ψευδές ἐστιν, **ὡς ἀποδέδεικται**· ἐν γὰρ Ῥώμῃ ὑπὸ Σιλβέστρου ἐβαπτίσθη, **ὡς προαπεδείξαμεν**.[19]

identification of the source see BRANDES, Pejorative Phantomnamen (quoted n. 11); AM 6303, p. 493.10, ὡς ἑξῆς δηλωθήσεται, source unknown.

16. Georg. Sync., pp. 77.1–2, 359.16–24, 378.30–379.2.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 368.16–8, and the apparatus; cf. ADLER – TUFFIN, p. 439 n. 8.

18. See MANGO – SCOTT, p. 32 n. 3, on AM 5814, "one of Theophanes' rare authorial comments and places where he resorts to argument;" *ibid.*, p. 54 n. 16, speaking of AM 5814, 5827 and 5847 as "rare examples of Theophanes resorting to argument [...]"

19. Anast., p. 87.9–15: *tunc Constantinus, cum transisset et in Nicomediensium civitatem contra Persas proeliaturus, languore praeventus in pace dormivit. tunc, ut quidam eorum, qui cum Arrio sentiunt, aiunt,*

I would like to suggest that these passages were written by George Syncellus. Many features correspond to George's style and method: the argumentation; the special polemics with Eusebius of Caesarea; the expression of opinions on the periods and reigns; the interest in bishops, visible in the last parts of the *Ekloge*; counting the periods of the world down to Constantine the Great.[20] To these more general remarks, it should be added that:

1. AM 5827 has the only example of δείκνυται (occurring three times here) in Theophanes' *Chronographia*. Although such a form is also rare in George's work, it is more visible in the *Ekloge* (see the Appendix below, *Present tense*);

2. Whereas the only instance of ὥς φησιν in the *Chronographia* is at AM 5827, this expression is much more popular in the *Ekloge chronographias* (p. 258, 20–2: τισὶ δὲ ἀκριβέστερον δοκεῖ ἀπὸ τοῦ ε′ ἔτους τῆς προφητείας Ἱερεμίου, ὥς φησιν Εὐσέβιος, τὰ ἐπὶ τὸ κ′ ἔτος Κύρου ἀριθμεῖν. ἀλλ' οὐδ' οὕτως ἀκριβῶς σῴζεται). The expression ὥς φησιν + source,[21] predominantly added by George and not taken from his sources, occurs 32 times, evenly spread throughout the *Ekloge chronographias*.[22] Φησιν is generally rare in Theophanes' work (11 occurrences), but occurs 121 times in George's writings;[23]

3. In AM 5828, we find the only instances of ὡς ἀποδέδεικται and ὡς προαπεδείξαμεν in the *Chronographia*, whereas George, as I have shown, used the former nine times and the latter twice.

The treatment of Constantine's baptism at AM 5814 should also be attributed to George, as is suggested further by the use of ἐμοὶ δὲ ... φαίνεται to express one's views, something rather typical of George's style.[24] The same is probably true of the discussion of Eusebius's orthodoxy at AM 5818 and the passage at AM 5796 (pp. 11, 13–9): George's low opinion of Eusebius finds here its final expression.

I am far from suggesting that the first folios of the *Chronographia* should be separated from the rest and glued with the *Ekloge chronographias*. On the contrary, we are possibly

*ab Eusebio Nicomediensi Constantinopolim translato sanctum meruit baptisma percipere; quod mendacium est, **sicut superius est comprobatum**: Romae quippe a Silvestro baptizatus est, **quaemadmodum et praeostendimus**;* parallel sources being *Chron. Paschale*, p. 532.7–13.

20. For the last, see Georg. Sync., pp. 33.20–3, 36.19–20, 198.1–2.

21. ἡ γραφή / ἡ θεία γραφή / ἡ βίβλος τῆς Γενέσεως / ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ λόγῳ / [ὁ] Ἰώσηππος / ἡ λεπτὴ Γένεσις / ὁ Ἀφρικανός / ἐν ταῖς πράξεσιν ὁ πρωτομάρτυς / ἡ τετάρτη Μωυσαϊκὴ βίβλος / ἡ δ′ τῶν [illegible] καὶ ἡ β′ τῶν Παραλειπομένων / ὁ Πλάτων / ὁ Φιλόχορος / Ἡρόδοτος / Εὐσέβιος / Ἱερεμίας / ὁ [illegible] / ὁ θεῖος εὐαγγελιστὴς Λουκᾶς.

22. Pp. 11.11; 37.20–1; 43.20; 54.12; 75.1–2; 105.7–8; 107.28; 111.4; 111.17; 115.3; 116.23; 117.2; 120.4; 120.11; 123.5; 123.11–2; 123.17; 126.11; 127.25–6; 158.12; 166.16; 174.23–4; 179.10; 190.11; 190.24; 241.17–8; 258.21; 260.1–2; 263.24–5; 316.10; 349.5; 380.21.

23. Theophanes sometimes mentions his sources, where such words could have come from, and some of his instances of φησιν are quotations or parenthetical clauses in direct speech (e.g. AM 6005, p. 158.25–6: "[illegible]," φησίν, "ἐδεξάμην σήμερον σημαίνοντά μοι ὅτι Μιχαὴλ ὁ ἀρχάγγελος [illegible]"). The occurrences in the early entries of the *Chronographia* (e.g. AM 5768, pp. 11.14 f., [illegible] δὲ ὁ Καισαρείας, φησιν, and 18 f., Γελάσιος δὲ ὁ Καισαρείας τῆς αὐτῆς ἐπίσκοπός φησιν; AM 5818, pp. 28.9 f., ὁ δὲ [illegible] φησιν ὅτι Εὐσέβιος ὁ Παμφίλου σύμφρων τῶν Ἀρειανῶν ὑπῆρχεν) may come from George's notes.

24. Once again "one of Theophanes' rare authorial comments and places where he resorts to [illegible]" according to MANGO – SCOTT, p. 32, n. 3. In the *Chronographia* the expression never [illegible] with this meaning. In the *Ekloge chronographias* one often encounters similar structures: pp. [illegible]; 128.18; 186.1–2; 188.4–5; 302.28–9.

closer than ever before to understanding what George's ἀφορμαί, referred to by Theophanes in the preface, consisted in: "notes," which did not reach, however, beyond Constantine.[25] It is improbable that Syncellus both prepared the source material and composed the text of the *Chronicle* for the remaining centuries. The polemical outbursts described above are stylistically, factually, and logically bound and may therefore be regarded as Syncellus' last engagement with his sources, which was faithfully transmitted by his friend Theophanes.

The "genuine friendship" of George and Theophanes

This leads me to accept the preface to the *Chronographia* at face value, against all hypercritical assessments of the *Vitae* of Theophanes, which involve risky psychological assessments.[26] The preface reflects the "style" of the era, with an attitude of humility (ἡμεῖς δὲ τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀμαθίαν οὐκ ἀγνοοῦντες καὶ τὸ στενὸν τοῦ λόγου παρῃτούμεθα τοῦτο ποιῆσαι, ὡς ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς τὴν ἐγχείρησιν οὖσαν / ἡμῖν τοῖς ἀμαθέσι καὶ ἁμαρτωλοῖς / ἀμαθίᾳ ἡμῶν ... καὶ τῇ ἀργίᾳ τοῦ χαμερποῦς νοὸς ἡμῶν), a taste for rhetoric (οὐ γὰρ μικρὰν ὠφέλειαν, ὡς οἶμαι, καρποῦται τῶν ἀρχαίων τὰς πράξεις ἀναγινώσκων), and admiration for the predecessor (ἐλλόγιμος ἀνὴρ καὶ πολυμαθέστατος ὑπάρχων). But below this layer we discover two personalities, the interactions between them, and the origins of their common project. Some words point out George's activity (πολλούς τε χρονογράφους καὶ ἱστοριογράφους ἀναγνοὺς καὶ ἀκριβῶς τούτους διερευνησάμενος, σύντομον χρονογραφίαν [...] ἀκριβῶς συνεγράψατο / τούς τε χρόνους ἐν πολλῇ ἐξετάσει ἀκριβολογησάμενος καὶ τὰς τούτων διαφωνίας συμβιβάσας καὶ ἐπιδιορθωσάμενος καὶ συστήσας ὡς οὐδεὶς ἄλλος τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ), while others testify to Theophanes' input (ἡμῖν, ὡς γνησίοις φίλοις, τήν τε βίβλον ἣν συνέταξε καταλέλοιπε καὶ ἀφορμὰς παρέσχε τὰ ἐλλείποντα ἀναπληρῶσαι / κόπον οὐ τὸν τυχόντα κατεβαλόμεθα. πολλὰς γὰρ βίβλους καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐκζητήσαντες κατὰ τὸ δυνατὸν ἡμῖν καὶ ἐρευνήσαντες τόδε τὸ χρονογραφεῖον / κατὰ τὸ δυνατὸν ἡμῖν ἀκριβῶς συνεγραψάμεθα, οὐδὲν ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν συντάξαντες, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν ἀρχαίων ἱστοριογράφων τε καὶ λογογράφων ἀναλεξάμενοι ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις τόποις τετάχαμεν ἑκάστου χρόνου τὰς πράξεις, ἀσυγχύτως κατατάττοντες· / φίλον γὰρ θεῷ τὸ κατὰ δύναμιν).

The author of the preface calls himself George's γνήσιος φίλος. How are we to understand this "genuine friendship"? The expression never occurs in George's *Ekloge*, although the adjective γνήσιος is used in the sense of "legitimate." Thus George has γνησίους ἀνελὼν παῖδας for "legitimate offspring" (Georg. Sync., p. 354.10–1), τοῖς

25. On the ἀφορμαί mentioned in Theophanes' preface, see MANGO, Who wrote the Chronicle, pp. 9 f.; ŠEVČENKO, The search for the past (quoted n. 2), p. 287; MANGO – SCOTT, p. lv; KAZHDAN, *A history* (quoted n. 2), pp. 216 f.; ADLER – TUFFIN, pp. lxxxi–lxxxiii; P. SOPHOULIS, *Byzantium and Bulgaria, 775–831*, Leiden 2012, pp. 8 f. Even in the initial anni mundi traces of Theophanes' intervention are apparent: the use of ὡς προέφην in AM 5796, or ὥς φασί τινες in the first sentence of AM 5814. The latter expression is also found in AM 5976, p. 130.15 and AM 6106, p. 301.1 (here in the Oriental account). George preferred ὥς τινές φασιν: e.g., pp. 113.13 and 329.8.

26. Is there really "an undeniable discrepancy between the saint's character and the attributes one would expect in a compiler of a massive work of historiography and computation" (MANGO – SCOTT, p. li)? Cf. MANGO, Who wrote the Chronicle, pp. 11 f., for a similar perception.

γνησίας πολίτιας referring to "legitimate citizenry" (p. 359.13), γνησίας αὐτοῦ γαμετῆς for a "lawfully begotten wife" (p. 375.18), υἱὸν γνήσιον for a "lawfully begotten son" (p. 384.6–7), ἀδελφοῦ τε γνησίου for a "legitimate brother" (pp. 414.28–415.1). By contrast, the adjective occurs only twice in Theophanes and is there probably copied from the source covering the late 7th and the early 8th centuries:[27] under AM 6190 (p. 371.9–10) Apsimar's brother, Heraclius, is called γνήσιος αὐτοῦ ἀδελφός, and under AM 6196 (p. 373.1–2) Justinian II's new wife is described in relation to the Khagan of the Khazars as γνησία αὐτοῦ ἀδελφή.

Theophanes was also aware of another meaning of the word, which in seven other occurrences in the *Chronographia* should be understood as "genuine, faithful." Four of them are particularly telling. In the story of the rivalry between Boniface and Aetius (Theoph. AM 5931, pp. 93.34–94.9), Theophanes says that the former believed the treacherous messages from the latter and followed guidance against imperial will ὡς γνησίῳ φίλῳ Ἀετίῳ πιστεύσας.[28] In the entry on Zamanarzos' visit to Constantinople, the chronicler says that the latter's wish was to become αὐτὸν σύμμαχον Ῥωμαίων καὶ φίλον γνήσιον, a wish that was fulfilled by Justinian (AM 6027, p. 216.6–14). In AM 6187 (p. 368.18–30) one reads of general Leontius being accompanied to the harbour of Sophia by his friends, among whom Paul of Callistratus and Gregory the Cappadocian are referred to as οἱ γνήσιοι αὐτοῦ φίλοι. Finally, on his way back to Constantinople with the Bulgarians to reclaim the throne, Justinian II is said to have crossed ways with the spatharius Leo, whose family had been relocated to Messembria by the same emperor a dozen years earlier. To ingratiate himself with the Rhinotmetos, Leo gave him five hundred sheep. θεραπευθεὶς δὲ ὁ Ἰουστινιανὸς σπαθάριον αὐτὸν εὐθέως πεποίηκεν, καὶ ἔσχεν αὐτὸν ὡς γνήσιον φίλον (AM 6209, p. 391.6–11).

References to "genuine friendship" pop up in different genres of Byzantine literature and are hardly ever made lightly. Among Theophanes' contemporaries, Theodore the Studite praises a certain *patricia* for her antiiconoclast stand and declares that he was "a genuine friend" of her late husband.[29] References to "true friends" and "genuine friendship" occur in three other letters to people that seem to be held in high esteem by Theodore.[30] Similar phrases are employed in religious contexts in middle Byzantine

27. On this see D. Afinogenov, The source of Theophanes' *Chronography* and Nikephoros' *Breviarium* for the years 685–717, *Христианский Восток*, n.s., 4, 2002, p. 11–22; Id., The history of Justinian and Leo, in *La Crimée entre Byzance et le khaganat khazar*, éd. par C. Zuckerman (MTM 25), Paris 2006, pp. 181–200; Stephanie Forrest's piece in this volume.

28. Cf. the similar content but different wording in Proc., *BV* I, 3.19–20.

29. Theodore of Studios, *Letter* 206.17–22, in *Theodori Studitae Epistulae. 2*, rec. G. Fatouros, Berolini – Novi Eboraci 1992, p. 328 f.

30. *Letter* 243 (Καὶ πάλιν κόπους σοι παρέσχον, ἄνθρωπε τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ γνήσιε φίλε, ἐπὶ ταῖς [illegible]); 260 ([illegible] καλὸν τὸ ἐλάσμα τῆς ψυχῆς σου, φίλε καλὲ καὶ πιστέ, φίλε γνήσιε καὶ [illegible] θλίψεων καὶ περιστάσεων); 451 (διὸ ἠναγκάσθημεν οἱονεὶ πετασθῆναι τοῖς [illegible], τὸν καλὸν πατέρα, τὸν γνήσιον φίλον, τὸν γενναῖον μάρτυρα τῆς [illegible]).

literature: e.g. τῶν Χριστοῦ θεραπόντων γνήσιος φίλος[31] or γνήσιος φίλος τοῦ θεοῦ.[32] The expression γνήσιος φίλος was also applied to close family relations earlier on in Greek literature, as in Philo (κἂν ἀδελφὸς ἢ υἱὸς ἢ θυγάτηρ ἢ γυνὴ ἡ οἰκουρὸς ἢ γνήσιος φίλος ἤ τις ἕτερος εὔνους εἶναι)[33] or Pseudo-Macarius the Egyptian.[34] Byzantine theological literature was in general familiar with the notion of a sincere, emotional friendship as we may understand it intuitively. In Theodore of Mopsuestia's explanation to psalm 54 (55), 15 one reads, for instance: ἐγλύκανας ἐδέσματα, τουτέστιν συνέφαγες μετὰ πολλῆς τῆς ἡδονῆς, οὐχ ὡς ξένος παρ' ἐμοὶ φαγὼν ἀλλ' ὡς γνήσιος φίλος μετὰ πολλῆς τῆς ἡδονῆς καὶ τῆς τέρψεως καὶ τοῦ θάρσους συμφαγών.[35] Finally, no other ecclesiastical authority ever defined friendship as aptly as John Chrysostom in his commentary to 1 Thess.[36] The same expression was also used in a proverbial sense, e.g. μακάριος ὅστις ἔτυχε γνησίου φίλου,[37] or γνήσιος φίλων ὁ τὰς περιστάσεις κοινούμενος.[38] Confidence is crucial here, whether one links it to formal[39] or to more emotional relationships. That is why in Palladius' *Historia Lausiaca* an angel reveals himself to Evagrius Ponticus disguised as his "genuine friend" to save him from oppression and guide him. Similarly Palladius praises his brother (i.e. his alter ego) for running risks for his "truthful friends."[40] "Genuine friendship" does not exclude either admiration or relations of authority.

31. Michael Syncellus, *Encomium martyrum XLII Amoriensium (versio Γ)*, 5, in *Сказания о 42 аморийских мучениках и церковная служба им.*, изд. В. Г. Васильевский и П. В. Никитин, Санкт-Петербург 1905, p. 25.

32. *Vita et miracula sancti Demetrii*, 5.299, in P. Lemerle, *Les plus anciens recueils des miracles de saint Démétrius et la pénétration des Slaves dans les Balkans. 1, Le texte* (Le monde byzantin), Paris 1979, p. 232. Cf. e.g. Πατάπιος ὁ θεοῦ θεράπων γνήσιος in Andrew of Crete's *In Patapium*, PG 97, col. 1213.

33. Philo, *De specialibus legibus*, I, 316, in *Philonis Alexandrini opera quae supersunt. 5*, ed. L. Cohn, Berlin 1906.

34. Pseudo-Macarius, *Homily* 1, 11, and 28, 4 in *Die 50 geistlichen Homilien des Makarios*, hrsg. von H. Dörries, E. Klostermann, M. Kroeger, Berlin 1964.

35. *Le commentaire de Théodore de Mopsueste sur les Psaumes (I–LXXX)*, ps. LIV [55], 15a-b, éd. R. Devreesse, Città del Vaticano 1939.

36. John Chrysostom, *In epistolam primam ad Thessalonicenses commentarius II*, PG 62, col. 403: Οὐδὲν γάρ, οὐδὲν τῆς τοιαύτης ἀγάπης γλυκύτερον γένοιτ' ἄν· οὐδὲν ἐκεῖ λυπηρὸν συμπεσεῖται. Ὄντως φίλος πιστὸς φάρμακον ζωῆς· ὄντως φίλος πιστὸς σκέπη κραταιά. Τί γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ἐργάσαιτο φίλος γνήσιος; πόσην μὲν οὐκ ἂν ἐμποιήσειεν ἡδονήν; πόσην δὲ ὠφέλειαν; πόσην δὲ ἀσφάλειαν; Κἂν μυρίους θησαυροὺς εἴπῃς, οὐδὲν ἀντάξιον γνησίου φίλου. Καὶ τὰ αὐτῆς πρῶτον εἴπωμεν τῆς φιλίας πόσην ἔχει τὴν ἡδονήν. Γάννυται ὁρῶν αὐτὸν καὶ διαχεῖται, συμπλέκεται συμπλοκὴν αὐτῷ τινα κατὰ τὴν ψυχὴν ἄρρητον ἔχουσαν τὴν ἡδονήν· κἂν ἀναμνησθῇ μόνον αὐτοῦ, διανέστη τῇ διανοίᾳ καὶ ἀνεπτερώθη.

37. *Vita Aesopi Westermanniana (recensio 2)*, 110, 12, in *Aesopica. 1, Greek and Latin texts*, ed. by B. E. Perry, Urbana 1952; cf. Μακάριος, ὅστις ἔτυχε γενναίου φίλου in *Menandri sententiae*, hrsg. von S. Jäkel, Leipzig 1964, v. 471.

38. Evagrius Ponticus, *Spirituales sententiae per alphabetum dipositae*, 27, in *Gnomica. 1*, ab A. Elter edita, Lipsiae 1892, also in the *Sacra parallela* ascribed to John of Damascus, Περὶ φίλων χρηστῶν, PG 96, col. 405.

39. P. Speck, *Kaiser Leon III., die Geschichtswerke des Nikephoros und des Theophanes und der* Liber pontificalis. *1, Die Anfänge der Regierung Kaiser Leons III.* (Ποικίλα βυζαντινά 19), Bonn 2002, pp. 117 f., here with a concept of fratria derived from H.-G. Beck, *Byzantinisches Gefolgschaftswesen*, München 1965. See also Speck, Der "zweite" Theophanes (quoted n. 2), pp. 457 f.

40. Palladio, *La storia Lausiaca*, testo critico e commento a cura di G. J. M. Bartelink, Verona 1974, 38, 5 and 71, 1.

Differences in the internal structure, handling of sources, calculations and literary techniques between the *Chronographia* and the *Eklogē* have long been highlighted.[41] "Genuine friendship" now provides the key to the understanding of the relationship between George and Theophanes as one that is stronger than simple acquaintance, but not devoid of respect, of which the preface offers a straightforward illustration.

The last part of the *Eklogē* lacks George's final touch: it has fewer digressions and complex discussions, and no summaries. Too, the narrative of the following centuries was going to be very different: the sources that had so far accompanied the historian ended and the big chronological issues were solved. The reign of Diocletian was a convenient point for George's retirement, even if his choice may not have been fully deliberate.[42] His work was continued by a loyal friend who undertook the task in a slightly less sophisticated manner than his predecessor, but still successfully. In fact, it is not at all inconceivable that this was Theophanes' only literary undertaking.

Appendix – George's argumentative speech and his use of δείκνυμι

Past tense

ἀποδέδεικται / ὡς … ἀποδέδεικται / καθὼς … ἀποδέδεικται

1. p. 34.2–9: καθὼς ἀνωτέρω σαφῶς ἀποδέδεικται καὶ αὖθις ἐκ τῆς Γενέσεως δειχθήσεται
2. p. 38.12–6: ὡς ἀποδέδεικται ταῖς θεολέκτοις φωναῖς
3. p. 42.20–7: καθ' ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῆς ἀληθείας ἀποδέδεικται [...] καθὼς προαποδέδεικται ἡμῖν
4. p. 76.5–9: ὡς ἐν τῷ τέλει τοῦ κανονίου τῶν Ἀσσυρίων βασιλέων δειχθήσεται, καὶ τὴν παρ' Ἕλλησι δέ, καθὼς ἀποδέδεικται
5. pp. 78.25–79.2: ὡς ἐκ τῶν αὐτοῦ συγγραμμάτων ἀποδέδεικται
6. p. 79.10–4: ὡς αὐτὸς μαρτυρῶν ἀποδέδεικται
7. p. 133.23–9: καθὼς ἐν τῇ προλαβούσῃ συντάξει σαφῶς ἀποδέδεικται [...] συναποδέδεικται
8. pp. 197.27–198.3: ἀποδέδεικται
9. p. 294.14–20: ὡς ἐκεῖσε ἀποδέδεικται κατὰ τὴν τῶν Παραλειπομένων καὶ τοῦ Ἔσδρα γραφήν
10. p. 393.28–30: ὡς ἐν τοῖς πρόσθεν ἡμῖν ἀποδέδεικται

41. Many are elegantly described by Kazhdan, *A history* (quoted n. 2), pp. 216–34; cf. also Чичуров, *Феофан Исповедник* (quoted n. 2), pp. 85 ff.; Любарский, Феофан Исповедник (quoted n. 3); П. В. Кузенков, «Хронография» Георгия Синкелла-Феофана Исповедника : хронологический аспект, in *Καλειδοσκοπ : Юбилейный сборник в честь 60-летия проф. Игоря Сергеевича Чичурова*, ред. М. В. Грацианского и П. В. Кузенкова, Москва 2006, pp. 156 ff.; Sophoulis, *Byzantium and Bulgaria* (quoted n. 25), pp. 10–1.

42. Adler – Tuffin, p. xlviii.

ὡς δέδεικται

11. p. 75.25–30: ὡς δέδεικται
12. p. 89.6–10: ὡς καὶ ἀνωτέρω δέδεικται
13. pp. 96.27–97.1: ὡς δέδεικται
14. p. 135.25–7: ὡς πρὸ βραχέος δέδεικται

ὡς προδέδεικται

15. p. 3.3–7: ὡς προδέδεικται
16. p. 36.5–9: ὡς προδέδεικται
17. p. 289.5–6: ὡς προδέδεικται καὶ ἐν τοῖς μετὰ ταῦτα δειχθήσεται

καθὼς προαποδέδεικται ἡμῖν

18. p. 42.20–7: see above (no. 3)
19. pp. 128.29–129.3: ὡς προαποδέδεικται

συναποδέδεικται

20. pp. 16.28–17.4: see below (no. 22)
21. p. 133.28–9: see above (no. 7)

ἀποδεδειγμένος, ἀποδεδειγμένη

22. pp. 16.28–17.4: ἀπὸ Νεβρὼδ ἀποδεδειγμένης συναποδέδεικται
23. p. 91.1–2: ἀποδεδειγμένου

ὡς ἀπέδειξεν

24. p. 38.26–9: ὡς ἡ ἀλήθεια μόνη ἀπέδειξεν

ἀπεδείξαμεν

25. p. 233.15–7: ἀπεδείξαμεν
26. p. 393.23–24: ἀπεδείξαμεν

Present tense[43]

1. p. 2.21–6: ἀναγκαίως οὖν ἐκ πάντων **δείκνυται** χρονικὴ ἀρχή, καθ' ἣν ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ γεγόνασιν, ἡ ἁγία αὕτη πρωτόκτιστος ἡμέρα, ἣν ὡς θεμέλιον ἀρραγῆ καὶ βάσιν ἄσειστον πηξάμενος τῆσδε τῆς συγγραφῆς, λιπαρῶ τὸν ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ κατ' αὐτὴν οὐ μόνον τὴν αἰσθητὴν κτίσιν ὑποστησάμενον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ καινὴν κτίσιν Χριστὸν θεὸν ἡμῶν συνεργῆσαί μοι τῷ ἀμαθεστάτῳ
2. p. 38.12–6: τῆς δὲ Βαβυλῶνος, ὡς ἀποδέδεικται ταῖς θεολέκτοις φωναῖς, μὴ οὔσης πρὸ τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ οὐδ' ἡ Χαλδαίων βασιλεία ἔσται τὸ πρότερον ἕως τῆς βασιλείας

43. δείκνυται comes from George's source at p. 476.24–7.

Νεβρὼδ καὶ τῆς πυργοποιίας. τούτοις δὲ **συναποδείκνυται** καὶ ἡ παρὰ Μανεθῶ περὶ τῶν πρὸ τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ καὶ δυναστειῶν τῶν Αἰγυπτίων συγγραφὴ ψευδής

3. p. 107.5–8: ἐνταῦθα γὰρ μᾶλλον ἡ γραφὴ συνέτεμε τὰ κατὰ τὸν Θάρα συνάψασα, τά τε πρὸ τῆς πορείας τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν Χαναὰν καὶ τὰ μετὰ τὴν πορείαν, ἅπερ ἦν, ὡς **δείκνυται**, τὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ ρμʹ ἔτους ἕως τοῦ σεʹ ἔτους τοῦ θανάτου αὐτο
4. p. 133.23–9: Ἰακὼβ ἔτει πβʹ τῆς ζωῆς αὐτοῦ ἐγέννησε τὸν Λευί, καθὼς ἐν τῇ προλαβούσῃ συντάξει σαφῶς ἀποδέδεικται. ἀνάγκη γὰρ ἅπασα μεταξὺ τῆς γενέσεως Ἰωσὴφ καὶ Λευὶ θʹ μεσεμβολεῖν ἔτη, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἔνατος ἐτέχθη μετ᾽ αὐτόν. **ἀποδείκνυται** δὲ Ἰωσὴφ ἐκ τῆς γραφῆς τῷ ϙαʹ Ἰακὼβ τεχθείς, εἴ γε ρκʹ ἔτει τοῦ πατρὸς λʹ ἔτος ἄγων ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς Αἰγύπτου ἀναβιβάζεται. συναποδέδεικται δὲ καὶ Λευὶ διὰ τοῦτο πρὸ θʹ ἐτῶν αὐτοῦ τῷ πβʹ ἐξ ἀνάγκης γεννηθεὶς τοῦ Ἰακὼβ ἔτει

Future tense

1. p. 34.2–9: see above, ἀποδέδεικται (no. 1)
2. pp. 39.28–40.4: Ἰδοὺ δὴ καὶ οὗτος ἐξηλλαγμένῃ τινὶ φράσει τὰ Μωυσαϊκὰ παραχαράξας Κρόνον φησὶ κεχρηματικέναι τῷ Νῶε, ἤτοι Ξισίθρῳ, τῷ παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς οὕτω καλεῖσθαι συμφωνηθέντι, τοῦ Κρόνου πολλοῖς ἔτεσι μετὰ τὸν κατακλυσμόν, ὡς **δειχθήσεται**, καὶ τὴν πυργοποιίαν γενομένου μοχθηροῦ τινος καὶ ἀλάστορος
3. p. 57.26–30: … ὅτι αὕτη μὲν ἡ παλαιοτέρα νομιζομένη Αἰγυπτίων συγγραφὴ Ἡφαίστου μὲν ἄπειρον εἰσάγει χρόνον, τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν κθʹ δυναστειῶν ἔτη τρισμύρια ͵ϛϡκεʹ, καίτοι τοῦ Ἡφαίστου πολλοῖς ἔτεσι μετὰ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν καὶ τὴν πυργοποιίαν τῆς Αἰγύπτου βασιλεύσαντος, **ὡς δειχθήσεται ἐν τῷ δέοντι τόπῳ**
4. p. 76.5–9: see above, ἀποδέδεικται (no. 4)
5. p. 76.22–6: Τετάχθωσαν δὲ ἡμῖν ἐφεξῆς αἱ λοιπαὶ δυναστεῖαι τῶν Αἰγύπτου βασιλέων ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς ιηʹ καὶ τοῦ πρώτου βασιλέως αὐτῆς Ἀμὼς μὲν κατὰ Ἀφρικανόν, κατὰ δὲ Εὐσέβιον Ἀμώσιος, κατὰ δὲ τὸ παρὸν χρονογραφεῖον καὶ ἕτερα ἀκριβῆ, **ὡς δειχθήσεται**, δευτέρου τῆς αὐτῆς ιηʹ δυναστείας Ἀμώσιος
6. p. 89.14–5: … ταῦτα οὖν οὕτω μαθόντες καὶ πιστεύοντες καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς τῶν ἱστορικῶν, **ὡς δειχθήσεται**, ὁμοφωνοῦντας
7. p. 91.8–11: οὕτω γὰρ ἐν πέντε κανονίοις κειμένων τῶν ἀπὸ Ἀδὰμ ἕως τοῦ Φαλὲκ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Φαλὲκ ἕως Ἀβραὰμ ἐτῶν, **εὐμαρῶς δειχθήσεται** ἡ σύμφωνος τῇ τε Μωυσαϊκῇ καὶ εὐαγγελικῇ γραφῇ γενεαρχία τε καὶ χρονολογία
8. p. 118.15–8: … οὐκ ἐν πᾶσιν ὁμοφωνήσας τῷ Μανεθῷ κατὰ τοὺς μερικοὺς τῶν βασιλέων χρόνους, οὔτε μὴν τελείως ἐν τῇ τούτων ὁμαδικῇ στοιχειώσει, **ὡς δειχθήσεται** ἐν τῇ πινακικῇ αὐτῶν στοιχειώσει
9. p. 265.16–9: τῷ δὲ βʹ ἔτει τοῦ αὐτοῦ Δαρείου τελείας ἀφέσεως δοθείσης τῷ ἔθνει καὶ τῇ ἀνοικοδομῇ τοῦ ναοῦ, τῷ ϛʹ ἔτει Δαρείου ἐτελειώθη τὸ ἔργον, **ὡς ἐφεξῆς δειχθήσεται** ἐκ τῆς ἱερᾶς τοῦ Ἔσδρα γραφῆς
10. p. 289.5–6: see above, προδέδεικται (no. 3)
11. p. 377.4–6: οὕτω γὰρ καὶ ἡ τῆς ζωοποιοῦ ἀναστάσεως αὐτοῦ ἡμέρα κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν προειρημένην ἡμέραν συναντήσει κατὰ τὰς ἀποστολικὰς παραδόσεις, **ὡς δειχθήσεται**

FROM THE MANY, ONE? THE SHARED MANUSCRIPTS OF THE *CHRONICLE* OF THEOPHANES AND THE *CHRONOGRAPHY* OF SYNKELLOS*

by Jesse W. Torgerson

What did George Synkellos (died ca. 810) have to do with the *Chronicle* of Theophanes the Confessor (completed ca. 814)?[1] Quite a lot, according to the current scholarly consensus. Research on the *Chronicle* of Theophanes has long since established that the relationship between author and text is much more complicated than the clear paternity implied by "of Theophanes." The question is no longer *whether* Synkellos should also be considered an author, but *to what extent*.

At the risk of oversimplification, arguments on the issue now tend to focus on either the direct or the indirect evidence found in the *Chronicle*: both continue to generate hypotheses. By "indirect evidence" I refer to decades of collaborative and painstaking efforts to track down the origins of unattributed quotations, as well as to analyze the style, diction, and syntax of countless individual passages. Scholars taking this approach to the question of authorship have—by and large—concluded that the *Chronicle* was at least partially compiled by someone other than Theophanes. Synkellos himself likely wrote significant portions, though it is difficult to establish consensus on any particular passage.[2] Interpretation of the direct evidence is no less fraught. Theophanes stated in

* I would like to thank the organizers of the colloquium for their foresight and initiative as well as for their encouragement and feedback. My footnotes only partially reflect my particular indebtedness to Filippo Ronconi, whose recent publications did so much to clarify my thinking prior to the conference, and whose subsequent generosity with feedback has greatly improved the piece and saved me from a number of errors. I trust that those which remain will be attributed to nothing but my own limitations.

1. If Cyril Mango's field-changing discussion began with the question "Who wrote the *Chronicle* of Theophanes?", by the end of his article it was clear that the nature of Synkellos' role as author, co-author, or editor would be the predominant issue for subsequent investigations.

2. After Mango's article, some fundamental studies continued to move the debate forward including: P. Speck's *Das geteilte Dossier : Beobachtungen zu den Nachrichten über die Regierung des Kaisers Herakleios und die seiner Söhne bei Theophanes und Nikephoros*, Bonn 1988; and, Rochow's *Byzanz im 8. Jahrhundert*. Particularly relevant in the late Professor Speck's *Kaiser Leon III., die Geschichtswerke des Nikephoros und des Theophanes und der Liber Pontificalis : eine quellenkritische*

his "Preface" that he assembled the *Chronicle* at the dying request of George Synkellos, who was unable to complete his great *Chronography*. Nevertheless, Theophanes used an ambiguous word—ἀφορμαί—to describe what Synkellos bequeathed him to help with the task.[3] Did Synkellos hand Theophanes a "file box" of loose notes, did he give him a mostly-written text to lightly edit, or something else entirely?[4]

In all of this the authorship of the *Chronicle* has remained the predominant concern, with investigations proceeding along the well-worn track of the two authors' relationship to the one text, the *Chronicle*. The conversation has yet to be formulated in a way that shifts the emphasis away from Theophanes to Synkellos, despite the unquestioned fact that the *Chronicle*—whoever wrote it—was the continuation of George Synkellos' *Chronography*, and despite the consensus hypothesis that Synkellos' personal contribution to the text of the *Chronicle* was significant. The present article leaves in suspense the contentious issue of authorship—if only for a moment—to address these issues by posing a different question: one of presentation, reception, and the circulation of the texts in their manuscript codices. What did the *Chronography* of George Synkellos have to do with the *Chronicle* of Theophanes the Confessor in physical, material terms?

There is a precedent for suggesting the two texts' manuscripts have something to do with each other. Alden Mosshammer, editor of the most recent critical edition of Synkellos' *Chronography*, identified an inhibition in describing the transmission of the *Chronography* along the usual lines, as the gradual corruption of the authorial "Ur-text." In his consideration of the manuscript evidence, Mosshammer arrived at the idea that the *Chronography* originally circulated in two parts or in two different forms.[5] Mosshammer depicted this in his stemma as a separation between a "G1" and a "G2" branch of manuscripts:

Untersuchung, Bonn 2002–3, are: the table comparing the accounts in Theophanes' chronicle to the chronicle of Nikephoros I (pp. 49–59); and, a final essay on whether a first (or second) "Dossier" of Synkellos lies behind the *Chronicle* of Theophanes (pp. 375–6). See now P. YANNOPOULOS' definitive assessment of the question in *Théophane de Sigriani, le confesseur : 759-818 : un héros orthodoxe du second iconoclasme*, Bruxelles 2013, especially, pp. 213–73. On the possibility of identifying Theophanes' and Synkellos' "eastern source" for the *Chronicle*'s material concerning the regions of Syria and Palestine, see the contributions to the present volume by M. CONTERNO, M. DEBIÉ, and R. HOYLAND.

3. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ τέλος τοῦ βίου τοῦτον κατέλαβε καὶ εἰς πέρας ἀγαγεῖν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ σκοπὸν οὐκ ἴσχυσεν, ἀλλ᾽, καθὼς προέφημεν, μέχρι Διοκλητιανοῦ συγγραψάμενος τὸν τῇδε βίον κατέλιπε καὶ πρὸς κύριον ἐξεδήμησεν ἐν ὀρθοδόξῳ πίστει, ἡμῖν, ὡς γνησίοις φίλοις, τήν τε βίβλον ἣν συνέταξε καταλέλοιπε καὶ ἀφορμὰς παρέσχε τὰ ἐλλείποντα ἀναπληρῶσαι (C. de Boor, p. 3).

Since, however, [Synkellos] *was overtaken by the end of his life and was unable to bring his plan to completion but, as I have said, had carried his composition down to Diocletian when he left this earthly life and migrated unto the Lord (being in the Orthodox faith), he both bequeathed to me—who was his close friend—the book he had written and provided materials with a view to completing what was missing* (MANGO – SCOTT, p. 1).

4. For the most up-to-date discussions and bibliography see the contributions of A. KOMPA and W. TREADGOLD in the present volume, and W. TREADGOLD's "George Synkellos" in his *Middle Byzantine historians*, Basingstoke 2013, pp. 38–77. I offer sincere thanks for Professor Treadgold's generosity in sharing his chapter in advance of publication.

5. Georg. Sync., Praefatio, 4, p. lxxvii.

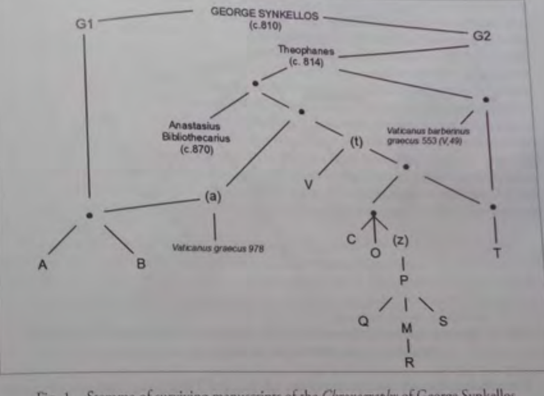


Fig. 1 – Stemma of surviving manuscripts of the *Chronography* of George Synkellos. Re-drawn by the author on the basis of: Georg. Sync., pp. xv & xviii.

The manuscripts of Mosshammer's "G1" branch contain the entire *Chronography* and so were accorded superiority even though they are not the earliest copies. Most of the manuscripts in the "G2" branch are closer in time to the original. Unfortunately these earlier manuscripts contain only the latter portion of the *Chronography*. As in Figure 1, Mosshammer noted a further complication: the portion of the *Chronography* in the "G2" manuscripts was often accompanied by the *Chronicle* of Theophanes.[6] Thus, Mosshammer's reconstruction of the relationships between the surviving manuscripts seems to suggest that the manuscript tradition of Synkellos' *Chronography* is fundamentally "Theophanic."

Studies of the *Chronicle* of Theophanes have not made a corresponding gesture. Though Mosshammer published his edition in 1984, it has remained unclear whether, and to what extent, the manuscript tradition of Theophanes' *Chronicle* is similarly "Synkellan." That is, though Cyril Mango and Roger Scott did account for additional manuscript findings between de Boor's critical edition (1883) and their critical translation of the *Chronicle* (1997), Synkellos' *Chronography* remains completely absent from the *Chronicle*'s updated stemma:

6. Note that by placing the node "Theophanes" directly under "G2" in the stemma Mosshammer only meant to indicate that all copies under the "G2" stemma of the *Chronography* also contained the *Chronicle* of Theophanes, but not the inverse (that all copies of the *Chronicle* contain the *Chronography*).

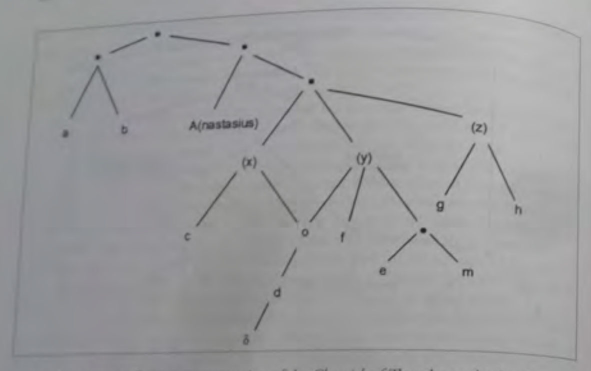


Fig. 2 – Stemma of surviving manuscripts of the *Chronicle* of Theophanes the Confessor. Re-drawn by the author from: Mango – Scott, p. xcvi.

Nevertheless, though this stemma of the *Chronicle* of Theophanes makes no mention of the *Chronography* of Synkellos, it is a fact that the majority of the medieval manuscripts are common to both texts. Mosshammer's "A" (fig. 1) and de Boor's "g" (fig. 2) in truth represent the same manuscript, *Paris. gr.* 1711. Likewise: "O" and "o" represent *Wake Greek* 5; "V" and "c" represent *Vaticanus gr.* 155; "T" and "b" represent *Vaticanus graecus 154*; and, "C" and "f" represent *Paris. Coislin gr.* 133. Only Mosshammer's "B" (*Paris. gr.* 1764), de Boor's "d" (*Paris. gr.* 1710), and his "h" (*Vaticanus gr.* 978) indicate medieval manuscripts containing one of the texts without the other.[7]

In what follows I will first scrutinize the strongest material evidence *against* Mosshammer's idea that a portion of the *Chronography* and the *Chronicle* originally circulated in the same codices. This evidence consists of Mosshammer's "G1" branch, the two "complete" but less ancient manuscripts containing the *Chronography* of Synkellos, from the Creation (AM 1) to Diocletian (AM 5776, that is 283/4 AD): *Paris. gr.* 1711 (s. 11) and *Paris. gr.* 1764 (s. 10).

7. See Table 1, below. Mosshammer included *Vat. gr.* 978 in his stemma though without a siglum: see the discussion below, pp. 113-5. The remaining sigla indicate manuscripts that I have excluded from the following discussion because—as the stemmata point out—they are late copies of earlier manuscripts that have survived. These MSS are:

[illegible] =	*Vat. Pal. gr.* 395	(s. 16)	R =	*Rom. Vallic.* 92	(s. 16)
[illegible] =	*Monacensis gr.* 391	(s. 16)	S =	*Basiliensis* 82	(s. 16)
[illegible] =	*Vat. gr.* 979	(an. 1571)	a =	*Vat. Barb.* 553 (*V.49*)	(s. 16)
δ =	*Paris. gr.* 1709	(s. 16)			

If we turn to these two "complete" *Chronography* manuscripts, we are immediately confronted with the fact that the manuscript *Paris. gr.* 1711 presents a unique and contradictory case. The manuscript is both Mosshammer's "A" and de Boor's "g;" it is the only manuscript to contain the entire universal chronicle of Synkellos and Theophanes from AM 1 to AM 6305 (that is, AD 812/813).[8] It has also been shown to have undergone a number of alterations. Filippo Ronconi recently subjected the manuscript to a rigorous examination and found a complex and multi-layered history of editing and reconstitution in its palaeography, stratigraphy, and codicology.[9] Ronconi concluded that the evidence of this manuscript—however fascinating—testifies to the interests of its copyists and editors in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, but can offer little that is certain about the original codicology of the earliest exemplars.[10] Given the focus of the present investigation, it seems most prudent to me to abstain from using this manuscript as the basis for any definitive conclusions regarding the original codicological context of the *Chronography* and the *Chronicle*.

On the other hand, *Paris. gr.* 1764 presents the entire *Chronography* apart from any other text, as a single whole, alone and in a single manuscript codex. Thus, it is in truth *Paris. gr.* 1764 alone which stands in direct opposition to Mosshammer's proposal that the latter portion of the *Chronography* first circulated with the *Chronicle* of Theophanes. In order to progress towards an answer concerning the true degree of overlap between the manuscript traditions of the *Chronography* and the *Chronicle*, we must clarify the nature of Mosshammer's proposal. What are the "two parts" of Synkellos' *Chronography*? Exactly how pervasive in the manuscript tradition is the division, and was the division original to the author and the authorial exemplar?

I. A division in the *Chronography* of Synkellos?

First, let us define the *Chronography* of Synkellos in a way that allows us to speak coherently about the division noticed by Alden Mosshammer. Synkellos wrote (or compiled) his text between AD 808 and AD 810.[11] All told, Synkellos managed to cover the years of the world AM 1-5777.[12] That is, Synkellos completed an account of the passage

8. Thus, as a codex, *Paris. gr.* 1711 reflects Synkellos' original plan for a chronography that stretched from the Creation of the world to the early ninth century.

9. F. Ronconi, Juxtaposition/assemblage de textes et histoire de la tradition : le cas du Par. Gr. 1711, in *The legacy of Bernard de Montfaucon : three hundred years of studies on Greek handwriting*, ed. by A. Bravo García, I. Pérez Martín and J. Signes-Codoñer, Turnhout 2010, pp. 503-20, 900-2.

10. At least part of the rationale that led to its current state is fairly apparent. The manuscript presents, in succession, the *Chronography* and the *Chronicle*, along with the text of the Scriptor Incertus and the *Chronicle* of Symeon the Logothete. Together these texts constitute a single continuous universal chronicle of nearly 6,500 years of the history of the world, from the Creation—the ἀρχή—to the mid-tenth century. This is a common theme among the later medieval copies of the *Chronography* and the *Chronicle*. For instance, see below pp. 115-6, concerning *Vat. gr.* 154.

11. The dates of composition were deduced from some of Synkellos' asides by R. Laqueur, Synkellos, in *RE*, col. 1398. The passages in question can be found at: Georg. Sync., pp. 2 and 6 and Adler – Tuffin, pp. 3 and 8. Henceforward the edition and translation of Synkellos' *Chronography* will be cited as: M 3 / AT 2 with "M" referring to Mosshammer and "AT" to Adler – Tuffin.

12. Though Synkellos of course reckoned by Κόσμου ἔτη, scholarly convention demands the use of "AM" for the Latin Anno Mundi.

of time from the Creation until Diocletian's accession in AD 284 before handing over what remained to Theophanes.

Mosshammer noted a division within Synkellos' incomplete *Chronography* in his 1984 critical edition, *Ecloga Chronographica*. The division in the edition separates approximately eighty percent of the *Chronography*—from the Creation of the World in AM 1 to the conquest of Jerusalem by Pompey in AM 5434 (63 BC)—from the portion that followed—the account of the Roman Empire, the life of Christ, and the early Christian Church (AM 5434 – AM 5777). This division was intended to reflect the fact already noted: both the earliest of the surviving manuscripts, and the majority of them, contain *only* the latter portion of the *Chronography*, the portion following from AM 5434. These manuscripts introduced their incomplete, concluding portion of the *Chronography* with a short preface, duly printed by Mosshammer:

> *The treatise (that is, chronography), of George, the most devout monk and Synkellos of Tarasios the most holy archbishop of Constantinople, in the form of an epitome from Julius Caesar's reign over the Romans, AM 5434, up to the first year of the reign of Diocletian, AM 5777, totaling 343 years.*[13]

For the sake of maintaining clarity over the course of the following analysis, from this point forward I will delineate these two portions of the text of the *Chronography* by distinct titles:

> *Chronographia1* = AM 1 (Creation) – AM 5434 (Pompey in Jerusalem, 63 BC)
> *Chronographia2* = AM 5434 – AM 5777 (Diocletian's accession, AD 284)

As has already been stated, Mosshammer—who was later followed by the *Chronography*'s translators William Adler and Paul Tuffin[14]—suggested that the text was *physically partitioned* in this way. Evidence from the manuscripts led Mosshammer to believe that this preface was neither a happenstance nor a corruption in the tradition: the *Chronography* seemed to have originally circulated in two separate codices.

There are some immediate problems with this suggestion, acknowledged but still unsolved. First, *Chronographia1* does not exist alone in any manuscript.[15] If *Chronographia1* was separate from *Chronographia2*, did it circulate with something else, and if so, what? Secondly, as a text of approximately 50-60 folios, *Chronographia2* is *far* too short to have done so. In other words, if it is true that in the ninth century the two portions of the *Chronography* were indeed separate from each other and circulated as *Chronographia1* and *Chronographia2*, they must have been joined to other texts instead.

Thus, any attempt to clarify the codicological relationship between Synkellos' *Chronography* and Theophanes' *Chronicle* is dependent upon a lucid description of the original circulation of Synkellos' *Chronography* itself. Did Synkellos himself divide the *Chronography* into *Chronographia1* and *Chronographia2*? How ubiquitous was the

13. [illegible]; for the Greek text as in the manuscripts see the discussion with figures below p. [illegible].

14. [illegible] *Theophanis in duabus partibus* [illegible] the comments of ADLER – TUFFIN, pp. lxxvi-lxxvii.

15. [illegible] 120–50 ff. seems a bit short to be the only [illegible]

division at AM 5434? Was the text sometimes read as divided between *Chronographia1* and *Chronographia2*, and in other cases as an unbroken text? My analysis of the degree to which the evidence can answer these questions will focus in particular on the manuscript *Paris. gr.* 1764 (Mosshammer's "B"). Following the discussion of this manuscript I will return to the larger question of the relationship between the *Chronicle* and *Chronography*, and will conclude by suggesting how the approach taken here might impact on study of the *Chronicle* of Theophanes.

II. Manuscript evidence for and against an original division in the *Chronography*

Paris. gr. 1764 is the only manuscript in which *Chronographia2* directly follows *Chronographia1* without any intermediary or adjoining texts. While *Paris. gr.* 1764, like *Paris. gr.* 1711, has to the present been dated as a product of the eleventh century, comparing its script to other dated manuscripts indicates that the tenth century is a more accurate supposition.[16] Thus *Paris. gr.* 1764, is not only the only instance of a complete and independent *Chronography*, it is also the older of the two "G1" manuscripts (fig. 1). At this level of analysis it seems to stand in blatant opposition to Mosshammer's proposal of an original circulation in two codices.[17] The following discussion assesses the text and its depiction in the manuscript, with especial attention to the conjunction of *Chronographia1* with *Chronographia2*.[18]

This discussion is, by necessity, limited and should only be considered a preliminary study highlighting some of the manuscript's distinctive features most relevant to the question at hand. This manuscript deserves to receive a comprehensive and focused analysis. Among other issues, the manuscript is incomplete.[19] Until such an account of the original contents and appearance of *Paris. gr.* 1764 has been formulated, any conclusions drawn must be viewed as hypotheses. For the present, I will focus my attention on the crucial point for the present discussion: the account of AM 5434, the place in the manuscript at which *Chronographia1* ends and *Chronographia2* begins. The text we have labelled *Chronographia1* draws to a close in *Paris. gr.* 1764 with the three lines at the top of fol. 120ʳ (fig. 3). As Mosshammer observed, the reader's eye will immediately be drawn to the beginning of *Chronographia2*, for it is marked by the decorated capital Π in the left margin.[20] As we will see, it is also important to observe the two acanthus leaves—stretching into the right and the left margins, respectively—which delineate this point. In what follows I will first consider the narrative of the text before and after this division, and then return to a discussion of the distinctive palaeography and decoration.

16. I am entirely indebted to F. Ronconi for making this observation, though I accept all responsibility for the assertion. Ronconi has suggested to me that *Jerusalem Greek Patriarchal Library* 24 (ca. 900) and *Athos Lavra* 446 (AD 984) provide a defensible range for the date of the manuscript's script.

17. Georg. Sync., p. xvii.

18. The following discussion builds on the observations of Georg. Sync., pp. xii–xiii, and especially at pp. xvii–xix.

19. Containing only three quarters of the full *Chronography*, *Paris. gr.* 1764 survives today beginning and ending mid-word (-άσι on Georg. Sync., p. 56.21, and μυθεύ- on p. 416.19).

20. Georg. Sync., pp. xvii-xviii.

Chronographia1 ends just after Pompey's conquest of Jerusalem, in the midst of the triumphant general's return to Rome with Aristoboulos—the captured king of the Jews—and the king's family. I provide the complete Greek text but an abbreviated translation for emphasis:

> Ὁ Πομπήιος παραδοὺς Σκαύρῳ διέπειν καὶ δύο Ῥωμαϊκὰ τάγματα πρὸς συμμαχίαν εἰς Ῥώμην ἠπείγετο διὰ Κιλικίας, αὐτὸς τὸν μέγιστον κατατάξων θρίαμβον, ἐπαγόμενος τοὺς ἡττηθέντας αὐτῷ βασιλεῖς Φαρνάκην Μηθριδάτου υἱόν, τὸν καὶ καρτερήσαντα τὸν ἴδιον ἀνελεῖν πατέρα Μηθριδάτην τῇ πρὸς Πομπήιον χάριτι καὶ αὖθις κατὰ Ῥωμαίων στασιάσαντα, Κόλχων ἤτοι Λαζῶν βασιλέα, ἄρχοντας Ἰβήρων κʹ, Ἀριστόβουλον Ἰουδαίων βασιλέα σὺν θυγατράσι δυσὶ καὶ υἱοῖς, Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ Ἀντιγόνῳ, ὧν ὁ νεώτερος ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ διαδρὰς Ἀλέξανδρος εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἐπάνεισι στασιάσων, ὡς δηλωθήσεται.

> *Pompey* [...] *set out in haste to Rome* [...] [and] *brought with him those he had defeated* [...] *Aristoboulos king of the Jews, along with his two daughters and sons, Alexander and Antigonos. Alexander, the younger of the two, escaped on the way and—inciting rebellion—made his way back to Judea,* as will be explained.[21]

The text then continues on the fourth line of the folio with the decorated initial Π:

> Πομπήιος οὖν πολιορκίᾳ λαβὼν τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα Ἀριστόβουλον μὲν δέσμιον σὺν τοῖς παισὶν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ Ἀντιγόνῳ κατεῖχεν εἰς Ῥώμην ἀπιών, θριαμβεύσων καὶ ἄλλων ἐθνῶν βασιλεῖς καὶ ἡγεμόνας·

> *Pompey, then, upon capturing Jerusalem by siege, took Aristoboulos captive along with his sons Alexander and Antigonos and departed for Rome, to lead in triumph the kings and leaders of the other nations as well.*[22]

As is readily apparent, between these two sentences the plot actually regresses chronologically.

Alexander's escape from Rome and subsequent rebellion in Judea had just been mentioned at the top of fol. 120ʳ, and yet following the decorated initial *(littera notabilior)* the narrative immediately travels back in time, as Alexander is once again held captive by Pompey on the way to Rome. Additionally, the promise at the end of *Chronographia1* that Alexander's rebellion "will be explained" (δηλωθήσεται) seems to be a completely unnecessary promise; the rebellion occurs a few lines later on the very same folio (fig. 3, last reproduced line). It seems strange for Synkellos to have felt the need to promise a story that would appear so soon:

> Ἀλέξανδρος υἱὸς Ἀριστοβούλου πρεσβύτερος διαδρὰς τὸν Πομπήιον εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἔρχεται καὶ πρὸς βραχὺ κρατήσας πολλῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς ἀρχῆς ὑπὸ Γαβινίου καὶ Ἀντωνίου πολεμηθεὶς ἐκβάλλεται.

21. Emphasis mine. M 359.16–24, and see AT 431 for a full translation. Adler and Tuffin add the qualifier "later" as in: "as will be explained later." Though this is clearly the sense of the clause, I have left the word out to more accurately reflect the original Greek.

22. Translation slightly altered to bring Pompey's name to the front of the sentence, as in the Greek text. M 360.10–2 / AT 431.

> *Aristoboulos' elder son Alexander escaped from Pompey and arrived in Judea. After gaining control over a large body of Jews and even the government for a short while, he was attacked and ousted by Gabinus and Antony.*[23]

Considering all of these issues, why would Synkellos intentionally write such a jarringly incongruent narrative?

Returning to the manuscript itself, the particular decoration of the text on this folio—the combination of acanthus leaves stretching into both the left and right margins, along with a large three-dimensional capital letter—contains a number of irregularities that are entirely out of sorts with the patterns established over the course of the manuscript.[24] While both of these decorative elements occur with some frequency throughout *Paris. gr.* 1764, in combination they occur on only one other folio, on fol. 17ʳ (compare fig. 3 and fig. 4).

In order to judge the significance of this parallel in particular, it is necessary to establish the decorative patterns utilized over the course of the manuscript by our scribe. *Paris. gr.* 1764 is filled with examples of two-dimensional, block-letter *litterae notabiliores* that vary in height up to approximately twice the height of a regular majuscule letter. Some of these block capitals are colored in but most are not. A number of examples can be drawn from a single opening seven pages prior to fol. 120ʳ, the opening of fol. 116ᵛ–117ʳ

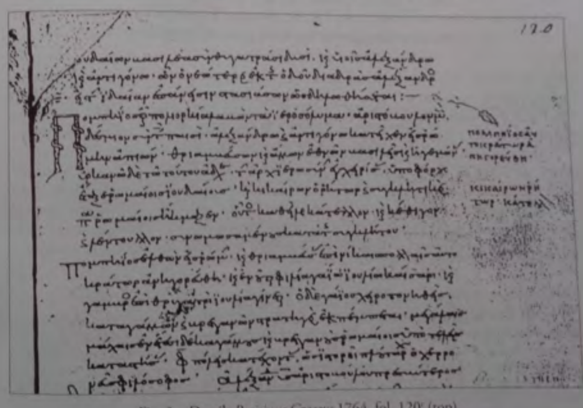


Fig. 3 – Detail: *Parisinus Graecus* 1764, fol. 120ʳ (top).
Detail of the transition between *Chronographia1* and *Chronographia2*
—AM 5434—in the only surviving "Chronography-only" manuscript.

23. M 360.24–361.1 / AT 432.

24. See the comments by Mosshammer, Georg. Sync., p. 360, *app. crit.*



Fig. 4 – Detail: *Parisinus Graecus* 1764, fol. 17r (middle).
Most similar graphic comparison to fol. 120r (fig. 3): a double-acanthus leaf division in the text, and a three-line three-dimensional decorated capital letter.

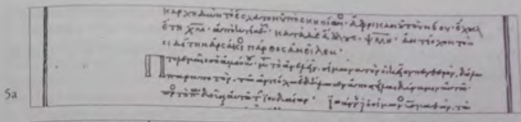
(fig. 5a and fig. 5b). The decorated letters here—in the account of the period leading up to the Roman conquest of Judea—seem to function as an alert to the reader of headings and minor narrative divisions.[25] Though the organizational function of the letters seems key to their use, I have not identified any systematic pattern to these minor elaborations.

My research has, however, produced nineteen possible *comparanda* internal to *Paris. gr.* 1764 for the Π on fol. 120r. I have cast the net as widely as seemed plausible, judging primarily on the basis of decoration (an attempt at three-dimensional plasticity), and secondarily on the basis of size (three lines in height, or nearly so).[26] Of the nineteen comparable decorated letters in the manuscript, fifteen occur in *Chronographia1*. The places in the text marked by these fifteen decorated letters fall into three neat categories:

25. M 353.3–9 / AT 424 and M 354.17–23 / AT 425–6.

26. It is difficult to make an exact distinction in practice between two-dimensional *litterae notabiliores* with some artistic flair, and three-line, three-dimensional capitals designed to give the appearance of plasticity. In addition to reiterating the point made above—that this manuscript calls for further study—the reader may wish to formulate his or her own opinion in cases where the scribal intent seems ambiguous. Particularly vexing are the letters denoting resumptions of the discussion of the chronological problem of the seventy-year captivity: P on fol. 76r (at M 259.23); and, B on fol. 83v (M 275.14). Additional conundrums—whether on the basis of graphic elements or content—include: E on fol. 4r (at M 66.22); Ω on fol. 8v (at M 79.29); Ω on fol. 9r (at M 77.10); λ on fol. 21v (at M 114.2); T on fol. 25r (at M 126.4); I on fol. 45r (at M 175.23); E on fol. 65v (at M 234.9); P on fol. 72r (at M 250.5); Π on fol. 94v (at M 300.28); Π on fol. 116v (at M 353.3–9); Δ at fol. 129r (mid-line at M 382.20); H and Θ on fol. 138r (at M 404.8 and M 405.8); and, M on fol. 139r (at M 405.19). It remains my opinion, however, that in these cases we witness either later additions or at best original decorations of a lower magnitude.

5a



5b

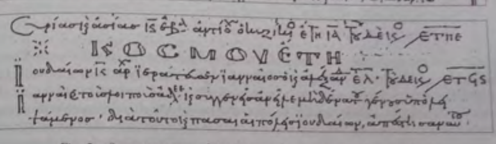


Fig. 5 – Some instances of the frequently-occuring undecorated two-dimensional initial capital letters in *Parisinus Graecus* 1764.
5a – Fol. 116v (top) Beginning of the narrative describing the events that would lead to the fall of Judea to the Romans.
Critical text: Georg. Sync., p. 353.3–9.
5b – Fol. 117r (bottom). End of the entry for AM 5385; beginning of the entry for AM 5396.
Critical text: Georg. Sync., p. 354.17–23.

1. Immediately following a summary of the argument, the capital letter marks a departure from the narrative into discussion of a specific chronological complexity:
   i. after the post-flood division of the earth among the sons of Noah, how to reckon the post-flood period from AM 2572 to AM 2776 (fol. 1r at M 56.24)
   ii. after the foregoing discussion, how to reckon the Egyptian dynasties for the same period (fol. 2r at M 59.6)
   iii. after tallying the chronology through the fifteenth generation from Adam, an authoritative summary of Synkellos' chronology (fol. 13r at M 91.13)
   iv. after the foregoing summary, a summary of the Septuagint's authoritative chronology of the same period (fol. 13v at M 92.6)
   v. after the twenty-first generation of Hebrew patriarchs (Abraham's generation), various opinions on Abraham's relative chronology (fol. 21r at M 112.17)
   vi. after the death of Joseph (son of Jacob-Israel), how to reckon the chronology of Moses (fol. 27v at M 129.31)
   vii. after the accession of Joachaz and then Joakeim (kings of Judah) in AM 4883, how to date the fall of Jerusalem to Nebuchadnezzar and the subsequent seventy-year captivity of the Jews (fol. 75r at M 258.1);
2. The capital letter marks a chronological entry of major significance:
   i. AM 2776, the "dispersion" of the nations after the Tower of Babel (fol. 17r at M 101.4)
   ii. AM 3313, the birth of Abraham (fol. 20v at M 110.23–4)
   iii. AM 3413, the birth of Isaac, the patriarch Abraham's only son (fol. 22v at M 116.19)

iv. AM 3734, the birth of Moses' older brother Aaron and the beginning of the narrative of Moses and the exodus of the Israelites from Egypt (fol. 31r at M 138.15);[27]

3. The capital letter marks the introduction of a new succession of kings into the chronological schema:
   i. the Sikyonian Greeks (fol. 20v at M 110.9)
   ii. the Latins (fol. 55r at M 200.7)
   iii. the Macedonians (fol. 66r at M 234.2)
   iv. the Persians (fol. 84r at M 278.9).

Of the four *comparanda* found in *Chronographia2*, one fits into the second category above, the entry for the year AM 5500 in which Christ became incarnate (fol. 128v at M 380.19). Interestingly, the other three examples from *Chronographia2* do not fit any of the categories just delineated.[28] In fact, the use of the three-dimensional three-line capital letter in these final instances seems entirely divorced from the textual content. It is of course possible to over-interpret this change given the relatively small sample size. Nevertheless, the immediate loss of the organizational regularity for decorated capitals established over the course of *Chronographia1* could indicate that the scribe was working with a manuscript of *Chronographia2* that had been copied by a different hand using a different hierarchy of scripts. A possible explanation is that the scribe of *Paris. gr.* 1764 neglected to plan out how to regularize the content of *Chronographia2* with the decorative schema established over the course of *Chronographia1*; the result is the haphazard nature of these later decorations.[29]

Still, it can be stated with certainty that even amidst this generously constituted group of decorated capitals, the decorated capital on fol. 120r still stands out as distinct. In the nineteen other examples cited from *Paris. gr.* 1764 (whether in *Chronographia1* or *Chronographia2*) each large capital letter is preceded by some sort of heading or summary, either in majuscule script, or in the block-capital script described above (see: ΚΌΣΜΟΥ ἜΤΗ on fol. 17r, fig. 5b). There is no such heading on fol. 120r to anticipate the capital Π, only the manuscript's regular minuscule script. Additionally, the other nineteen decorated capitals create the illusion of plasticity by imitating *either* a vine twisted round a post, *or* the stonework of a column. Only the Π on fol. 120r combines the two types in one; the letter is unique within the manuscript.

The other distinctive graphic element on fol. 120r is the pair of acanthus vines stretching into either margin of the page just before the capital Π, and exactly marking the end of *Chronographia1*. While single acanthus vines are somewhat common in the manuscript, double acanthus vines are rare.[30] The three other uses of a *double* acanthus-leaf

27. Graphically, this instance is the most questionable comparison: the letter—though decorated in the same three-dimensional manner as the others—is diminutive, only two lines in height.

28. (1) AM 5530, a mid-point during the discussion of the reign of Claudius (fol. 139r at M 406.14); (2) AM 5553, the martyrdom of Paul during the reign of emperor Nero (fol. 140r at M 408.22); and, (3) AM 5564, the death of Nero and the accession of emperor Vespasian (fol. 143v at M 416.8).

29. The Λ with an acanthus leaf decoration on fol. 129r is an extreme example of the confusing decoration of *Chronographia2* in this manuscript. The letter in this case is placed mid-sentence on the contraction [illegible] (see M 382.20).

30. There are fifteen examples of single acanthus leaves throughout the manuscript. The use of the single acanthus—granted, without a great deal of systematization—seems to be to re-orient the reader in the midst of a complex discussion: twelve of the examples occur in a concentrated spurt at the beginning of the manuscript, within the more technical chronological discussions of the manuscripts' first thirteen folios (fol. 3r–13v): fol. 3r (at M 62.8); fol. 4r (at M 65.108–9 and M 66.1–2); fol. 4v (at M 66.7 and M 67.7); fol. 8v (at M 76.27); fol. 9r (at M 77.129); fol. 10r (at M 80.15 and M 82.26); fol. 11v (at M 87.7); fol. 12r (at M 87.22); and, fol. 13v (at M 92.5). The other three instances are found on: fol. 26v (at M 127.20); fol. 51v (at M 192.5); and, fol. 88r (at M 285.26). It could be argued that the arrow-leaf in the right margin of fol. 120r functions as an arrow, or a "see here" marker pointing to the interjecting marginal note: "Pompey was publicly proclaimed *autokrator*" (Πομπήιος αὐ|τοκράτωρ ἀ|νηγορεύθη). If so, it is unclear why this note would be considered more important than—for instance—the unmarked note on Cicero just below.

division are distinct from the double acanthus on fol. 120r for they occur as part of a series of dots and dashes stretching across an entire line: complete one-line breaks that mark conceptual divisions in the flow of the text (as in fig. 4).[31] On fol. 9v the one-line division marks the end of Synkellos' lengthy refutation of Africanus' and Eusebius' dating of the life of Moses.[32] I will return to the second double-acanthus—on fol. 17r—momentarily. The third one-line division occurs on fol. 34r and marks the end of the chronology up to the exodus of the Israelites from Egypt (though it lacks the acanthus decoration).[33] Finally, the fourth one-line division (here again with a double-acanthus) was placed on fol. 88v, at the beginning of the reign of the high priests over Israel during the reign of Cyrus of Persia.[34] With the exception of the division on fol. 88v and on fol. 120r, these divisions are associated with majuscule script (whether before, after, or both before and after the division). Once again, the decorative palaeography on fol. 120r stands out as unusual: a double acanthus leaf decoration *without* a full-line division occurs at no other place in the text of the manuscript.

I have withheld discussion of the graphic elements on fol. 17r of *Paris. gr.* 1764 until now in order to fully contextualize discussion of this folio's decorative similarities with fol. 120r (compare fig. 3 and fig. 4). Both folios display a three-dimensional, three-line capital letter, and both folios divide the preceding text from the foregoing text with a pair of acanthus vines. The decoration on fol. 17r differs from fol. 120r in that the accompanying palaeography coincides harmoniously with the special elements: on fol. 17r a block-capital ΚΟΣΜΟΥ ΕΤΗ follows the full line of decoration accompanying the pair of vines. The content of fol. 17r also coincides with its distinctive decoration: one could say that fol. 17r marks the beginning of the *Chronography* proper. At this point Synkellos has just concluded his argument concerning the exclusive reliability of the Septuagint translation of the Scriptures for calculating a chronology from the Creation of the World.[35] After this division, beginning from AM 2776 at the Tower of Babel and the "dispersion of the seventy-two nations," Synkellos proceeds according to a different chronological methodology. From this point on Synkellos constructs his chronology of the world by coordinating multiple historical records in order to establish chronological

31. The four uses of such a break occur on: fol. 9v (at M 79.22); fol. 17r (at M 101.4); fol. 34r (at M 147.1); and, fol. 88v (at M 288.1). The line-division at fol. 34r seems to lack the acanthus leaves at the end of the trailing lines stretching into the margins.

32. Begun on fol. 8v with a single acanthus vine and a decorated letter (from the text beginning at M 76.27) and ending at M 79.22 with this division on fol. 9v.

33. M 146.5.

34. M 288.1.

35. M 101.4 / AT 125.

synchronizations between various rulers. This spot in the text is unquestionably one of the most significant transitions in the *Chronography*: the content fully merits the distinctive palaeography.

As we have seen, the capital Π in the margin of fol. 120r is, by contrast, a palaeographic irregularity: the decorative elements are completely at odds with the patterns established for their use over the course of the manuscript. Furthermore, while the notations on fol. 17v serve to divide two coherent sections of the text at a moment of major chronological significance, the historical moment marked by the capital Π and the pair of acanthus leaves on fol. 120r—Pompey's return to Rome—is hardly the chronological equivalent of the beginning of recorded history.[36] In the context of *Paris. gr.* 1764, the content of fol. 120r does not in any way merit its distinctive palaeography. Finally, not only does the event seem unworthy, the prose hardly complies. As we have seen, the disjointed narrative of this moment on fol. 120r is hardly coherent and acquires no apparent gain from decoratively dividing the text. This is the only example of such dissonance between palaeography and content in the entire manuscript.

The only justification for any notation at all between these sentences is that this is the meeting point between the portions of the text I have labelled *Chronographia1* and *Chronographia2*. The distinction between *Chronographia1* and *Chronographia2* is based entirely on the hypothesis that these portions of the text circulated in distinct manuscripts. Can we construct an explanation for the oddities of fol. 120r on the basis of this circulation? The evidence all points to scribal intervention and modification of the text. Let us suppose that the scribe of *Paris. gr.* 1764 did not work from an exemplar containing the complete *Chronography*. If, rather, our scribe was altering the *status quo* by copying *Chronographia1* from one manuscript and *Chronographia2* from another, he would have had to confront the challenge of altering a layout originally designed to re-introduce a text in an independent volume, so that it conformed to its new role as an intermediary paragraph. The scribe would have had to organize content through variation in scripts where such an organization did not previously exist. This would explain the fact that the graphic elements of *Chronographia2*—the text following fol. 120r—do not fit neatly into the patterns established in the manuscript up to that point (as discussed above).

The evidence found in other manuscripts of the *Chronography* seems to support this idea. The oldest complete copy of *Chronographia2* is the ninth-century manuscript *Wake Greek* 5 held in Christ Church College Library, Oxford. In *Wake Greek* 5, the *Chronicon*

36. Perhaps only the Incarnation of Christ would have merited such distinction, for in Synkellos' chronological schema the Incarnation is mentioned multiple times as the central epoch-making chronological division, and the Incarnation's centrality and ubiquity is unavoidable throughout the *Chronography*. Some sample discussions from *Chronographia1* can be found at M 1.14–28 / AT 1–2 and M 35.20–37.11 / AT 46–9; some discussions in *Chronographia2* arise at M 376.26–378.18 / AT 449–52 and M 380.15–382.4 / AT 454–5. Alternatively, on Nebuchadnezzar's reign as a central concern see: M 258.11–22 / AT 316–7; M 259.10–22 / AT 318; M 259.30–260.5 / AT 319 (on the importance of reckoning from the fourth year of Joakeim of Judea because it is the first year of Nebuchadnezzar); M 260.17–261.6 / AT 319–20 (on Nebuchadnezzar's accession again functions as the beginning of an epoch); and, M 262.11–264.31 / AT 322–5. Finally, Nebuchadnezzar is given prominence for his relationship to the seventy-year captivity of the Jews in Babylon and an extended discussion intended to settle the debate on how to date it: M 265.1–278.18 / AT 325–40, resumed at M 289.17–295.32 / AT 353–9.

Syntomon of Patriarch Nikephoros I precedes *Chronographia2*, which then starts from the top of fol. 12r (fig. 6). The text of *Chronographia2* begins with the short majuscule preface cited earlier:

> ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΕΥΛΑΒΕΣΤΑΤΟΥ ΜΟΝΑΧΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΣΥΓΚΕΛΛΟΥ ΓΕΓΟΝΟΤΟΣ ΤΑΡΑΣΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΩΤΑΤΟΥ ΑΡΧΙΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΥΠΟΛΕΩΣ ΣΥΝΤΑΞΙΣ ΗΤΟΙ ΧΡΟΝΟΓΡΑΦΙΑ ΕΝ ΕΠΙΤΟΜΩΙ ΑΠΟ ΤΗΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑΣ ΙΟΥΛΙΟΥ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ ΡΩΜΑΙΩΝ ΕΤΟΥΣ ΑΠΟ ΚΤΙΣΕΩΣ ΚΟΣΜΟΥ ,ΕΥΛΔ΄ ΜΕΧΡΙ ΤΗΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑΣ ΤΟΥ ΠΡΩΤΟΥ ΕΤΟΥΣ ΔΙΟΚΛΗΤΙΑΝΟΥ ΚΟΣΜΟΥ ΕΤΟΥΣ ,ΕΨΟΖ΄ ΟΜΟΥ ΕΤΗ ΤΜΓ΄
>
> *The treatise (that is, chronography), of George, the most devout monk and Synkellos of Tarasios the most holy archbishop of Constantinople, in the form of an epitome from Julius Caesar's reign over the Romans,* AM *5434, up to the first year of the reign of Diocletian,* AM *5777, totaling 343 years.*[37]

The preface in majuscule script is a statement of the author's identity and a re-summary of Synkellos' calculation of the Years of the World. The text of *Chronographia2* immediately follows the preface accompanied by the same marginal note we already saw in *Paris. gr.* 1764: "Pompey was publicly proclaimed *autokrator*."

The dissonant reading experience created by fol. 120r of *Paris. gr.* 1764—that is, reading straight through the end of *Chronographia1* into the beginning of *Chronographia2*—is obviated on fol. 12r of *Wake Greek* 5. This portion of the text's

Fig. 6 – Detail: Oxford, Christ Church College Library, *Wake Greek* 5, fol. 12r (top) Beginning of *Chronographia2* (AM 5434).

37. M 360.1–9 / AT 431.

peculiar recapitulations—noted above—now make perfect sense: if *Chronographia2* was the first part of the *Chronography* that the reader of this new codex had experienced, the regressive plot—noted above—would bring clarity.[38] Here, the narrative back-tracking and Synkellos' one-sentence re-summary would serve to re-orient the reader before resuming the story of Alexander's escape from Rome to Judea. Similarly, if we consider *Chronographia1* as the end of a codex, Synkellos' comment that Alexander's rebellion "will be explained" would have given readers a narrative thread to carry forward until they located a codex with *Chronographia2*.[39]

Let us consider what might have been the scribe of *Paris. gr.* 1764's decision-making process if—after the first three lines of fol. 120r—he or she finished copying *Chronographia1* from one manuscript, and then retrieved the text for *Chronographia2* from another and resumed copying. Assuming that *Chronographia1* and *Chronographia2* were divided between two codices, the manuscripts our scribe was able to obtain may have been governed by different palaeographic patterns—as is the case between *Chronographia1* in *Paris. gr.* 1764 and *Chronographia2* in *Wake Greek* 5. The scribe would have had to decide upon a palaeographic solution to the new combination of texts.

First, the scribe would have noted that the preface to *Chronographia2* (just discussed) had no place in a seamless combination of *Chronographia1* and *Chronographia2*. Nevertheless, it must have seemed that a division which had originally split the work into two codices should be reflected in the new combination. At this point, any number of possibilities could explain the result we see on fol. 120r. I am most persuaded by the idea that the scribe simply applied the two most significant organizational decorations in his arsenal: the double-acanthus division, and the three-dimensional, three-line capital letter. Perhaps the scribe abstained from including a full-line gap in the text (as in his other uses of the double-acanthus on fol. 9v, fol. 17r, fol. 34r, and fol. 88v) because he recognized the fact that the narrative was actually continuous through the division.

38. *Supra*, pp. 100–1.
39. Synkellos' "flash forward" and "flash back" asides are examples of the narrative techniques *prolepsis* and *analepsis*, the use of which extends back to Homer (see the excellent recent discussion of the devices in R. Nünlist, *The ancient critic at work : terms and concepts of literary criticism in Greek scholia*, Cambridge 2009, pp. 34–51). These devices served both narrative and practical purposes: ancient authors routinely used such cues to guide readers between papyrus rolls (see the recent general discussion with bibliography by W. A. Johnson, The ancient book, in *The Oxford handbook of papyrology*, ed. by R. Bagnall, Oxford 2009, pp. 256–81, especially pp. 263–7). As ancient texts were transferred from roll to codex these asides were retained though no longer needed (see the classic discussion by G. Cavallo, Conservazione e perdita dei testi greci : fattori materiali, sociali, culturali, in *Società romana e impero tardoantico. 4. Tradizione dei classici, trasformazioni della cultura*, a cura di A. Giardina, Roma – Bari 1986, pp. 83–172, especially pp. 130–54), and the tradition persisted among many authors of the late antique period whose works (like Synkellos') only ever appeared in codices. Perhaps the most relevant parallels are found in the ninth and eleventh-century manuscripts of Eusebius of Caesarea's *Ecclesiastical history* (frequently cited by Synkellos). E. Schwartz argued that these manuscripts retain traces of an early split into two volumes (τεύχη) such as the ending of Book IV (Ἐν τούτῳ γε μὴν καὶ ὁ τῆς Ῥωμαίων [illegible]) and the *analeptic* beginning of Book V (ὁ μὲν οὖν τῆς Ῥωμαίων [illegible] ἐπὶ ὄγδοον ἔτος ἡγούμενος τελευτᾷ τὸν βίον). See: Eusebius, *Werke. 2. Die Kirchengeschichte. 3. Einleitungen, Übersichten und Register*, hrsg. von E. Schwartz (GCS 9/3), Leipzig 1909, pp. [illegible].

Though the scribe would have removed the majuscule preface to *Chronographia2*, he was not bold enough to remove the dissonant narrative by rewriting the text itself. In sum, it was the scribe's conservative approach, his attempt to preserve as much of the original as possible, which produced the final result: a previously non-existent combination of texts in which the palaeographic patterns established for *Chronographia1* do not match those in *Chronographia2*.

This proposal explains every one of the discrepancies we identified on fol. 120r of *Paris. gr.* 1764; everything jarring about this page of the manuscript can be attributed to an original codicological break at AM 5434 and a scribe's attempt to smooth over that break. If this conclusion is accepted, *Paris. gr.* 1764—seemingly the only manuscript to present Synkellos' *Chronography* as a single unified text—is in truth evidence that up to the time of its copying in the tenth century, the *Chronography* circulated in two parts, as *Chronographia1* and *Chronographia2*.

As an aside, it seems relevant to note that *Paris. gr.* 1711 (mentioned above), may also contain traces of a similar situation. On the one hand, *Paris. gr.* 1711 does not preserve the distinctive palaeographic elements noted in *Paris. gr.* 1764. On the other hand, the scribe of *Paris. gr.* 1711 comprehensively suppressed nearly *every* distinctive palaeographic element: even the year of the Incarnation lacks any distinction in script or decoration (fig. 7a). Though the manuscript does transmit one distinctive palaeographic element—a particular concern that the reader associate the notation concerning Pompey with the text of *Chronographia2* (fig. 7b, note 1)—the visual uniformity of *Paris. gr.* 1711 does not permit us to contextualize the joining of *Chronographia1* and *Chronographia2* within the particular graphic patterns of the rest of the manuscript. More to the point, however, *Paris. gr.* 1711 does preserve the same dissonant narrative elements in the narration of Pompey's transport of the Judaean prisoners to Rome described above. A number of scenarios seem possible. The scribe may have had a composite text as his exemplar (such as *Paris. gr.* 1764), or he may have simply combined *Chronographia1* and *Chronographia2* with greater success, barely leaving a visible seam (fig. 7b, note 2).

In conclusion, the initial impression produced by a superficial survey of the contents of *Paris. gr.* 1764 and *Paris. gr.* 1711 is misleading: these manuscripts are not copies of an originally whole *Chronography*. Based upon a close examination of the palaeography,

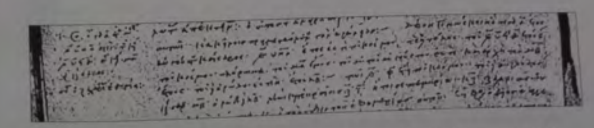


Fig. 7a – *Parisinus Graecus* 1711, the only surviving manuscript which contains both the complete *Chronography* of Synkellos and the *Chronicle* of Theophanes (p. 188). As a demonstration of the manuscript's minimalist approach to decorative script, here the entire text's central event, the Incarnation of Christ in AM 5500, occurs midway through a nondescript line of miniscule.

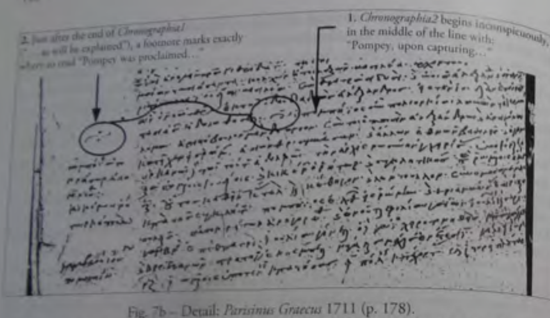


Fig. 7b – Detail: *Parisinus Graecus* 1711 (p. 178).
Detail of the transition between *Chronographia1* and *Chronographia2* (AM 5434).

codicology, and the narrative text itself, these manuscripts in fact present little if any sure evidence that the *Chronography* originally circulated as a single, unified text. As I have argued, where the evidence in these manuscripts does lend itself to analysis, that evidence suggests that prior to these tenth- and eleventh-century copies, the *Chronography* circulated in distinct parts: as *Chronographia1* and *Chronographia2*.

Is it possible to push this conclusion further and argue that the division of the *Chronography* into *Chronographia1* and *Chronographia2* was original to the author? If it was, in what way is AM 5434 (63 BC) the mid-point of the universal chronology? If the division of his universal chronography into two parts was a component of Synkellos' original plan, Pompey's conquest of Jerusalem seems a very odd moment at which to divide the history of the world. For instance, one might expect Synkellos (as an adherent of the patriarchate of Constantinople) to divide the *Chronography* either according to his politics—with the first of the Roman emperors—or according to his religion—with the Incarnation of Christ. One could possibly hazard that the sixty-six years between the beginning of *Chronographia2* (AM 5434) and the Incarnation (AM 5500) served as a sort of preface, allowing Synkellos to coordinate the date of the Incarnation with the reigns of the first Roman emperors. Nevertheless, the author says nothing explicit to this effect. Instead, Synkellos provides the following retrospective statement:

> Ταῦτα δέ μοι προπεπραγματεύσθαι οὐχ ἁπλῶς, ἀλλὰ δεῖξαι βουλομένῳ πῶς ἐγγιζούσης τῆς τοῦ μονογενοῦς υἱοῦ καὶ λόγου τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ θείας σαρκώσεως ἐξέλιπεν ἄρχων ἐξ Ἰούδα καὶ ἡγούμενος ἐκ τῶν μηρῶν αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὴν πρόρρησιν τοῦ πατριάρχου Ἰακώβ.
>
> *Although the preparation of this material has not been an easy task for me, I wished to show how, when the divine Incarnation of the only-begotten Son and Word of God—our Saviour Jesus Christ—was imminent, a leader from Judah and a ruler from his loins had ceased, in accordance with the prediction of the patriarch Jacob.*[40]

The sixty-six years in *Chronographia2* preceding Christ's conception did give the Incarnation a context, but these years did not coincide with the introduction of the Roman emperors. Rather, Synkellos identified AM 5434 with the fulfillment of a prophecy: the end of the rule of Jewish priests, and the beginning of the rule of a non-Jew over Judea. That is, Synkellos seems to have divided his *Chronography* in consideration of the end of the line of Jewish priests—"At that time also, the 'anointed ones who rule' prophesied by Daniel came to an end"[41]—and the resumption of non-Jewish rule over the Jews—"Herod, being an Idumaean Arab, was the first Jewish ruler of foreign stock."[42] Rome mattered insofar as it was Pompey's conquest that had brought about this transition in the historical scheme of Providence.[43]

Thus, it seems that Synkellos himself conceived of his account of all time as divided into two parts at this very point, at Rome's conquest of Judea in AM 5434. This is yet another indication that the original arrangement of the *Chronography* was indeed divided into *Chronographia1* and *Chronographia2*. On the other hand, all of our manuscript evidence for a unified *Chronography* seems to reflect late interventions resulting from scribal, not authorial, decisions. Can we use this conclusion productively?

Can we apply our conclusion to the manuscript evidence as a whole and confirm Mosshammer's proposal that in the first centuries of its circulation *Chronographia1* was copied and read separately from *Chronographia2*? Since we have already exhausted our manuscript evidence for *Chronographia1*, the hypothesis must rest entirely on the manuscripts containing *Chronographia2*. As was stated earlier, *Chronographia2* was too short to exist independently. Since we already know that the *Chronicle* of Theophanes was often adjoined to *Chronographia2*, this combination could be the solution to *Chronographia2*'s original circulation patterns. Exactly how frequently did the combination of *Chronographia2* with the *Chronicle* occur?

III. Manuscript evidence for joining *Chronographia2* and the *Chronicle*

Panayotis Yannopoulos has recently suggested that we rethink the transmission of the *Chronicle* of Theophanes, in terms of families or groups of manuscripts.[44] I would like to adopt this approach, but as a means of incorporating the manuscripts of Synkellos' *Chronography* in the discussion of those containing the *Chronicle*. My hypothesis is that, based on the extent to which their manuscript traditions overlap, the *Chronicle* cannot be considered apart from *Chronographia2* in particular and, by extension, from the *Chronography* as a whole. The story of the transmission of the texts is one and the same.

40. M 362.11–4 / AT 433. For Jacob's prophecy see Genesis 49.10.
41. M 373.24–5 / AT 446.
42. M 383.16 / AT 457.
43. This is not to say that there is no theme of Roman triumphalism in the *Chronography*. On the first Roman emperor, Synkellos states that "the first to be monarch, [Julius Caesar] proved by far the most humane of all the kings who have ever ruled." (M 365.8–9 / AT 436).
44. Les vicissitudes historiques de la *Chronique* de Théophane, *Byz.* 70, 2000, pp. 527–53.

The following table presents the medieval manuscripts of both the *Chronography* and *Chronicle*, grouped according to their contents as understood prior to our colloquium:

SET 1: *Chronographia* without *Chronicle*	
Present contents: *Chronographia1*, *Chronographia2*	
Paris. gr. 1764 (B)	(s. 10)
SET 2: *Chronicle* without *Chronographia*	
Present contents: *Chronicle*	
Paris. gr. 1710 (d)	(s. 9)
Vat. gr. 978 (h)	(s. 11/12)
SET 3a: *Chronographia2* and *Chronicle* (Latin)	
Present contents: *Opuscula historica* (Nikephoros I), *Chronographia2*, *Chronicle*	
Vat. Palatinus Latinus 826	(s. 9/10)
Cassinensis 6	(c. 1058–86)
Vat. Palatinus Latinus 909	(c. 976–1025)
Paris. Lat. 1591	(s. 12)
Paris. Lat. 1592	(s. 12)
Paris. Lat. 5501	(s. 12)
Bibliothèque municipale d'Avranches 160	(s. 13)
British Library Burney 284	(s. 13)
SET 3b: *Chronographia2* and *Chronicle* (Greek)	
Subset 1 – Present contents: *Chronographia2*, *Chronicle*	
Vat. gr. 155 (V/c)	(s. 9/10)
Subset 2 – Present contents: *Opuscula historica* (Nikephoros I), *Chronographia2*, *Chronicle*	
Oxford Christ Church College Library Wake Greek 5 (O/o)	(s. 9/10)
Paris. Coislin gr. 133 (C/f)	(s. 12)
SET 4: *Chronographia2* and *Chronicle* with additional content (Greek)	
Paris. gr. 1711 (A/g)	(s. 11)
Additional content: *Chronographia1*, Scriptor Incertus, Symeon Logothetes, *Vita Alexandri*	
Vat. gr. 154 (T/b)	(s. 12)
Additional content: George the Monk	

Table 1 – Manuscripts of *Chronography* and *Chronicle* grouped by current contents.
Where applicable the sigla used by Mosshammer (caps) and de Boor (lower case) are noted parenthetically after the shelfmark, referencing fig. 1 and fig. 2 above.

Let us work our way through these sets, applying some recent findings.

Set 1 and Set 2 consist of the manuscripts that appear to contain only one text, and not the other. Our foregoing lengthy discussion of the one manuscript in Set 1—*Paris. gr.* 1764, containing Synkellos' *Chronography* alone—argued that this is in fact a composite creation, a combination of two different manuscripts. We cannot know what other texts were in the original codices from which the scribe extracted *Chronographia1* and *Chronographia2*. Thus, while this manuscript cannot tell us about the relationship between the *Chronography* and the *Chronicle*, it does indicate that the *Chronography* originally circulated in two distinct parts.

In Set 2 there are two manuscripts with the *Chronicle* alone: *Paris. gr.* 1710 (of the second half of the ninth century), and *Vat. gr.* 978 (of the eleventh or twelfth). The text of the *Chronicle* found in *Paris. gr.* 1710 is unlike that found in the other manuscripts, for among other issues it lacks the distinctive yearly dating rubrics found in every other copy. Furthermore, the manuscript is not only a distinctive and independent witness of Theophanes' *Chronicle*, but it was dated by Boris Fonkič to the 830s or 840s: very close to the decade of composition. While it now appears that the late ninth century may be a more accurate date, this is still an earlier exemplar than any of the manuscripts that today contain Synkellos' *Chronography*.[45] *Paris. gr.* 1710 presents an apparent challenge to the idea that *Chronographia2* and the *Chronicle* originally circulated together.

However, as discussed in this same volume, Filippo Ronconi has now analyzed the stratigraphic evidence in the codex and produced an argument that conclusively proves *Paris. gr.* 1710 has been altered from its original state. The manuscript must have originally contained at least one other text which was set before the *Chronicle* of Theophanes and which was at the very least no less than seven folios in length and quite possibly filled several quires.[46] Based upon the demonstrable tradition of placing *Chronographia2* immediately before the *Chronicle*, it seems ill-advised to propose any other text in this position. Even if one would prefer not to grant the proposal of the *Chronography*'s original presence in the manuscript, it is certainly the case that *Paris. gr.* 1710 can no longer be used as evidence against the idea that the *Chronography* and *Chronicle* originally circulated together.

The second manuscript in Set 2 is *Vat. gr.* 978 which also contains Theophanes' *Chronicle* only. *Vat. gr.* 978 has—perhaps understandably—received relatively little attention.[47] The medieval portion of the manuscript is fragmentary, beginning *in medias res* at p. 62.29 in de Boor's edition of the *Chronicle*. This was apparently the state of the manuscript in the sixteenth-century, for the missing folios from the beginning of the *Chronicle* have been reconstituted from another manuscript by the humanist hand of Giovanni Santamaura.[48] Carl de Boor himself noted that the manuscript had been modified and even postulated that it originally contained the *Chronography* of Synkellos, but without providing a thorough explanation for this hypothesis.[49] To my knowledge the idea has not been either proven or disproven up to this time. I believe we can, in fact, confirm de Boor's hypothesis based, once again, on the manuscript's codicology.

The first folio that survives from the original twelfth-century manuscript is numbered "39." This and the other folio numbers are not original marks, but were probably provided by Giovanni Santamaura or another reader during the early modern period. On the other hand, the original binding notations, the quire marks, do survive. Beginning on the folio numbered forty-six, and continuing with perfect regularity through the rest of the manuscript, a quire mark can be seen in the bottom left inner corner of every eighth folio. The forty-sixth folio is the beginning of the quire ιε' (fifteen). By subtracting eight folios from forty-six we can determine that folio thirty-eight would have originally been

45. See : F. Ronconi in this same volume, pp. 137–8.
46. *Ibid.*, pp. 138–46.
47. Here, again, I am taking a cue from Mosshammer. See: Georg. Sync., pp. xviii–xix.
48. M. D'Agostino, La mano di Giovanni Santamaura, *Scripta* 4, 2011, p. 12.
49. Theoph. 2, p. 384 and Georg. Sync., pp. xviii–xix.

the beginning of the fourteenth quire. Thus, the first thirteen quire bindings and the first folio of the fourteenth are missing from the original manuscript. Since the quire bindings throughout the manuscript so consistently contain eight folios each, we can be fairly confident in postulating that the original twelfth-century manuscript contained an additional one hundred and five folios.[50]

In de Boor's critical edition, the portion of the text from the beginning of Theophanes' *Chronicle* that is missing in *Vat. gr.* 978 amounts to fifty-nine pages, or 1,770 lines. By using the text that survives we can determine the rate at which the twelfth-century scribe of *Vat. gr.* 978 copied the text of the *Chronicle*: every folio in *Vat. gr.* 978 contained the equivalent of approximately sixty lines from de Boor's critical edition. By dividing 1,770 total missing lines by sixty lines per folio, we can estimate the number of folios the scribe of *Vat. gr.* 978 would have used to copy the opening text of the *Chronicle* to be approximately thirty. If we speculate that, as in other manuscripts, the text of the *Chronicle* proper was preceded by Theophanes' approximately two-folio "Preface" then the total comes to thirty-two folios. If the scribe arranged his script and layout so that the *Chronicle* began a new quire in his codex, we could add the additional missing leaf, fol. 38.[51]

If the *Chronicle* can only account for four quires (quires ten through thirteen) of the missing thirteen, there must have been another text (or texts) at the beginning of the manuscript, which would have taken up approximately nine quires (seventy-two folios). As has already been stated, all the surviving medieval evidence points to the fact that if another text preceded the *Chronicle* it was always *Chronographia2*. Let us see if our glass slipper fits onto *Vat. gr.* 978.

It is hazardous to calculate the exact rate at which the scribe of *Vat. gr.* 978 would have copied *Chronographia2* as we cannot know, for instance, exactly how much space would have been devoted to headings. On the face of it, the match is not perfect. In other early manuscripts such as *Wake Greek* 5 the *Chronicon Syntomon* attributed to Patriarch Nikephoros I—on which see below—was joined to *Chronographia2* and both filled only sixty-one folios before arriving at the *Chronicle*.

At least half of the discrepancy between these sixty-one folios and the seventy-two we need can be accounted for by the fact that the scribe of *Wake Greek* 5 was a more efficient copyist than the scribe of *Vat. gr.* 978.[52] The difference is thus slightly more palatable with

50. Calculated as: thirteen missing quires multiplied by eight folios per quire, plus one more for the first folio of the fourteenth quire. The fourteenth quire is also missing what would have been its fifth folio, restored by Santamaura as fol. 42.

51. See F. Ronconi's discussion in this same volume (pp. 130–1) of scribes' tendency to attempt to begin texts from the beginning of a quire.

52. The discrepancy can be accounted for somewhat by some rough comparative calculations. The scribe of *Wake Greek* 5 took 509 manuscript pages to copy out a portion of the *Chronicle* text that fills 502 pages of the printed edition (de Boor, pp. 2.1–503.24) at a rate of 0.99 printed pages to each manuscript page. The scribe of *Vat. gr.* 978 took 440 manuscript pages to copy out a portion of the *Chronicle* text that fills 407 pages of the printed edition (de Boor, pp. 62.29–468.28) at a rate of 0.925 printed pages to each manuscript page. Comparatively, then, the scribe of *Wake Greek* 5 copied over 8% more text per manuscript page. Thus, the amount of text that the scribe of *Wake Greek* 5 would have fitted on 62 complete folios would have required filled 67 folios in the hand of the scribe of *Vat. gr.* 978.

sixty-seven folios accounted for by Nikephoros' *Chronicon Syntomon* and *Chronographia2*. Though such a preliminary investigation does not reveal a perfect match, it can still be stated that the missing text in *Vat. gr.* 978 is approximately consistent with the amount of space that *Chronographia2* and the *Chronicon Syntomon* would have required; unless further evidence presents itself these texts remain the most viable candidates for the original contents.

In conclusion, then, both of the medieval manuscripts in Table 1's "Set 2"—manuscripts that today contain only Theophanes' *Chronicle*—were at some time altered or damaged. These manuscripts originally contained another text that preceded the *Chronicle*. Synkellos' *Chronographia2* is the only text that we have good reason to believe was ever placed before the *Chronicle* in the first centuries of its circulation. We can thus reasonably remove both *Paris. gr.* 1710 and *Vat. gr.* 978 from Set 2 and cautiously add them to Set 3b as manuscripts that—in the absence of any viable alternative—seem originally to have presented Synkellos' *Chronographia2* before Theophanes' *Chronicle*.

Next let us consider the manuscripts that undoubtedly present the two texts together: Set 3a groups together with the Latin tradition of the *Chronographia tripartita* of Anastasius Bibliothecarius. The *Chronographia tripartita* preserved the *Chronicon Syntomon* attributed to Patriarch Nikephoros I—lists of the successions of selected secular and sacred rulers—as a preface to *Chronographia2* and Theophanes' *Chronicle*.[53] Though none of the Latin manuscripts may be quite contemporary with Anastasius' original act of translation in the 870s, their consistent contents seem a viable indication of Anastasius' original exemplar.[54] Though this group of manuscripts remains understudied, according to the current tally we have eight extant complete medieval manuscripts of Anastasius' translation.[55] Set 3b is the Greek tradition that also presents *Chronographia2* and the *Chronicle* together. This set consists of *Vat. gr.* 155 (s. 9/10), *Oxford Christ Church Wake Greek* 5 (s. 9/10), and *Paris. Coislin gr.* 133 (s. 12). While it is uncertain whether *Vat. gr.* 155 originally contained Nikephoros' *Chronicon Syntomon*, for the present argument what matters is that all three preserve *Chronographia2* before the *Chronicle*.[56]

The fifth and final set of manuscripts to consider contains *Vat. gr.* 154 and *Paris. gr.* 1711, composite universal chronicles from the later medieval period. In the case of *Paris. gr.* 1711 we have already noted that this manuscript is a composite universal

53. Note that the proposals put forward by F. Montinaro suggest that Anastasius Bibliothecarius may in fact be the originator of this codicological pattern : F. Montinaro, Histories of Byzantium : some remarks on the early manuscripts of Theophanes' *Chronicle*, in Comparative codicology (9th and 10th centuries), ed. by M. Wissa and S. Brock, *Semitica et classica* 8, 2015, pp. 171–6.

54. Though de Boor (Theoph. 2, p. 425) dated *Vat. Palat. Lat.* 826 to the tenth century, B. Bischoff believed that the hand could be identified with that of one of the scribes of *Vat. Lat.* 4965—a copy of Anastasius Bibliothecarius' translation of the *Acta* of the eighth ecumenical council—and so dated the manuscript to the ninth century. See: Italienische Handschriften des neunten bis elften Jahrhunderts in frühmittelalterlichen Bibliotheken ausserhalb Italiens, in *Il libro e il testo : atti del convegno internazionale, Urbino, 20-23 settembre 1982*, a cura di C. Questa e R. Raffaelli, Urbino 1984, pp. 169–94, here at pp. 187–8, especially footnote 85.

55. I am relying here on the more detailed description of these manuscripts in B. Neil's contribution to the present volume. For a list, see Table 1, above.

56. See F. Ronconi's comparison of *Vat. gr.* 155 and *Wake Greek* 5 in the present volume (pp. 123–33).

chronicle which preserves evidence of scribes who intentionally intervened in the textual tradition of the *Chronicle* and the *Chronography* in order to create a complete history of the world. *Vat. gr.* 154 is a similar case. To create this manuscript the scribe used a universal chronicler from the later ninth-century, George the Monk (or George Hamartolos), to fill out the pre-Incarnation history of the world. The beginning of George the Monk's *Chronography* is then followed by *Chronographia2* which is, in turn, succeeded by the *Chronicle* (though the *Chronicle* is cut short at the reign of Justinian). Thus, where the scribe of *Paris. gr.* 1711 used Synkellos' *Chronographia1* to supply an account of the pre-Incarnation history, the scribe of *Vat. gr.* 154 used the relevant portion of George the Monk's text. It could well be that this decision was made because *Chronographia1* was unavailable. If this was the case, *Vat. gr.* 154 could be construed as additional evidence that *Chronographia1* and *Chronographia2* circulated independently. Regardless, both of these manuscripts indicate evidence of modification to the original codicology of the *Chronography* and the *Chronicle*. Though it is certain that these manuscripts' combination of multiple chronicles and chronographies fulfilled Synkellos' original vision—a universal chronography from the Creation of the World to the present day—this is not evidence that Synkellos' text originally circulated in this material form. Due to these ambiguities it seems most appropriate to remove these manuscripts from the present discussion.

IV. Conclusions: the relationship between *Chronography* and *Chronicle*

If we now rearrange the manuscript sets in Table 1 according to the claims presented in the preceding survey, we arrive at the following table (Table 2).

Considered in these sets, the manuscripts of Synkellos' *Chronography* and Theophanes' *Chronicle* present a dominant—if just short of universal—tradition of copying *Chronographia2* and the *Chronicle* together.

Let us attempt to generate some conclusions from this new evidence. First, having clarified the testimony of *Paris. gr.* 1764, we can now state that the medieval manuscripts of Synkellos' *Chronography* indicate that by the end of the ninth century the joining of *Chronographia2* with the *Chronicle* had become so normative that it came to exclude any other presentation of the text from the evidence that has survived today. Our preceding analysis of the manuscripts in sets indicates that—especially if, for the reasons already stated, we exclude the conflicting testimonies of *Paris. gr.* 1711 and *Vat. gr.* 154—this division may have been original to the very first exemplar manuscripts. That is: pushing the point just a bit further than Mosshammer, I propose that the division of the text into the portions which I have labelled *Chronographia1* and *Chronographia2* originated with Synkellos. The idea is supported by Synkellos' own statements, and by the fact that we have no evidence that *Chronographia1* and *Chronographia2* were ever joined before the tenth century. Speculations aside, while one could still hold that the *Chronicle* may have been copied without the *Chronography*, we can state conclusively that there is no evidence of *Chronographia2* ever circulating apart from the *Chronicle*. Whether these texts are natural-born siblings or step-siblings, their surviving manuscripts have a shared parentage.

The problem of authorship that continues to confront us as scholars was not an inhibition to the impact of the *Chronicle* and its accompanying texts upon the ninth-century individuals who first read or listened to them. It seems that if we desire to

approximate the *Chronicle*'s original context, purpose, and impact, we cannot read the *Chronography* of Synkellos and the *Chronicle* of Theophanes as distinct and independent chronicles but should approach them as a single universal chronicle. Based on the preceding discussion this would mean that the *Chronicle* of Theophanes was not read as a history that began with Diocletian in AM 5777 (AD 284) but as an account of the past that began with (in Synkellos' words) "the beginning of the reign of a non-Jew over Judea" in AM 5434 (63 BC).

Having generated decades of scholarship in response to Cyril Mango's famous question "Who wrote the *Chronicle* of Theophanes?" perhaps the next question we might ask is: "How was it read?" To that end I would like to propose a premise: the *Chronicle* of Theophanes the Confessor was read within the very same codices as the *Chronography* of George Synkellos.

Shelfmark	Notable variations in content	Date	Sigla
SET 1: Codicological arrangements that are most likely later medieval modifications			
Paris. gr. 1764	(*Chronographia1* and *Chronographia2*)	(s. 10)	B
Paris. gr. 1711	(*Chronographia1*, *Chronographia2*, *Chronicle*, Scriptor Incertus, Symeon Logothetes, *Vita Alexandri*)	(s. 11)	A/g
Vat. gr. 154	(George the Monk, *Chronographia2*, *Chronicle*)	(s. 12)	T/b
SET 2: *Chronicle* without *Chronographia* (none)			
SET 3: *Chronographia2* and *Chronicle* (Greek and Latin)			
Paris. gr. 1710*		(s. 9)	d
Vat. Palatinus Latinus 826		(s. 9/10)	
Vat. gr. 155		(s. 9/10)	V/c
Oxford Christ Church College Library Wake Greek 5		(s. 9/10)	O/o
Vat. Palatinus Latinus 909		(c. 976–1025)	
Cassinensis (Lat.) 6		(c. 1058–86)	
Vat. gr. 978*		(s. 11/12)	h
Paris. Coislin gr. 133		(s. 12)	C/f
Paris. Lat. 1591		(s. 12)	
Paris. Lat. 1592		(s. 12)	
Paris. Lat. 5501		(s. 12)	
Bibliothèque municipale d'Avranches (Lat.) 160		(s. 13)	
British Library Burney (Lat.) 284		(s. 13)	

* Now contains only *Chronicle*, but originally contained an additional text, most likely *Chronographia2*

Table 2 – Manuscripts of *Chronography* and *Chronicle* grouped by original contents.

TRANSMISSION,
TRANSCRIPTION,
TRANSLATION

LA PREMIÈRE CIRCULATION DE LA « CHRONIQUE DE THÉOPHANE » : NOTES PALÉOGRAPHIQUES ET CODICOLOGIQUES*

par Filippo Ronconi

Le *Vat. gr.* 155, l'*Oxon. Christ Church Wake* 5 et le *Paris. gr.* 1710 sont les trois manuscrits les plus anciens de la *Chronique* dite *de Théophane*. Dépourvus de toute souscription, ils peuvent être attribués dans leur ensemble, sur la base de considérations d'ordre paléographique et historico-textuel, à une période comprise entre la seconde moitié du IXᵉ s. et les premières années du Xᵉ s. Dans cette étude nous proposons une analyse de ces trois manuscrits, visant à éclairer quelques aspects concernant l'origine et la première circulation de la *Chronique*. Cet article comporte trois parties : l'état de la question ; une analyse comparée du *Vaticanus* et du *Wake*, concernant en particulier l'époque, la région et le milieu où ils semblent avoir été réalisés, et enfin un examen paléographique et stratigraphique du *Paris. gr.* 1710[1]. Au sujet de ce dernier manuscrit, nous poursuivons deux objectifs : d'un côté, remettre en question son attribution au milieu stoudite ; de l'autre, dévoiler un remaniement qui, ayant eu lieu quelques années à peine après sa transcription, en a modifié la partie initiale, c'est-à-dire celle qui contient l'indication de la paternité théophanienne de la *Chronique*. Il s'agit d'une circonstance intéressante, surtout si l'on considère que le *Parisinus* contient une version de l'ouvrage très différente de celle qu'on lit dans le *Vaticanus* et le *Wake*, et apparemment proche de celle utilisée par Anastase le Bibliothécaire pour sa traduction[2].

* Cette étude doit beaucoup à mes discussions avec Guglielmo Cavallo, Juan Signes Codoñer, Oronzo Pecere et Jesse W. Torgerson.

1. Sur la méthode « stratigraphique » cf. *infra* et la note 28.

2. Cette proximité n'avait pas échappé à De Boor : Theoph., p. 364 et suiv. Cf. aussi P. Speck, Der « zweite » Theophanes : eine These zur *Chronographie* des Theophanes, dans *Varia.* 5 (Ποικίλα βυζαντινά 13), Bonn 1994, p. 431-483, ici p. 471 et suiv., P. Yannopoulos, La question théophanienne, dans *Thesaurus Theophanis Confessoris. Chronographia*, cur. B. Coulie, P. Yannopoulos, Turnhout 1998, p. XXVII-LVIII, ici p. XXVIII et, plus généralement, l'article de B. Neil dans les actes de ce même colloque.

Studies in Theophanes, ed. by M. Jankowiak & F. Montinaro (Travaux et mémoires 19), Paris 2015, pp. 121–47.

I. État de la question

Les études consacrées à la tradition manuscrite de la *Chronique* ont engendré deux reconstructions divergentes. En 1997, dans leur traduction commentée de l'ouvrage, Cyril Mango et Roger Scott – se fondant sur les analyses paléographiques d'Enrica Follieri, Nigel Wilson et Lidia Perria[3]–ont considéré le *Vaticanus* et le *Wake* comme deux livres jumeaux, copiés environ en même temps vers la fin du IXe s., dans le même milieu et peut-être par un même copiste[4] : ces circonstances impliqueraient, selon les deux chercheurs, « something like mass production », laissant supposer pour la *Chronique* une « wide diffusion from the start »[5]. Quant au *Parisinus*, Mango et Scott ont suivi l'avis de Carl de Boor, qui le considérait « viel mehr eine excerpirende Bearbeitung, als eine direkte Abschrift der Chronik ». D'autre part, si les deux chercheurs le considéraient comme le plus ancien manuscrit de la *Chronique*, De Boor n'avait attribué le *Parisinus* qu'au Xe s. et il n'en avait tenu compte que marginalement dans son édition, car, à son avis, ce manuscrit constituait la *Vorlage* personnelle d'un copiste inconnu[6]. Mais déjà en 1996, dans un article en langue russe, Boris L. Fonkitch avait attribué le manuscrit aux années 830, croyant y reconnaître l'un des plus anciens produits en minuscule du milieu stoudite[7]. La reconstruction de Fonkitch a été, d'un côté, critiquée en ce qui concerne sa datation[8], et de l'autre, universellement acceptée quant à l'origine stoudite. En partant de ce point de vue, Panayotis Yannopoulos a proposé une théorie complexe au sujet de la première circulation de la *Chronique*. Selon lui, le *Vaticanus* et le *Wake* seraient deux copies indépendantes, réalisées à des moments différents, d'un « dossier théophanien »[9] formé de l'ensemble des matériaux constituant la première rédaction de

3. N. G. Wilson, A manuscript of Theophanes in Oxford, *DOP* 26, 1972, p. 357-360, ici p. 358; Id., *Medieval Greek bookhands*, Cambridge 1972, pl. 17. Plus prudemment E. Follieri, La minuscola libraria dei secoli IX e X, dans *La paléographie grecque et byzantine*, Paris 1977, p. 139-165 (réimpr. dans E. Follieri, *Byzantina et Italograeca : studi di filologia e di paleografia*, a cura di A. Acconcia Longo *et al.*, Roma 1997, p. 205-248); ici p. 144, pl. 3b; L. Perria, Le cronache bizantine nella tradizione manoscritta, dans *Byzantina mediolanensia : atti del V Congresso nazionale di studi bizantini (Milano, 19-22 ottobre 1994)*, a cura di F. Conca, Soveria Mannelli 1996, p. 351-359, ici p. 354 et suiv.; Ead., La minuscola « tipo Anastasio », dans *Scritture, libri e testi nelle aree provinciali di Bisanzio : atti del Seminario di Erice (18-25 settembre 1988)*, a cura di G. Cavallo *et al.*, Spoleto 1992, p. 271-318, ici p. 289, 294, 296, 301, 313.

4. Mango – Scott, p. xcv et suiv.

5. Mango – Scott, p. xcviii.

6. Theoph., p. 364 et suiv. Sur les considérations avancées par П. Г. Преображенский, *Летописное повествование св. Феофана Исповедника*, Вена 1912, sur le *Parisinus*, concernant, entre autres, la proximité de son texte de la traduction d'Anastase le Bibliothécaire, cf. Mango – Scott, p. xcvii n. 129. Sur l'attitude philologique de de Boor cf. P. Yannopoulos, *Théophane de Sigriani le confesseur (759-818) : un héros orthodoxe du second iconoclasme*, Bruxelles 2013, p. 296.

7. Б. Л. Фонкич, О датировке и происхождении Парижского списка «Хронографии» Феофана (cod. *Paris. gr.* 1710), dans *Византийские очерки*, Москва 1996, p. 183-186 (réimpr. dans B. L. Fonkitch, *Manuscrits grecs dans les collections européennes : études paléographiques et codicologiques, 1988-1998*, Moscou 1999, p. 47-49).

8. Cf. *infra*.

9. Le *Parisinus* constituerait la mauvaise copie de ce même dossier : cf. *infra* et P. Yannopoulos, Les vicissitudes historiques de la *Chronique* de Théophane, *Byz.* 70, 2000, p. 527-553. P. Yannopoulos est revenu récemment sur Théophane, la *Chronique* et la question théophanienne dans Yannopoulos, *Théophane de Sigriani* (cité n. 6). Sur le dossier de la chronique cf. en particulier les p. 281-282, 286. Sur

la *Chronique*. Lorsque sévissait la politique iconoclaste de Léon V, Théophane mourut en exil à Samothrace et

> *ses biens* [...], *y compris le gros dossier de la* Chronique, *passèrent au monastère de Studios. Les Studites gardèrent précieusement le dossier. Mais, tant que les iconoclastes restèrent au pouvoir, ils n'osèrent pas l'éditer* [...]. *Ils ne cessèrent pour autant de l'étudier. Quelqu'un ajouta même un feuillet avec une scolie au sujet du Concile Quinisexte. Ils permirent encore à Anastase le Bibliothécaire* [...] *de tirer une copie pour traduire la* Chronique *en latin, mais à condition de ne pas divulguer le texte grec. Après la mort du dernier empereur iconoclaste, Théophile,* [...] *les Studites décidèrent de faire connaître la* Chronique *de Théophane. Ils sortirent le dossier, ils l'actualisèrent et ils chargèrent un copiste de faire une copie manuscrite dans la nouvelle forme d'écriture* [scil. le *Paris. gr.* 1710]. *Mais la copie ne satisfit pas tout le monde. D'autres copies furent faites à partir du dossier. Une de celles-ci, sans doute la plus satisfaisante* [scil. le *Wake* 5], *fut considérée comme le texte officiel.*[10]

En somme, après une « première copie [...], le *Paris. gr.* 1710 »[11], le *Wake* aurait vu le jour, probablement en tant que « copie agréée de la *Chronique* et de ce fait l'original de l'édition et l'archétype de la *famille* A »[12]. Quant au *Vaticanus*, « il s'agit peut-être d'une autre copie faite directement à partir du dossier et qui, comme le *Parisinus gr.* 1710, n'a pas laissé de copies »[13]. Toujours selon Yannopoulos, il serait possible de dater précisément quelques-uns de ces manuscrits : le *Parisinus* aurait été réalisé en 843, tout de suite après la réaffirmation de l'iconodoulie. Le *Wake* remonterait à la moitié ou à la fin du IXe s. et le *Vaticanus* à la fin du IXe ou au début du Xe s. Tous ces livres auraient été réalisés à Stoudios[14].

II. Le *Vaticanus* et le *Wake* : deux livres jumeaux ?

Le rapport entre le *Vaticanus* et le *Wake*, reconnus comme deux livres jumeaux en raison notamment de la ressemblance de leurs écritures et de leur contenu[15], n'a pas été l'objet d'une analyse philologique approfondie. En effet, le *Wake* n'a été soumis qu'à une

l'existence d'un dossier arrangé par Georges le Syncelle, cf. P. Speck, *Das geteilte Dossier : Beobachtungen zu den Nachrichten über die Regierung des Kaisers Herakleios und die seiner Söhne bei Theophanes und Nikephoros* (Poikila Byzantina 9), Bonn 1988, p. 514-519 et *passim*.

10. Yannopoulos, Les vicissitudes (cité n. 9), p. 552. Cf. aussi Id., *Théophane de Sigriani* (cité n. 6), p. 284 et suiv.

11. Yannopoulos, Les vicissitudes (cité n. 9), p. 545.

12. *Ibid.*

13. *Ibid.*

14. Yannopoulos, *ibid.*, p. 548-549, propose de dater le *Wake* au milieu du IXe s., mais il est plus prudent aux p. 545 et 547 et dans Id., *Théophane de Sigriani* (cité n. 6), p. 285, où il opte pour la fin du même siècle, réaffirmant l'origine stoudite des trois manuscrits (p. 289, 291, 293).

15. Le *Wake* contient la *Chronographia brevis* attribuée au patriarche Nicéphore (mais sur cette attribution et sur les doutes qu'elle soulève, cf. l'article de J. Signes Codoñer dans ce même volume), la seconde partie de la *Chronographie* de Georges le Syncelle (pour sa division originaire en deux sections [la césure coïncidant avec AM 5434], cf., dans ce même volume, la contribution de J. W. Torgerson) et la *Chronique* attribuée à Théophane. La partie initiale du *Vaticanus* est affectée par une mutilation qui, selon la reconstruction courante, aurait fait disparaître complètement le texte attribué à Nicéphore (outre le tout début de celui du Syncelle). Mais la présence de la *Chronographia brevis* dans le manuscrit originaire demeure tout à fait hypothétique : cf. la contribution de J. W. Torgerson.

collation partielle par Wilson[16], collation qui a convaincu Mango et Scott de l'inutilité d'analyses ultérieures[17]. Cependant, la confrontation du titre général, de la préface et du titre intermédiaire de l'ouvrage dans les deux manuscrits révèle des différences qui, bien que peu nombreuses, ne sont pas toujours insignifiantes[18]. Plusieurs d'entre elles figurent en particulier dans les tableaux chronologiques et les *stemmata* généalogiques. Dans les premiers, elles concernent l'ordre de succession des colonnes relatives aux différents patriarches et souverains, ainsi que la mention des chiffres indiquant la durée de leurs règnes et, pour ce qui est des *stemmata*, elles intéressent la disposition des éléments constitutifs (fig. 1-2)[19]. Ces aspects, dont nous ne pouvons faire ici qu'une mention fugace, exigent une étude spécifique, d'autant que les tableaux et les *stemmata* constituent une particularité du *Vaticanus* et du *Wake*, étant absents aussi bien dans le *Paris. gr.* 1710 que dans la traduction d'Anastase[20].

1. Les facteurs paléographiques

Les écritures du *Vaticanus* et du *Wake* sont si semblables que Wilson et Follieri ont prudemment avancé l'hypothèse qu'ils soient les produits d'un seul et même copiste[21]. Une analyse minutieuse semble toutefois rendre cette hypothèse peu persuasive. En effet, nonobstant les ressemblances dans la vision d'ensemble et dans la construction des lettres, plusieurs détails distinguent les deux écritures d'une façon qui nous semble certaine et qui implique – comme le suggérait déjà Perria[22] – l'existence de deux copistes. Que l'on considère par exemple les formes assumées, dans les deux manuscrits, par la séquence

16. Wilson, A manuscript of Theophanes (cité n. 3).
17. Cf. Mango – Scott, p. xcvi : la « [...] partial collation [...] published by N. G. Wilson [...] enables us to say that a full collation will not materially affect the rest of the text ». Yannopoulos a écrit que le *Vaticanus* pourrait être la copie du *Wake* : P. Yannopoulos, Une note sur la date du *Parisinus gr.* 1710, *Μοσχοβια : проблемы византийской и новогреческой филологии* 1, 2001, p. 527-530, ici p. 530. Mais cf. aussi en général sur ces manuscrits, ce qu'il dit avec plus de prudence dans Yannopoulos, *Théophane de Sigriani* (cité n. 6), p. 2.
18. Des divergences sont présentes même dans des *loci* sensibles, tels que, par exemple, les titres généraux (Θεοφάνους ἁμαρτωλοῦ μοναχοῦ ἡγουμένου *Wake*] μοναχοῦ καὶ ἡγουμένου *Vat.* ; ἕως δευτέρου ἔτους Μιχαὴλ καὶ Θεοφυλάκτου υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ· τοῦτ' ἔστιν ἀπὸ τοῦ εψοζ' ἔτους τοῦ κόσμου ἕως ἔτους στε' κατὰ τοὺς Ἀλεξανδρεις, κατὰ δὲ Ῥωμαίους στκα' *Wake*] ἕως δευτέρου ἔτους Μιχαὴλ καὶ Θεοφίλου υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ· εψοζ' ἔτους τοῦ κόσμου ἕως ἔτους στκα' κατὰ τοὺς Ἀλεξανδρεις, κατὰ δὲ Ῥωμαίους στκα' *Vat.*), la préface (Ὁ μὲν μακαριώτατος ἀββᾶς Γεώργιος *Wake*] Ὁ μὲν μακάριος ἀββᾶς Γεώργιος *Vat.* ; ἀπὸ Ἀδὰμ μέχρι Διοκλητιανοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ διώκτου τῶν χριστιανῶν *Wake*] ἀπὸ Ἀδὰμ μέχρι Διοκλητιανοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως Ῥωμαίων καὶ διώκτου τῶν χριστιανῶν *Vat.* ; κατὰ τὸ δυνατὸν ἡμῖν συνεγραψάμεθα *Wake*] κατὰ τὸ δυνατὸν ἡμῖν ἀκριβῶς συνεγραψάμεθα *Vat.*) et le titre intermédiaire (Χρονογραφία ἀπὸ Διοκλητιανοῦ ἕως Μιχαὴλ καὶ Θεοφυλάκτου τῶν βασιλέων (= τ^{m} β^{o}β^{o}) *Wake*] Χρονογραφία ἀπὸ Διοκλητιανοῦ ἕως Μιχαὴλ καὶ Θεοφυλάκτου βασιλέως (Θεοφυλάκτου βασιλέως corrigé par une main *recentior* en Θεοφίλου τοῦ βασιλέως] *Vat.*).
19. Dans quelques cas, les différences portent sur la gestion spatiale desdits tableaux, si bien qu'on a la sensation que les deux copistes (à propos du fait qu'il s'agit de deux copistes cf. *infra*) ont vraisemblablement interprété de façons différentes un même modèle, dans lequel les tableaux n'avaient évidemment pas une forme stable et bien définie.
20. Cf., sur ce sujet, l'article de J. Signes Codoñer dans ce même volume.
21. Wilson, A manuscript of Theophanes (cité n. 3) : Wilson, *Medieval Greek bookhands* (cité n. 5), pl. 17. Plus prudemment Follieri, La minuscola (cité n. 3), p. 144, pl. 3b.
22. Perria, Le cronache (cité n. 3), p. 356 n. 18.

sigma + *tau* : distinctes dans le *Wake*, les deux lettres assument dans le *Vaticanus* la forme du *stigma* (fig. 3a, 4a). Ou encore : dans le *Vaticanus*, les séquences *alpha* + *xi* et *epsilon* + *xi* se lient toujours en haut (fig. 3bc), alors que dans le *Wake* il y a, plutôt qu'une véritable liaison, une juxtaposition avec pseudo-ligature (fig. 4bc)[23]. Des différences plus importantes concernent la petite majuscule à l'axe droit ou parfois légèrement penché à droite, qui est employée dans les deux livres pour les titres des paragraphes qui découpent le texte de Georges le Syncelle, pour les tableaux chronologiques dans la *Chronique*[24] ainsi que pour les annotations marginales. Sans entrer dans les détails de la construction de chaque lettre, il suffira de noter les dissimilitudes dans les formes d'*alpha*, *epsilon*, *lambda*, *mu*, *xi* et *ypsilon* (fig. 1-2). En revanche, les différences relatives au titre de la préface de la *Chronique* constituent un cas à part : si, dans le *Wake*, ce titre est écrit par le copiste du texte avec la même petite majuscule dont nous venons de parler, dans le *Vaticanus* il est copié en une majuscule ogivale penchée, qui ne se trouve nulle part ailleurs dans le livre (fig. 5-6). Il n'est pas sûr que ce titre soit dû à la même main qui a écrit le texte, d'autant qu'il a été réalisé avec un outil d'écriture taillé de façon à produire un contraste marqué entre les pleins et les déliés, contraste tout à fait absent aussi bien dans la minuscule du texte que dans la petite majuscule dont nous avons fait mention. En outre, un détail en apparence insignifiant démontre que ce titre a été ajouté après la transcription du texte qu'il introduit : pour écrire l'*omicron* initial de la préface, qui est réalisé avec le même outil d'écriture et avec la même encre que le titre, un *omicron* préexistant a été gratté. La rature est ample et a aussi affecté partiellement le *gamma* par lequel commence la ligne suivante (fig. 6). Cela implique donc que le copiste avait originairement laissé en blanc la partie supérieure du fol. 64^{r}, en transcrivant la préface de la *Chronique* sans titre. Celui-ci et l'élément ornemental qui le précède n'ont été ajoutés que par la suite.

Quelles que soient les différences paléographiques entre ces deux manuscrits, la forme et la structure de toutes les lettres minuscules y sont identiques. En outre, leurs écritures, malgré la rigidité formelle qui les caractérise, sont plutôt dynamiques en ce qui concerne les liaisons et la vision d'ensemble de la chaîne graphique. Les deux mains qui les ont transcrits sont évidemment celles de copistes expérimentés, qui se sont formés et ont travaillé dans un même milieu, probablement en même temps ou presque, et qui se sont inspirés d'un modèle calligraphique commun, parvenant ainsi à un résultat remarquable du point de vue esthétique.

2. Les facteurs codicologiques

D'un point de vue codicologique, les rapports entre les deux manuscrits sont plus complexes. Les deux livres partagent le même type et le même système de réglure (respectivement Leroy-Sautel 20C1 et Leroy 1)[25], le même nombre de lignes par page (30/31), ainsi qu'une structure apparemment identique en ce qui concerne la fasciculation. Nous reportons, dans le tableau suivant, les détails relatifs aux cahiers de chacun des deux

23. Les exceptions sont très rares : cf. par exemple la séquence *epsilon* + *xy* à la l. 28 du fol. 313^{v}.
24. Cette petite majuscule est également employée, dans le *Wake*, pour le titre de la préface de la *Chronique* : cf. *infra*.
25. Il s'agit d'un type et d'un système de réglure très répandus à cette époque : cf. Perria, La minuscola « tipo Anastasio » (cité n. 3), p. 313.

Fig. 1 – Oxon. *Wake* 5, fol. 68r.

Fig. 2 – *Vat. gr.* 155, fol. 71r.

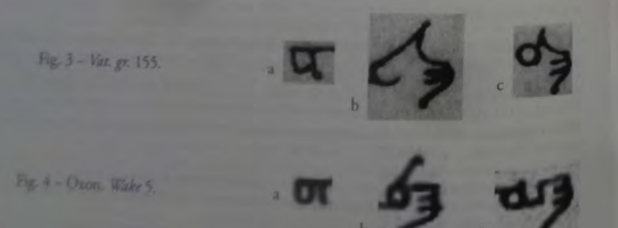


Fig. 3 – *Vat. gr.* 155.

Fig. 4 – Oxon. *Wake* 5.

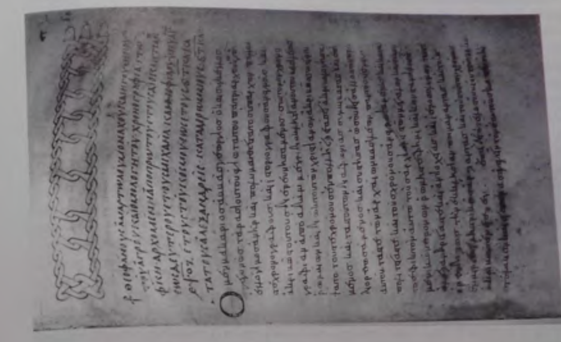


Fig. 6 – *Vat. gr.* 155, fol. 64r.

Fig. 5 – Oxon. *Wake* 5, fol. 61r.

manuscrits, marquant en gras ceux qui, dans l'un ou dans l'autre, présentent n'importe quelle irrégularité dans leur structure originaire[26] :

Vaticanus					
Cah.	sign.	fol.	Cah.	sign.	fol.
1er	-	**1-7**	22e	κβ	166-173
2e	**β**	**8-15**	23e	κγ	174-181
3e	-	16-23	24e	κδ	182-189
4e	-	**24-30**	25e	κε	190-197
5e	**ε**	**31-39**	26e	κς	198-205
6e	ς	40-47	**27e**	**κζ**	**206-213**
7e	ζ	48-55	28e	κη	214-221
8e	η	56-63	29e	κθ	222-229
9e	θ	64-71	30e	λ	230-237
10e	ι	72-79	**31e**	**λα**	**238-245**
11e	ια	80-87	**32e**	**λβ**	**246-251**
12e	**ιβ**	**88-93**	**33e**	**λγ**	**252-259**
13e	ιγ	94-101	34e	λδ	260-267
14e	ιδ	102-109	**35e**	**λε**	**268-275**
15e	ιε	110-117	36e	λς	276-283
16e	**ις**	**118-125**	**37e**	**λζ**	**284-291**
17e	ιζ	126-133	38e	λη	292-299
18e	ιη	134-141	39e	λθ	300-307
19e	ιθ	142-149	40e	μ	308-315
20e	κ	150-157	**41e**	**μα**	**316-324**
21e	κα	158-165	**42e**	**μβ**	**325-331**

Wake					
Cah.	sign.	fol.	Cah.	sign.	fol.
1er	-	1-8	22e	KB	167-174
2e	B	9-16	23e	KΓ	175-182
3e	**Γ**	**17-24**	24e	KΔ	183-190
4e	Δ	25-32	25e	KE	191-198
5e	E	33-40	26e	Kς	199-206
6e	ς	41-48	27e	KZ	207-214
7e	Z	49-56	28e	KH	215-222
8e	**H**	**57-62**	29e	KΘ	223-230
9e	Θ	63-70	30e	Λ	231-238
10e	I	71-78	31e	ΛA	239-246
11e	IA	79-86	32e	ΛB	247-254
12e	IB	87-94	33e	ΛΓ	255-262
13e	IΓ	95-102	34e	ΛΔ	263-270
14e	IΔ	103-110	**35e**	**ΛE**	**271-278**
15e	IE	111-118	36e	Λς	279-286
16e	Iς	119-126	37e	ΛZ	287-294
17e	IZ	127-134	38e	ΛH	295-302
18e	IH	135-142	**39e**	**ΛΘ**	**303-310**
19e	IΘ	143-150	40e	M	311-316
20e	K	151-158			
21e	KA	159-166			

Tableau 1

26. Voici une liste des irrégularités fasciculaires originaires et acquises dans les deux manuscrits : *Vaticanus* – Cahier 1 – 3 + 4, premier feuillet du cahier manquant avec lacune textuelle : il s'agissait donc à l'origine d'un quaternion régulier. Cahier 2 – les premier et dernier feuillets sont fixés par un onglet qui ne semble pas le fruit d'une restauration récente. Cahier 4 – 4 + 3, mais le premier feuillet du cahier suivant (le fol. 31) était originairement le dernier de ce cahier, qui était donc composé de huit feuillets, dont probablement seuls les deux feuillets centraux étaient solidaires. Cahier 5 – 5 + 4, mais son premier feuillet (le fol. 31) était originairement le dernier du cahier précédent : les fol. 32 et 39 ne sont pas solidaires. Cahier 12 – 3 + 3 : les fol. 89 et 92 ne sont pas solidaires. Cahier 16 – 4 + 4 : les fol. 120 et 123 ne sont pas solidaires. Cahier 27 – 4 + 4 : les fol. 208 et 211 ne sont pas solidaires. Cahier 31 – 4 + 4 : les fol. 240 et 243 ne sont pas solidaires. Cahier 32 – 3 + 3. Cahier 33 – 4 + 4 : les fol. 254 et 257 ne sont pas solidaires. Cahier 35 – 4 + 4 : les fol. 270 et 273 ne sont pas solidaires. Cahier 37 – 4 + 4 : les fol. 285 et 290 ne sont pas solidaires. Cahier 41 – 4 + 5, mais son dernier feuillet (le fol. 324) était originairement le premier du cahier suivant (il porte la signature MB). Cahier 42 – 3 + 4, mais le dernier feuillet du cahier précédent (le fol. 324) était originairement le premier de ce cahier, qui était donc composé de huit feuillets. *Wake* – Cahier 3 – 4 + 4, les premier et dernier feuillets du cahier (fol. 17 et 24), qui avaient cessé d'être solidaires, ont été invertis avant d'être numérotés, si bien que l'ordre originaire des feuillets dans le cahier était 24, 18-23, 17. Cahier 8 – 3 + 3 avec lacune textuelle : il s'agit donc probablement d'un quaternion originaire. Cahier 35 – 4 + 4 : les fol. 272 et 277 ne sont pas solidaires. Cahier 39 – 4 + 4 : les fol. 304 et 309 ne sont pas solidaires.

Comme il est évident, la structure matérielle des deux livres est très semblable, sauf par un détail apparemment insignifiant : dans le *Vaticanus* la fréquence des cahiers présentant des anomalies structurales originaires est beaucoup plus élevée que dans le *Wake*. En effet, il y en a 11 sur 42 dans le premier, alors que, dans le manuscrit de *Christ Church*, il n'y en a que 2 certaines sur 40. Mais, ces irrégularités, en quoi consistent-elles? Nous savons que les copistes évitaient, dans les limites du possible, d'avoir recours à des structures fasciculaires anormales par rapport au format-standard du quaternion (le cahier composé de quatre bifeuillets pliés en deux). Mais des contraintes d'ordre économique leur imposaient parfois d'utiliser, à côté de *bifolia*, des feuillets dépareillés, issus de morceaux de parchemin qui, en raison de défauts d'origine ou de fabrication, n'étaient pas suffisamment amples pour pouvoir en tirer des bifeuillets. L'insertion de supports de ce type rendait la structure des cahiers moins résistante et surtout comportait la présence de talons inesthétiques. La fréquence de cahiers contenant des feuillets dépareillés *ab origine* est donc inversement proportionnelle à la qualité du produit final envisagé par le copiste. Or, dans le cas de nos deux livres, qui sont sans doute issus d'un même milieu et d'une même époque, une différence structurale de ce type ne peut découler que de la volonté de produire deux manuscrits de qualité différente : d'un côté le *Vaticanus*, évidemment plus modeste, pour lequel on n'a pas hésité à employer plusieurs cahiers irréguliers, de l'autre le *Wake*, auquel on a réservé, dans la mesure du possible, des bifeuillets intacts et d'une qualité tout compte fait meilleure. Ces considérations sont confirmées par d'autres circonstances. En premier lieu, le *Wake* est sensiblement plus grand que le *Vaticanus*. La différence ne concerne pas les seules dimensions extérieures, qui peuvent être condotionnées par des rognages plus ou moins importants, mais aussi celles de leurs cadres d'écriture, comme le montre le tableau suivant :

	Wake	*Vaticanus*
Dimensions	305 × 220 mm	280 × 190 mm
Cadres d'écriture	230 × 145 mm	210 × 130 mm

Tableau 2

Si l'exploitation de la page est semblable dans les deux livres (car, comme nous l'avons dit, le type de réglure y est identique), la densité textuelle varie de l'un à l'autre : s'il est vrai que tous deux présentent trente lignes par page, il faut noter que celles du *Wake* ne sont pas seulement plus longues, elles sont aussi plus denses, avec une moyenne d'environ 50 caractères contre les 30 du *Vaticanus*. De telles différences, en apparence peu remarquables, sont importantes dans l'optique des copistes mésobyzantins[27] : non seulement elles excluent une production sérielle (dans le cadre de laquelle l'uniformité des dimensions aurait constitué un facteur de simplification dans le processus de réalisation des copies), mais elles indiquent une volonté explicite de donner aux deux manuscrits

27. F. Ronconi, La main insaisissable : rôle et fonctions des copistes byzantins entre réalité et imaginaire, dans *Scrivere e leggere nell'alto medioevo : LIX settimana di studio della fondazione Centro italiano di studi sull'alto Medioevo, Spoleto, 28 aprile-4 maggio 2011*, Spoleto 2012, t. 2, p. 627-664, ici p. 650.

des caractéristiques extérieures distinctes. Distinction, d'autre part, qui semble supposer des commandites différentes, quant à la qualité de leur teneur.

Deuxièmement, l'irrégularité structurale s'accompagne, dans le *Vaticanus*, d'un bon nombre d'imperfections du parchemin. Cela, compte tenu des caractéristiques graphiques du livre, pourrait être lié à la volonté de correspondre à une commandite de haut niveau avec des moyens limités. Le *Wake* semble en revanche avoir voulu constituer un produit d'excellence, compte tenu à la fois de la qualité du parchemin et de la présence très sporadique de cahiers irréguliers, mais aussi d'une circonstance supplémentaire : les titres de tous les ouvrages (de Nicéphore, de Georges le Syncelle et de la *Chronique*) y sont précédés de blancs, évidemment destinés, dans le projet initial, à héberger des décorations qui n'ont pas été réalisées.

Mais notre analyse peut avancer encore, grâce à l'étude stratigraphique comparée des deux manuscrits, consistant dans l'observation conjointe de leurs caractéristiques matérielles (structure des cahiers et nature de leur succession), paléographiques (phases et modalités de la transcription par rapport à la structure des livres) et textuelles (rapport entre l'étendue des textes, et de leurs sous-parties, et les césures matérielles et graphiques)[28].

La comparaison des aspects structuraux du *Vaticanus* et du *Wake* permet de noter que le passage de l'ouvrage de Georges le Syncelle à la *Chronique* coïncide, dans le premier seulement, avec un changement de cahier (dans le *Wake*, le passage d'un texte à l'autre a lieu à l'intérieur d'un cahier). Le manuscrit est donc composé de deux blocs, comme dans le schéma suivant :

Bloc A	Bloc B
«Nicéphore Patr.?» + Georges le Syncelle	*Chronique*
fol. 1-63	fol. 64-fin

Un nombre remarquable de cas, concernant des livres d'époques différentes et d'aires culturelles distinctes, semble démontrer que les manuscrits formés de plusieurs blocs ne descendent généralement pas de modèles unitaires[29] : pour des raisons d'ordre pratique, les copistes avaient en effet la propension à reproduire les modèles unitaires dans des livres à leur tour unitaires. D'ailleurs, la coïncidence entre la fin d'une unité textuelle et la fin d'un cahier a peu de chances d'être le fruit du hasard. Généralement, elle constitue plutôt le résultat de calculs compliqués, comportant toujours un gaspillage de temps

28. Sur la méthode stratigraphique cf. F. Ronconi, *I manoscritti greci miscellanei : ricerche su esemplari dei secoli IX-XII*, Spoleto 2007, p. 1-32 et 291-314 (avec bibliographie) ; Id., Juxtaposition/assemblage de textes et histoire de la tradition : le cas du *Paris. gr.* 1711, dans *The legacy of Bernard de Montfaucon : three hundred years of studies on Greek handwriting : proceedings of the seventh international colloquium of Greek palaeography (Madrid–Salamanca, 15-20 September 2008)*, ed. by A. Bravo García and I. Pérez Martín, Turnhout 2010, p. 503-520. Pour des exemples d'utilisation de la méthode stratigraphique, cf. S. Valente, Una miscellanea lessicografica del X secolo : il *Par. Coisl.* 345, *Segno e testo* 6, 2008, p. 151-178 ; E. Nyström, *Containing multitudes : codex Upsaliensis Graecus 8 in perspective*, Uppsala 2009 ; D. Bianconi, « Piccolo assaggio di abbondante fragranza » : Giovanni Mauropode e il *Vat. gr.* 676, *JÖB* 61, 2011, p. 89-103, ici p. 98 et suiv. ; B. Campos, « Quand Dieu dit une chose et fait ... » : la compilation de textes antijuifs et antihérétiques du *Par. Coisl.* 299, *Segno e testo* 10, 2012, p. 279-304.

29. Cf. les nombreux exemples illustrés dans les travaux cités dans la note précédente.

et parfois de parchemin[30]. De telles jointures coïncident souvent avec des structures fasciculaires irrégulières[31], en ce sens que le dernier cahier d'un bloc n'est normalement pas conforme au format-standard du quaternion : en d'autres mots, pour faire coïncider la fin de l'ouvrage avec la fin du dernier cahier du bloc qui le contient, le copiste adaptait généralement la structure fasciculaire à l'étendue du texte qu'il était en train d'achever[32]. Mais dans le *Vaticanus*, le dernier cahier du premier bloc (qui, numéroté η', est le huitième du *codex* et contient les fol. 56-63) est un quaternion régulier. Cela implique la possibilité, mais pas la probabilité, que cette coïncidence soit le fruit du hasard et qu'elle ne renvoie pas à un changement de modèle, compte tenu du fait que, dans le *Wake*, le passage d'un texte à l'autre ne coïncide pas avec une césure codicologique, les deux textes se succédant à l'intérieur du cahier des fol. 57-62, un quaternion originaire ayant perdu un bifeuillet. La question semble donc destinée à rester ouverte : le copiste du *Vaticanus* et celui du *Wake* ont-ils employé un seul modèle (contenant tous les ouvrages qui s'y trouvent), ou ont-ils plutôt rassemblé des textes qu'ils trouvaient dans des supports indépendants ? Nous y reviendrons dans les *Conclusions*.

L'analyse de ces deux manuscrits a, à notre avis, deux conséquences majeures. En premier lieu elle rend très improbable l'idée qu'un demi-siècle se soit écoulé entre la transcription de l'un et celle de l'autre[33]. Deuxièmement, elle invite à s'interroger sur la possibilité effective que la *Chronique* ait été l'objet d'une sorte de « mass production », ou du moins d'une « wide diffusion » pendant la première période de son existence[34]. Nous avons remarqué que, nonobstant leurs ressemblances, ces deux manuscrits diffèrent sous plusieurs aspects en ce qui concerne leur qualité et leurs caractéristiques extérieures. Cela ne semble pas compatible avec une production sérielle, et fait plutôt penser à des opérations particulières, réalisées dans un milieu de copie professionnel, capable d'effectuer des transcriptions multiples, probablement sur la base de commandites spécifiques. Enfin, les caractéristiques du travail des deux copistes semblent évoquer une stratégie de dissémination élitaire.

Venons donc au dernier aspect de notre étude concernant ces deux livres.

3. *Époque et lieu de réalisation*

Si les analyses paléographiques ne sont pas parvenues, à l'heure actuelle, à établir avec certitude le lieu et la date de réalisation de ces deux livres, il est désormais sûr – notamment grâce aux recherches de Perria et d'Irmgard Hutter[35] – que, contrairement

30. Sur les implications théoriques de ces facteurs cf. Ronconi, *I manoscritti greci miscellanei* (cité n. 28), p. 25 et suiv.

31. *Ibid.*, p. 25-27.

32. Cf. *ibid.* et *passim*.

33. Cf. n. 14.

34. Mango – Scott, p. xcviii.

35. Perria, La minuscola « tipo Anastasio » (cité n. 3), p. 313 ; I. Hutter, La décoration et la mise en page des manuscrits grecs de l'Italie méridionale : quelques observations, dans *Histoire et culture dans l'Italie byzantine : acquis et nouvelles recherches*, sous la dir. de A. Jacob, J.-M. Martin et Gh. Noyé, Rome 2006, p. 69-93 ; I. Hutter, Patmos 33 im Kontext, *RSBN* 46, 2009, p. 73-126. Cf. aussi S. Lucà, Il Diodoro Siculo *Neap. B.N. gr.* 4* è italogreco?, *Bollettino della Badia greca di Grottaferrata* 44, 1990, p. 33-79, ici p. 72 n. 177.

à ce qu'on avait cru pendant quelque temps, ils ne sont pas originaires de l'Italie du Sud[36]. Cette circonstance n'implique toutefois pas nécessairement que leur origine soit rapportable à Constantinople : le propos de Paul Canart concernant la proximité entre l'écriture du *Vaticanus* et celle penchée du *Vat. Urb. gr.* 35[37], copié pour Aréthas entre la fin du IXᵉ s. et les premières années du Xᵉ s.[38], ne se veut pas concluant de ce point de vue. En fait, le type de calligraphie du *Vaticanus* et du *Wake* est très caractéristique et, dans sa rigidité extrême et recherchée, n'a pas de parallèles certains dans des manuscrits dont la réalisation peut être attribuée avec certitude à la capitale. L'aspect provincial de cette minuscule n'a échappé ni à Canart ni à Santo Lucà, André Jacob et Lidia Perria, qui, dans une publication conjointe, ont attribué le *Vaticanus* à la province de Constantinople[39], sans toutefois spécifier de quelle province il peut s'agir. Mais si l'on exclut l'Occident italo-grec et l'Orient syro-palestinien – dont les livres présentent à cette époque des caractères généralement différents de ceux de nos manuscrits[40] – l'aire la plus probable est, à notre avis, celle de la région micro-asiatique proche de Constantinople. Cette aire a déjà été évoquée par Kurt Weitzmann, Robert Devreesse et Lidia Perria, au sujet de livres copiés dans une écriture – le « type Anastase » – qui est, d'une manière générale, apparentée à celle de nos manuscrits[41]. Or, on ne saurait ignorer que cette aire micro-asiatique (et plus spécifiquement le *thema* d'Opsikion et la Bithynie), comprenait les lieux d'où Théophane était originaire et où il a été actif en tant que moine. Comme on

36. Nonobstant l'avis de G. Prato, Attività scrittoria in Calabria tra IX e X secolo : qualche riflessione, *JÖB* 36, 1986, p. 219-228, ici p. 225.

37. P. Canart, *Lezioni di paleografia e di codicologia greca*, Città del Vaticano 1980, p. 25 : concernant l'écriture du *Vat. Urb. gr.* 35, Canart parle de « stile angoloso ad asse inclinato » et, pour celle du *Vat. gr.* 155, de « stile angoloso ad asse verticale ».

38. Nous nous limitons à renvoyer à E. Follieri, Un codice di Areta troppo a buon mercato : il *Vat. Urb. gr.* 35, *Archeologia classica* 25-26, 1973-1974, p. 262-279, réimpr. dans Follieri *Byzantina et Italograeca* (cité n. 3), p. 187-204. Sur les manuscrits d'Aréthas, cf. l'hypothèse de M.-J. Luzzatto, Codici tardoantichi di Platone e i cosiddetti *Scholia Arethae*, *Medioevo greco* 10, 2010, p. 77-110, p. 96 et suiv.

39. *Facsimili di codici greci della Biblioteca Vaticana*, a cura di P. Canart, S. Lucà, A. Jacob, L. Perria, Città del Vaticano 1998, *ad cod.*

40. Cf. L. Perria, Il *Vat. Palat. gr.* 376, il *Par. Suppl. gr.* 1085 e la minuscola antica di area palestinese, *RSBN* n.s. 29, 1992, p. 59-76 ; Ead., Per un repertorio dei codici greci in minuscola di età antica, *RSBN* n.s. 33, 1996, p. 21-30 ; Ead., Nuovi testimoni della minuscola libraria greca nei secoli IX-X, *RSBN* n.s. 34, 1997, p. 47-64 ; Ead., Scritture e codici di origine orientale (Palestina, Sinai) dal IX al XIII secolo. Rapporto preliminare, *RSBN* n.s. 36, 1999, p. 19-33 ; Ead., Libri e scritture tra Oriente bizantino e Italia meridionale, *RSBN* n.s. 39, 2002 (= *Giornata di studio in ricordo di Enrica Follieri, Roma, 31 maggio 2002*), p. 157-188 ; *Tra Oriente e Occidente : scritture e libri greci fra le regioni orientali di Bisanzio e l'Italia*, a cura di L. Perria (Testi e studi bizantino-neoellenici 14), Roma 2003 ; Ead., Manoscritti greci delle province orientali dell'impero bizantino, dans *Atti del VI congresso nazionale dell'Associazione italiana di studi bizantini : Catania-Messina, 2-5 ottobre 2000*, a cura di T. Creazzo e G. Strano, Catania 2005 (= *Siculorum Gymnasium* n.s. 57), p. 667-690.

41. Sur le rapport entre l'écriture de nos manuscrits et le « type Anastase », cf. Perria, La minuscola « tipo Anastasio » (cité n. 3), *passim*. Pour ce qui concerne certains détails ornementaux, tels que les [illegible] qui se trouvent du texte aussi dans nos deux manuscrits, cf. K. Weitzmann, *Die byzantinische Buchmalerei des 9. und 10. Jahrhunderts. 1*, Wien 1996 (Nachdruck der Ausgabe Berlin 1935), p. 40 et 43 ; R. Devreesse, *Les manuscrits grecs de l'Italie méridionale*, Città del Vaticano 1955, p. 29-30 (mais cf. aussi p. 22 n. 4 et p. 36 n. 2) ; Perria, La minuscola « tipo Anastasio » (cité n. 3), p. 312 et suiv.

le sait, sur le mont Sigriane se trouvait le monastère de Polichnion, qui appartenait à sa famille et dans lequel il se retira avant de fonder, sur la même montagne, celui de Megas Agros[42]. L'éventualité que nos livres aient été transcrits dans l'un des monastères où il a vécu – idée déjà avancée par Mango et Scott[43] – semble donc de plus en plus probable, compte tenu des circonstances paléographiques que nous venons d'évoquer. Comme le remarque Juan Signes Codoñer dans ce même volume, ce n'est peut-être pas un pur hasard si, selon une interprétation probable d'un passage du *De ceremoniis*, plusieurs décennies après la mort de Théophane, une bibliothèque survivait dans le monastère de Sigriane : une bibliothèque qui ne devait pas être sans importance, si Constantin VII y chercha des matériaux pour l'un de ses traités[44].

Quant à la date de transcription de nos manuscrits, en dehors de leur proximité graphique au *Vat. Urb. gr.* 35 (qui, nous l'avons dit, n'est pas attribuable à une époque antérieure à la fin du IXᵉ s.), leur écriture exceptionnellement rigide constitue l'une des manifestations extrêmes de ce que Follieri a appelé « minuscola antica oblunga »[45], dont les témoins datés semblent aller de 862 (Meteora, Metamorph. 591, transcrit en Bithynie) à 916 (*Vat. gr.* 1660)[46]. En somme, il semble que ces livres remontent aux dernières décennies du IXᵉ s. ou aux premières du Xᵉ s., et qu'ils ont été réalisés dans l'aire septentrionale de l'Asie Mineure[47].

III. Le *Paris. gr.* 1710

1. *Étude paléographique*

Venons-en au troisième manuscrit ancien de la *Chronique*, le *Paris. gr.* 1710, qui ne contient que l'ouvrage théophanien. Son écriture constitue un exemple précoce de la minuscule livresque, exemple qui peut être attribué à la seconde moitié du IXᵉ s. Caractérisée par un module de dimension moyenne, par une inclinaison plutôt variable de l'axe (généralement droit ou légèrement penché à droite), par la contention des traits ascendants et descendants, ainsi que par la présence régulière de crochets, parfois très marqués, à la fin des traits descendants, elle présente un *ductus* très rapide : peu soignée, elle n'est pas calligraphique du tout. Bien que l'attribution de ce livre à Stoudios ne soit pas impossible, elle reste pour autant incertaine. En effet, les caractéristiques paléographiques et codicologiques de ce manuscrit (qui – ne l'oublions pas – est dépourvu

42. Cf. Methodius, *Vita Theophanis*, p. 15 et 25. Cf., sur le sujet, dans ce même volume, l'article de J. Signes Codoñer. Sur Sigriane cf. C. Mango, I. Ševčenko, Some churches and monasteries on the southern shore of the sea of Marmara, *DOP* 27, 1973, p. 235-277, ici p. 248 et suiv. ; Mango – Scott, p. XLV n. 13.

43. Cf. déjà, à ce propos, Mango – Scott, p. XCVIII.

44. Cf. aussi Yannopoulos, *Théophane de Sigriani* (cité n. 6), p. 295.

45. Follieri, *La minuscola* (cité n. 3), p. 212 et suiv.

46. *Ibid.*

47. Nous croyons que si Perria, dans deux de ses articles (La minuscola « tipo Anastasio » [cité n. 3], p. 294 et 313 ; Le cronache [cité n. 3]), a attribué nos deux livres à la seconde moitié du IXᵉ s., c'est d'abord parce qu'elle pensait, en suivant Wilson, que le *Parisinus* descendait du *Wake*. Étant donné que le *Parisinus* remonte sans aucun doute au IXᵉ s., elle se voyait obligée d'attribuer à ce même siècle le *Wake* et le *Vaticanus*. Mais il s'agit justement d'un préjugé, puisque – comme nous le verrons – le *Parisinus* semble être indépendant et plus ancien que ces deux livres.

de toute souscription et dont le copiste n'est identifiable à aucun scribe stoudite connu) n'autorisent pas à l'attribuer avec certitude à ce milieu. S'il est vrai que son type de réglure est semblable à celui de l'évangéliaire Uspenskij *Petropol. RNB gr.* 219 (le plus ancien manuscrit en minuscule daté, produit dans le milieu stoudite en 835[48]), il n'en est pas moins vrai qu'il s'agit d'un type si élémentaire, qu'on ne saurait attribuer aucune valeur spécifique à cette coïncidence. Pour ce qui concerne les aspects paléographiques, il y a des détails dans la construction de certaines lettres (et donc dans les formes qui en résultent) qui ne se retrouvent pas – à notre connaissance – dans la tradition graphique stoudite. Nous faisons notamment référence à l'*epsilon*, constitué d'un *sigma* précédé d'un trait oblique descendant de droite à gauche (fig. 7) ; au *rho*, consistant en un cercle auquel le copiste ajoute, en correspondance avec le point de contact avec la ligne imaginaire de base, un trait descendant (fig. 8) ; à l'*omega*, formé de deux cercles juxtaposés (fig. 9). L'écriture datée la plus proche de celle de ce manuscrit n'est pas, à notre avis, comme le soutint Perria, celle du *Mosqu. gr.* 117, copié en 880 par un hiéromoine, Athanase, lié au monastère de Stoudios[49]. Une ressemblance plus étroite peut être établie – du point de vue de la structure générale de l'écriture ainsi que de celui de la forme des lettres – avec la graphie du moine Eustace, qui a souscrit le livre chrysostomique Meteora, Metamorph. 591 (fig. 10) en 861/862 en Bithynie, plus précisément dans le monastère Sainte-Anne dans le diocèse de Kios[50]. Si cette circonstance n'est pas inintéressante, compte tenu des liaisons possibles du *Vaticanus* et du *Wake* avec la région bithynienne, la plus grande prudence est toutefois nécessaire, car, dans sa souscription, Eustace souligne qu'il a accompli la transcription pendant l'exil du patriarche Ignace (ἐπὶ τῆς ἐξορίας τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου πατριάρχου Ἰγνατίου). Il se considère donc comme faisant partie des partisans de ce patriarche, ce qui implique la possibilité qu'il soit arrivé au monastère Sainte-Anne en raison des persécutions qui semblent avoir eu lieu à Constantinople contre les philo-ignatiens précisément durant ces années-là[51]. Quoi qu'il en soit, que le *Parisinus* soit bithynien ou constantinopolitain, il n'y a pas de preuves que le monastère de Stoudios soit impliqué dans sa transcription. Du reste, dans l'histoire de la minuscule grecque des

48. Il présente le type de réglure W01A1 Leroy-Sautel (système Leroy 11).

49. Perria, Le cronache (cité n. 3), p. 359. Cf. Φλ. Ευαγγελατου-Νοταρα, *Σημειώματα ἑλληνικῶν κωδίκων ὡς πηγὴ διὰ τὴν ἔρευναν τοῦ οἰκονομικοῦ καὶ κοινωνικοῦ βίου τοῦ Βυζαντίου : ἀπό τοῦ 9ου αἰῶνος μέχρι τοῦ ἔτους 1204*, Ἀθῆναι 1982, p. 34-35.

50. ἐγράφη δὲ καὶ ἐτελειώθη ἡ ἱερὰ καὶ σωτηριώδης αὕτη βίβλος ἐν τῷ ϛτο´ ἔτη *[sic]*. Ἐν τῇ ἑνδεκάτῃ ἰνδικτιώνῃ *[sic]*. Ἐν τῇ μονῇ τῆς ἁγίας Ἄννης τῆς διακειμένης ὑπὸ τῶν τῆς Βυθινίας μερῶν ἐν τῇ ἐνορίᾳ τῆς Κίου. Une transcription de la souscription est dans Ευαγγελατου-Νοταρα, Σημειώματα (cité n. 49), p. 122, n° 5. Sur le manuscrit cf. N. A. Βεης, *Τὰ χειρόγραφα τῶν Μετεώρων. 1*, Ἀθῆναι 1967, p. 621-625 ; E. Gamillscheg, Handschriften aus Kleinasien (9.-12. Jahrhundert) : Versuch einer paläographischen Charakterisierung, dans *Scritture, libri e testi nelle aree provinciali di Bisanzio* (cité n. 3), t. 1, p. 181-201 [réimpr. dans E. Gamillscheg, *Manuscripta Graeca : Studien zur Geschichte des griechischen Buches in Mittelalter & Renaissance*, Purkersdorf 2010 (= Codices manuscripti supplementum 3), n° V, p. 53-72], ici p. 184 et suiv. Sur le monastère Sainte-Anne cf. R. Janin, *Les églises et les monastères des grands centres byzantins*, Paris 1975, p. 135.

51. Cf. Janin, *Les églises et les monastères* (cité n. 50), p. 135. Cf. aussi Perria, La minuscola « tipo Anastasio » (cité n. 3), p. 316 n. 142. L'hypothèse selon laquelle Eustace n'était pas originaire de Kios pourrait être corroborée par la précision quelque peu pléthorique avec laquelle il indique l'endroit où il a accompli sa transcription (Ἐν τῇ μονῇ τῆς ἁγίας Ἄννης τῆς διακειμένης ὑπὸ τῶν τῆς Βυθινίας μερῶν ἐν τῇ ἐνορίᾳ τῆς Κίου).

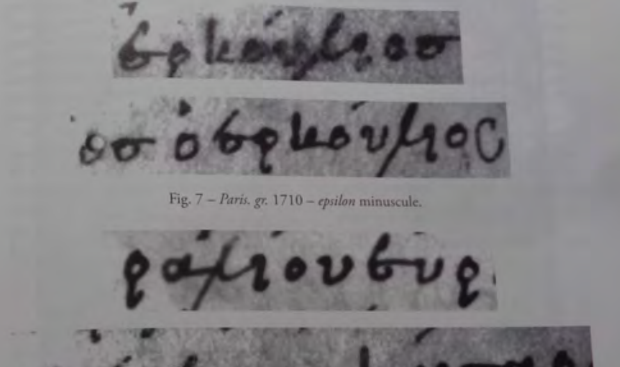


Fig. 7 – *Paris. gr.* 1710 – *epsilon* minuscule.

Fig. 8 – *Paris. gr.* 1710 – *rho* minuscule.

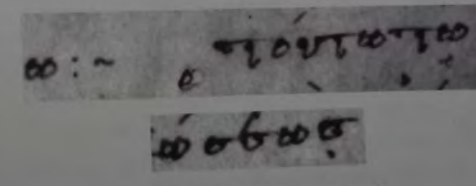


Fig. 9 – *Paris. gr.* 1710 – *omega* minuscule.

Fig. 10 - Meteora, Metamorph. 591, fol. 4v.

origines, le monastère constantinopolitain Saint-Jean-Baptiste risque d'être l'arbre qui cache une forêt[52], puisque, contrairement à ce qu'on l'a cru pendant longtemps, il ne fut pas le seul endroit où la « nouvelle » écriture fut utilisée pour transcrire des livres au IXe s. Les centres de copie actifs, aussi bien dans la capitale que dans ses périphéries, étaient plus nombreux que les sources de l'époque ne le laissent croire, et le milieu stoudite lui-même, pendant ces années critiques, s'étendait bien au-delà du monastère Saint-Jean-Baptiste, comprenant un large réseau de fondations allant de la Bithynie à la Cappadoce et aux îles égéennes : un réseau qui, entretenant des contacts avec la Palestine et l'Occident[53], favorisa une forte mobilité de moines, de copistes, de livres et de modèles graphiques.

Quel que fût le lieu d'origine de ce livre, la reconstruction de Fonkitch a été démentie pour ce qui concerne la proposition d'en faire remonter les dates aux années trente du IXe s. : Yannopoulos a justement remarqué qu'il contient une longue annotation qui, originairement marginale ou copiée sur un feuillet indépendant, a été englobée dans le texte[54]. Dans cette annotation, qui comprend une liste de patriarches constantinopolitains, est citée la fin du règne de Jean le Grammairien, qui remonte, comme on le sait, à l'an 843. Toutefois, les conclusions que Yannopoulos a tirées de cette circonstance sont à notre avis discutables :

> *la scolie en question a un caractère polémique* […] *contre une déclaration du patriarche Taraise* [… ce qui] *ne laisse pas de doute quant à l'origine studite de la scolie, car les Studites n'ont jamais caché leur hostilité envers Taraise*[55] [… Et comme] *à la fin de l'iconoclasme les Studites eurent les mains libres* […], *très vite ils actualisèrent la scolie, ils remanièrent le dossier* [*qu'ils gardaient précieusement dans leur monastère*[56]] *et ils tirèrent une première copie, le Parisinus* […], *l'année même 843.*[57]

La proposition d'attribuer le manuscrit à l'an 843 est également hasardeuse, puisque la citation de la fin du patriarcat de Jean, dans la scolie en question, ne constitue qu'un *terminus post quem*. La transcription de ce livre pourrait donc remonter au règne du patriarche suivant, Méthode (843-847), mais une datation légèrement plus tardive ne peut pas être exclue, car la mise à jour de listes de ce type ne relevait pas d'un processus mécanique, surtout lorsqu'elles étaient, comme c'est le cas pour le *Parisinus*, intégrées dans le texte. En effet, l'écriture du manuscrit présente un système d'esprits et d'accents évolué, ainsi qu'une ponctuation correcte, c'est-à-dire des facteurs qui sembleraient militer contre une datation précoce. D'ailleurs, l'écriture datée la plus proche de celle-ci se trouve,

52. Nous nous bornons à renvoyer à la bibliographie citée dans la dernière partie de notre contribution Essere copista a Bisanzio : tra immaginario collettivo, autorappresentazioni e realtà, dans *Storia della scrittura e altre storie*, a cura di D. Bianconi, Roma 2014, p. 383-436.

53. Cf. *ibid.*

54. Il s'agit de la version longue de la fameuse scolie sur le concile *in Trullo*, dont la paternité est attribuée au milieu stoudite par Yannopoulos, Les vicissitudes (cité n. 9), p. 543-544, n. 41, Id., *Théophane de Sigriani* (cité n. 6), p. 284 et suiv. et à Georges le Syncelle par Speck, Der « zweite » Theophanes (cité n. 2), p. 478-481 : cf., à ce propos, l'article de J. Signes Codoñer dans ce même volume.

55. Yannopoulos, Une note (cité n. 17), p. 528 n. 11. Cf. aussi Id., *Théophane de Sigriani* (cité n. 6), p. 285 et 287.

56. Yannopoulos, Une note (cité n. 17), p. 529.

57. *Ibid.*, p. 528-530. Cf. aussi Yannopoulos, *Théophane de Sigriani* (cité n. 6), p. 285.

nous l'avons dit, dans un manuscrit du début des années soixante du neuvième siècle, le Meteora, Metamorph. 591[58].

Plus généralement, l'idée d'une implication directe des stoudites dans la première phase de la transmission de la *Chronique* (idée soutenue ingénieusement, entre autres, par Dmitry E. Afinogenov[59]) est, en dernière analyse, basée sur la reconstruction de Fonkitch relative au *Parisinus*[60], reconstruction qui reste, nous l'avons dit, pour le moins problématique[61].

2. *Étude stratigraphique*

a) Anomalies paléographiques, codicologiques et textuelles

L'analyse paléographique du *Parisinus* permet de détecter deux endroits où un changement d'écriture se manifeste. Les deux coupures graphiques se produisent, l'une, entre les fol. 7v et 8r, l'autre entre les fol. 332v et 333r (en correspondance avec l'AM 6209). Ces coupures divisent le manuscrit en trois sections :



Dans les sections I et III, si la main reste sans aucun doute la même que dans la section II[62], on remarque plusieurs spécificités : le module des lettres est plus ample et le *ductus*, plus rapide, comporte une réduction du contrôle dans la réalisation des caractères, notamment en ce qui concerne les traits ascendants et descendants ainsi que les crochets à la fin de ces derniers (bien plus développés que dans la section II). L'outil d'écriture est évidemment différent (les traits sont plus épais, donnant à l'écriture un aspect plus lourd) tout comme l'encre, qui est moins foncée. La chaîne graphique est alignée d'une façon moins régulière sur la ligne imaginaire de base. Des différences subsistent entre les sections I et III, ainsi qu'à l'intérieur de la section III : dans cette dernière, le copiste manifeste parfois la tendance à revenir à un contrôle plus attentif de son *ductus* (par exemple aux fol. 342 et suiv.). Concernant la section I, le *ductus* est en général un peu plus contrôlé que dans la section III. Pour autant, l'écriture de ces deux sections se distingue nettement de celle, plus régulière, de la partie II.

58. Cf. *supra*.
59. D. E. AFINOGENOV, Did the patriarchal archive end up in the monastery of Stoudios? Ninth century vicissitudes of some important document collections, dans *Monastères, images, pouvoirs et société à Byzance*, sous la dir. de M. Kaplan, Paris 2006, p. 125-133, ici p. 132-133.
60. Cf. *supra* et les renvois à son autorité, par exemple dans YANNOPOULOS, Une note (cité n. 17), p. 527 et 529 ; ID., *Théophane de Sigriani* (cité n. 6), p. 289 et n. 617 ; AFINOGENOV, Did the patriarchal archive (cité n. 59), p. 126, 128-129 et n. 12.
61. D'ailleurs, en dehors du *Parisinus*, l'attribution aux stoudites de l'édition de la *Chronique* ne nous semble pas aller sans plusieurs problèmes d'ordre textuel et idéologique (la position de la *Chronique* vis-à-vis de la communauté stoudite n'est pas toujours bienveillante : cf. aussi, à ce propos, l'article de J. Signes Codoñer, dans ce même volume).
62. C'est ce qui résulte de la persistance des spécificités dans la construction des lettres *epsilon*, *rho* et *omega*, ainsi que de plusieurs autres détails et de la vision d'ensemble.

L'analyse codicologique confirme cette répartition, de quatre points de vue. Tout d'abord, en ce qui concerne la qualité du parchemin, qui semble en général mieux préparé dans la section II, plus grossier dans les autres[63]. En deuxième lieu, pour la mise en page : alors que la section I comprend un nombre variable de lignes par page (de 19 à 24), la section II en compte toujours 23 et la section III 24. Un troisième facteur est relatif à la dimension des feuillets, qui est sensiblement plus petite dans la section I[64]. Le quatrième et plus important facteur consiste en la structure des cahiers dont la position correspond à la première des deux coupures graphiques. Nous reportons, dans le tableau suivant, la structure fasciculaire complète du manuscrit :

Cah.	fol.	Cah.	fol.	Cah.	fol.	Cah.	fol.
1er	2-7	14e	102-109	27e	206-213	40e	310-317
2e	8-13	15e	110-117	28e	214-221	41e	318-325
3e	14-21	16e	118-125	29e	222-229	42e	326-333
4e	22-29	17e	126-133	30e	230-237	43e	334-341
5e	30-37	18e	134-141	31e	238-245	44e	342-349
6e	38-45	19e	142-149	32e	246-253	45e	350-357
7e	46-53	20e	150-157	33e	254-261	46e	358-365
8e	54-61	21e	158-165	34e	262-269	47e	366-373
9e	62-69	22e	166-173	35e	270-277	48e	374-381
10e	70-77	23e	174-181	36e	278-285	49e	382-387
11e	78-85	24e	182-189	37e	286-293	50e	388-395
12e	86-93	25e	190-197	38e	294-301	51e	396-397
13e	94-101	26e	198-205	39e	302-309		

Tableau 3

Dans le *Parisinus*, quatre cahiers seulement présentent une structure différente du format-standard du quaternion : les deux premiers (fol. 2-7 et fol. 8-13), le 49e (fol. 382-387) et le dernier, qui ne consiste qu'en un bifeuillet (fol. 396-397)[65]. Quant au 49e et au dernier, il faut toutefois remarquer que leur irrégularité n'est qu'apparente, car le bifeuillet 396-397 était à l'origine le *bifolio* externe du 49e cahier, qui était donc un quaternion régulier[66]. En somme, les seuls cahiers n'étant pas des quaternions originaires

63. Il est plus épais, avec des trous de préparation et des lisières.
64. Fol. 2-7 : 170 × 240 mm ; fol. 8-fin : 184 × 240 mm.
65. Parmi les autres cahiers, il y a dix-huit quaternions irréguliers, c'est-à-dire des cahiers qui, même s'ils sont formés de huit feuillets au total, ne consistent pas en quatre bifeuillets, mais en deux ou, plus souvent, trois bifeuillets et en feuillets indépendants. Il s'agit notamment du 3e cahier (dont les 1er, 2e, 7e et 8e feuillets sont indépendants), des cahiers 8e, 11e, 14e, 17e, 18e, 21e, 27e, 34e, 36e, 40e, 42e, 44e (les 2e et 7e feuillets desquels sont indépendants), des cahiers 12e, 19e, 43e (les 3e et 6e feuillets desquels sont indépendants), du 30e (dont les 1er et 7e feuillets sont indépendants) et du 50e (dont les 2e, 4e, 5e et 7e feuillets sont indépendants). De telles irrégularités ne font que confirmer la reconstruction qui suit, démontrant que le copiste s'efforçait constamment de constituer des cahiers de huit feuillets, même si les matériaux dont il disposait rendaient cette tâche difficile.
66. Il faut aussi noter que ce 49e cahier était originairement précédé du cahier qui le suit actuellement (le 50e cahier, formé des fol. 388-395. En d'autres termes, la succession originaire des fol. 382-397 était : 388-395, 396, 382-387, 397).

sont, dans le *Parisinus*, le premier et le deuxième. Concentrons-nous sur leurs structures. Le premier comprenait à l'origine 7 feuillets, dont le premier, dépareillé, est aujourd'hui perdu[67] :

2 3 4 5 6 7

L'évaluation de la capacité moyenne des pages du livre permet d'affirmer que ce feuillet initial dépareillé contenait le titre général et la première partie de la préface de la *Chronique*. En effet, le manuscrit actuel s'ouvre (avec le feuillet numéroté « 2 ») au beau milieu de la préface, qui se termine sur le fol. 2ᵛ. Le fol. 3ʳ est blanc et sur le fol. 3ᵛ se trouve le titre intermédiaire (Χρονογραφία ἀπὸ Διοκλητιανοῦ ἕως Μιχαὴλ καὶ Θεοφυλάκτου τῶν βασιλέων : cf. fig. 11).

Quant au deuxième cahier, il est constitué de 6 feuillets, dont les deux derniers sont dépareillés :



L'absence de ces deux feuillets n'est pas due à un accident matériel, mais elle est intentionnelle, car il n'y a aucune lacune textuelle entre le fol. 7 et le fol. 8. L'irrégularité structurale de ces deux premiers cahiers est importante, parce que le copiste, comme nous l'avons dit, s'est efforcé de produire tout au long du manuscrit des quaternions, utilisant souvent, à cette fin, des feuillets dépareillés[68]. Pour quelle raison aurait-il agi de façon différente au début de son manuscrit, compromettant l'aspect du livre justement là où les scribes tendaient, au contraire, à réaliser des structures fasciculaires régulières? La coïncidence de ces anomalies codicologiques avec la coupure graphique qui tombe entre les fol. 7 et 8 fait planer un soupçon de remaniement sur cette partie initiale. Mais il s'agit là d'une hypothèse si radicale – et qui, comme nous le verrons, semble avoir de telles implications pour l'histoire de la *Chronique* – qu'elle exige des preuves tangibles à l'appui. Un détail textuel, jusqu'aujourd'hui inaperçu, se révèle fondamental de ce point de vue. Le fol. 8ʳ (qui ouvre le deuxième cahier), commence par une petite rature, dans laquelle il est encore possible de lire les deux mots [εὐσέβιος δὲ]. Il s'agit des deux mêmes mots par lesquels se termine le feuillet précédent (7ᵛ : fig. 12) :

Fig. 11 – *Paris. gr.* 1710, fol. 3ᵛ.

67. On peut reconstruire cette structure en tenant compte d'une brève lacune au début du livre : la partie de texte qui manque (le début de la préface) consiste en 1 027 caractères, qui, dans l'écriture de notre copiste, correspondent à une page environ.

68. Cf. supra note 65.

Fig. 12 – *Paris. gr.* 1710, fol. 7v-8r.

CAHIER 1 CAHIER 2

[εὐσέβιος δὲ]

2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13

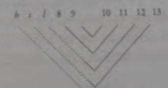
εὐσέβιος δὲ

Que cette dittographie soit due à une simple erreur du copiste est impossible, si l'on considère qu'elle coïncide avec une coupure à la fois graphique et codicologique.

En somme, au passage du fol. 7 au fol. 8 du *Parisinus*, il y a une coïncidence d'anomalies textuelles, codicologiques et paléographiques.

b) Reconstruction dynamique de la genèse du Parisinus : la première phase

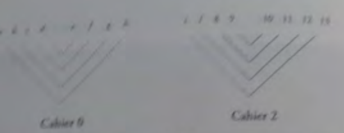
Les spécificités du premier cahier (qui présente une écriture caractéristique, une structure anomale, un nombre de lignes par page variable et des dimensions de feuillets inférieures par rapport au reste du livre) semblent indiquer qu'il peut avoir été inséré dans le manuscrit à un moment postérieur à la réalisation de celui-ci. Nous reviendrons sur cet aspect. Pour l'instant, laissons de côté ce premier cahier et concentrons notre attention sur le deuxième. Ce cahier était certainement formé lui aussi, à l'origine, de huit feuillets, comme tous les autres. En d'autres termes, entre les fol. 7 et 8, il y avait originairement deux feuillets, dont il ne reste aujourd'hui que deux talons. Que contenaient-ils? Sans aucun doute, une partie de la *Chronique*, mais pas son début : un calcul fondé sur la capacité moyenne des feuillets de ce cahier démontre qu'il en aurait fallu, non pas deux, mais au moins trois, pour remonter jusqu'au début du règne de Dioclétien, point de départ du récit « théophanien »[69]. Il n'y a donc que deux possibilités. La première est que le cahier 2 ait été irrégulier dès l'origine, comportant un feuillet initial dépareillé plus quatre bifeuillets :



Mais cette hypothèse est improbable : pour quelle raison le copiste aurait-il eu recours à une telle structure irrégulière au début de son manuscrit? Et où la préface aurait-elle été placée?

La seconde hypothèse, qui nous semble plus plausible, suppose l'existence d'un autre cahier, aujourd'hui perdu, précédant le 2e cahier :

69. Il est vrai que cette partie de la *Chronique* occupe actuellement, dans le premier cahier, quatre feuillets et demi, mais il est aussi vrai que les dimensions des feuillets de ce premier cahier sont réduites (170 × 240 mm), comme leur capacité, par rapport aux feuillets qui précédaient originairement le fol. 8 et qui étaient semblables à ceux qui constituent le reste du manuscrit (184 × 240 mm). Donc il aurait fallu environ trois feuillets.



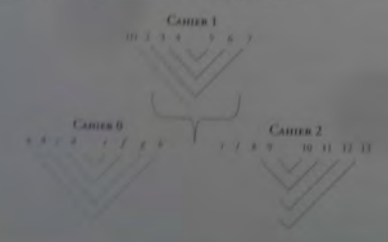
Le début du règne de Dioclétien était probablement contenu dans le dernier feuillet de ce cahier 0, un feuillet que nous appelons h dans le schéma. Mais si cela est vrai, dans le manuscrit originaire, un autre texte devait précéder celui de Théophane, occupant les fol. a-g du cahier 0, et encore, éventuellement, les feuillets de cahiers précédents. Un autre texte, mais lequel?

Une circonstance spécifique semble permettre de répondre à cette question : dans tous les témoins anciens qui font partie de la branche stemmatique du *Parisinus* (y compris la traduction d'Anastase le Bibliothécaire), la *Chronique* est précédée de la seconde partie de l'ouvrage de Georges le Syncelle[70]. Il n'est donc pas improbable qu'à l'origine ce texte se soit également trouvé dans notre manuscrit. Il faudrait donc imaginer un *Ur-Parisinus* comprenant la seconde partie du texte du Syncelle et la *Chronique*. Mais il y a plus : nous avons lieu de croire que, dans ce manuscrit originaire, la *Chronique* n'existait pas en tant que telle.

Revenons donc au cahier qui ouvre actuellement le *Parisinus*, le cahier 1 (fol. 2-7).

c) Seconde phase : l'insertion du titre et de la préface

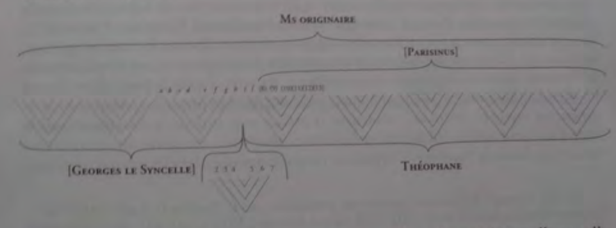
En effet, si le dessein de notre copiste-remanieur n'avait été que de séparer un texte précédent (probablement la *Chronographie* de Georges le Syncelle) de la *Chronique*, il aurait simplement coupé en deux le support originaire (l'*Ur-Parisinus*). Or, il est allé bien plus loin : si notre reconstruction est juste, comme plusieurs facteurs d'ordre paléographique, codicologique et textuel semblent l'indiquer, il a inséré un cahier entre le cahier 0 (fol. *a-h*) et le cahier 2 : il s'agit justement du cahier 1, qui ouvre le manuscrit actuel et qui, comme nous l'avons dit, est sans aucun doute le fruit d'une insertion. C'est probablement pour raccorder le contenu de ce cahier à ce qui suivait que le copiste-remanieur a enlevé les deux premiers feuillets du cahier 2 :



70. Cf., dans ce même volume, la contribution de J. W. Torgerson.

Un détail apparemment insignifiant confirme cette reconstruction : dans les dernières lignes du fol. 7v (le dernier du cahier inséré), le copiste a réduit le module des lettres, ajoutant même une ligne en surnombre dans la marge inférieure. Ainsi faisant, il a essayé de raccorder le texte qu'il était en train d'écrire avec celui du cahier suivant, qui donc préexistait certainement. Toutefois, nonobstant ses efforts, un petit décalage s'est produit : c'est la présence, à la fin du fol. 7v, des mots εὐσεβὴς δὲ, qui se trouvaient déjà au début du fol. 8r. Le même copiste, ou quelqu'un d'autre par la suite, a raturé ces mots en supprimant la dittographie[71].

Une opération si complexe – l'adjonction d'un cahier, l'enlèvement de deux feuillets et un essai méticuleux de raccordement – suppose la volonté d'atteindre un objectif tout à fait particulier, qui, à notre avis, ne pouvait être que celui d'insérer une portion de texte. Comme nous l'avons dit, si le copiste n'avait envisagé que de séparer l'ouvrage précédent (de Georges le Syncelle probablement) de la *Chronique*, il se serait borné à défaire le cahier commun. Or, nous l'avons noté, le cahier ajouté, qui ouvre le manuscrit actuel, contient la préface, le titre intermédiaire ainsi que, avant la chute du feuillet initial, le titre général de la *Chronique*. Ce sont donc ces éléments qui, si notre reconstruction est exacte, ont été ajoutés. Le support originaire, beaucoup plus ample que le *Parisinus*, n'aurait en somme pas contenu deux chroniques indépendantes (celle du Syncelle et celle dite de Théophane), mais une longue chronique unitaire. Quelque temps après l'avoir réalisé, le même copiste aurait opéré un remaniement, poursuivant deux objectifs : d'un côté, il visait à couper en deux la longue chronique ; de l'autre, à insérer un cahier qui, contenant un titre général[72] et une préface, rendit la dernière partie de ce long récit textuellement indépendante, de sorte à en faire un ouvrage autonome, l'ouvrage justement qui a été attribué à Théophane :



La plus grande prudence s'impose évidemment dans l'appréciation d'une telle hypothèse. Mais une autre circonstance vient s'ajouter aux éléments examinés jusqu'ici, circonstance qui, si l'on ne saurait y attribuer une valeur probante, semblerait du moins nous encourager dans la reconstruction que nous proposons dans la présente étude. La

71. Pour un comportement identique de la part d'un copiste plus tardif, cf. D. Bianconi, « Gregorio Palamas e oltre » : qualche riflessione su cultura profana, libri e pratiche intellettuali nella controversia palamitica, *Medioevo greco* 5, 2005, p. 93-119, ici p. 111 n. 72.

72. Aujourd'hui perdu.

Chronographia tripertita d'Anastase le Bibliothécaire comprend, entre autres, comme on le sait, les versions latines des ouvrages du Syncelle et de la *Chronique*. La traduction pour la partie initiale de la *Chronique* est partielle, si bien qu'il s'agit là d'un témoin à manier avec circonspection[73]. Pour autant, elle comporte un détail intéressant. En effet, dans cette traduction, la *Chronique* ne présente ni titre ni préface et ne constitue que la seconde partie d'un long récit attribué au Syncelle. La seule coupure consiste dans les mots *abhinc Hisaacius qui et Theophanes*[74] : une formule qui pourrait bien constituer la traduction d'une note marginale. On ne peut donc pas exclure que, dans le modèle de la traduction d'Anastase, les deux textes aient constitué un texte unique, coupé en deux *a posteriori* par une note du type ἐνθένδε ὁ Ἰσαάκιος ὁ καὶ Θεοφάνης[75]. Une conjecture hasardeuse, certes, qui mérite toutefois d'être formulée, si l'on tient compte du fait que, du point de vue stemmatique, le *Parisinus* semble être le manuscrit le plus proche du modèle grec employé par Anastase : le Bibliothécaire et le livre de Paris présentent en effet des textes qui, malgré des différences importantes[76], partagent la brièveté et l'absence des tableaux chronologiques et des *stemmata* généalogiques, qui sont en revanche présents dans le *Wake* et dans le *Vaticanus*.

IV. Conclusions

Notre analyse des trois manuscrits les plus anciens de la *Chronique* dite *de Théophane* aboutit à des résultats différents. Quant au *Vaticanus* et au *Wake*, elle confirme qu'il s'agit de deux livres produits dans un même milieu, peut-être micro-asiatique, non pas dans le cadre d'une opération « massive » de diffusion de la *Chronique*, mais plutôt afin de satisfaire des commandites de haut niveau, évidemment intéressées par un récit historique universel (les manuscrits contiennent en effet, outre la *Chronique*, le texte de Georges le Syncelle et, pour ce qui est du *Wake*, la *Chronographia brevis* attribuée à Nicéphore Patriarche[77]). Leur réalisation ne semble pas être allée sans un travail complexe sur le texte comportant, entre autres, l'insertion des tableaux et des *stemmata* généalogiques. Pour ce qui concerne le *Parisinus*, notre étude propose deux résultats : l'un avéré, l'autre hypothétique. Quant au premier, les données paléographiques, codicologiques et textuelles indiquent que le cahier qui ouvre le *Parisinus* – contenant la préface et le titre de la *Chronique* – est le fruit d'un ajout ancien, dû au copiste lui-même, ajout qui a comporté un remaniement textuel du début de l'ouvrage. L'hypothèse : étant donné que, dans les manuscrits faisant partie de la même branche de tradition que le *Parisinus*, la *Chronique* est précédée de la seconde partie du texte du Syncelle, et que, dans la traduction d'Anastase, la distinction entre les deux ouvrages est presque imperceptible, il n'est pas injustifié d'imaginer que le *Parisinus* constitue la partie terminale d'un support plus ample, contenant à l'origine une longue chronique. Ce récit comprenait vraisemblablement la seconde partie du texte de Georges le Syncelle et ce qu'on appelle la *Chronique de Théophane*. L'ample support originaire semble avoir été divisé en deux par le copiste lui-même, afin de rendre autonome la seconde partie, en ajoutant un cahier contenant une préface et un titre. Ce second texte (qu'on appelle la *Chronique de Théophane*) ne constituait donc à l'origine que la seconde partie d'une longue chronique universelle. Si cette reconstruction est correcte, le *Parisinus* témoigne d'un processus de séparation qui est à l'opposé du processus de rassemblement que l'analyse stratigraphique semblerait dévoiler pour le *Vaticanus* et le *Wake*[78]. En d'autres termes, l'histoire initiale de la *Chronique* semblerait avoir connu deux mouvements antithétiques : l'un, pour ainsi dire centrifuge, consistant dans l'acquisition d'une indépendance identitaire vis-à-vis d'un ensemble originaire indistinct (*Chronographie* du Syncelle + *Chronique*), l'autre, centripète, comportant la reconstitution d'une unité dans la distinction, et visant à recréer une chronique universelle.

Indépendamment de notre hypothèse, reste le fait avéré : dans le manuscrit le plus ancien de la *Chronique*, porteur d'une version différente de celle des autres témoins, la préface et le titre attestant la paternité théophanienne se trouvent dans un cahier ajouté par le copiste lui-même, à la suite d'un remaniement. Cela implique une série de questions radicales : quelle est l'origine de cette préface ? S'agit-il d'un texte créé expressément pour être inséré dans le *Parisinus*, en vue d'une falsification ? Dans ce cas, comment en expliquer la présence dans la branche de tradition représentée par le *Wake* et le *Vaticanus*, qui ne semblent pas descendre de notre livre ? Faut-il plutôt imaginer qu'elle ait préexisté au *Parisinus*, constituant un texte à la nature différente, adapté au nouveau contexte ? Quel fut le rôle véritable de Théophane dans toute cette histoire, étant donné que la réalisation et le remaniement du *Parisinus* ont eu lieu à une époque qui est sans aucun doute postérieure à sa mort ?

C'est à partir de ces observations que la « question théophanienne » semblerait devoir être rouverte[79].

73. Cf. *Anastasii Bibliothecarii epistolae siue praefationes*, rec. E. Perels et G. Laehr (MGH Ep. 7. Epistolae Karolini Aevi 5), Berlin 1912-1928, réimpr. München 1978, p. 419-421 : *ex ciuilibus autem gestis quaedam summatim excerpsi, quamuis a Iustiniano principe ac deinceps pauca omiserim eorum quae ab his chronographis relata sunt*. Cf., sur Anastase et Théophane en général et sur ce passage en particulier, les contributions de F. Montinaro et B. Neil dans ce volume.

74. Yannopoulos, La question théophanienne (cité n. 2), p. xxviii.

75. Selon la *Vie de Théophane* due au patriarche Méthode, l'empereur iconoclaste Constantin V, très lié au père de Théophane, Isaak, voulut que le futur confesseur portât aussi le patronyme Ἰσαάκιος (cf. Methodius, *Vita Theophanis*, p. 2-5 ; cf. aussi, dans ce même volume, l'article de J. Signes Codoñer).

76. Sur la proximité et les différences entre le *Parisinus* et le texte d'Anastase, cf. Yannopoulos, Théophane de Sigriani (cité n. 6), p. 286, 291 et suiv., ainsi que l'article de M. Jankowiak dans ce même volume.

77. Sur la présence de ce texte dans le *Vaticanus ante mutilationem*, cf. *supra* note 15.

78. Cf. *supra*.

79. À partir notamment de l'hypothèse, formulée jadis par Mango, selon laquelle le véritable auteur de la *Chronique* ne serait pas Théophane, mais Georges le Syncelle : Mango, Who wrote the Chronicle ; Mango – Scott, p. liv et suiv. Cf. aussi I. Ševčenko, The search for the past in Byzantium around the year 800, dans *DOP* 46, 1990, p. 279-293, ici p. 280-283 ; W. Brandes, Der frühe Islam in der byzantinischen Historiographie : Anmerkungen zur Quellenproblematik der *Chronographia* des Theophanes, dans *Jenseits der Grenzen*, hrsg. von A. Goltz, H. Leppin, H. Schlange-Schöningen, Berlin – New York 2009, p. 313-343, ici p. 330 et suiv. La reconstruction de Mango a été repoussée par Yannopoulos, Les vicissitudes (cité n. 9), p. 531 et suiv. ; Id., La question théophanienne (cité n. 2), p. xxviii et suiv. ; Id., *Théophane de Sigriani* (cité n. 6), p. 237 et suiv., auquel nous renvoyons pour un cadre détaillé de la « question théophanienne ».

THEOPHANES CONFESSOR ON THE ARAB CONQUEST: THE LATIN VERSION BY ANASTASIUS BIBLIOTHECARIUS

by Bronwen Neil

A brief introduction to the *Chronographia tripertita*

Anastasius' translation of the *Chronographia* of Theophanes was one of very few Latin histories to offer western readers an account of the Byzantine Empire and its relations with the early followers of Islam (from the year 632 to 813).[1] The Latin *Chronographia* constituted the third part of Anastasius' *Chronographia tripertita* (henceforth *CT*), a collection of excerpts from three Byzantine chronicles written at the encouragement of John the Deacon, court historiographer under Pope John VIII (872–82), and dedicated to him between 871 and 874.[2] The pope's historiographer, John the Deacon (also known as John Immonides), had intended to compile an encyclopaedia of Church history. This ecclesiastical history does not survive, if it was ever completed, but Anastasius' translations of the acts of the Seventh and Eighth Ecumenical Councils, the *CT* and the *Collectanea*—a dossier of anti-monothelite texts—were all destined to be included in it.[3]

1. Others include the Latin *Byzantine-Arab chronicle of 741*, events up to 724, and the *Hispanic chronicle of 754*, both based on the same eastern source; the Frankish *Chronicle of Fredegar*, produced in the 650s: see Hoyland, *Seeing Islam*, pp. 216–9 and pp. 423–7. Apart from the current volume, problems with establishing the source tradition are discussed by W. Brandes, Der frühe Islam in der byzantinischen Historiographie : Anmerkungen zur Quellenproblematik der *Chronographia* des Theophanes, in *Jenseits der Grenzen : Beiträge zur spätantiken und frühmittelalterlichen Geschichtsschreibung*, hrsg. von A. Goltz, H. Leppin und H. Schlange-Schöningen (Millennium-Studien 25), Berlin – New York 2009, pp. 313–43.

2. The date in de Boor is more specific, but cf. B. Neil, *Seventh-century popes and martyrs : the political hagiography of Anastasius Bibliothecarius* (Studia antiqua australiensia 2), Turnhout 2006, p. 125, where the dating of the *CT* is discussed in relation to Anastasius' preface to the *Collectanea*, also addressed to John the Deacon and written in *c.* 875 (soon after September 874): *Igitur post chronographiam tripertitam quam te hortante transtulimus et alia quaedam breuissima opuscula* (*ibid.*, p. 150, ll. 12-14).

3. The relative dates and dedications of these works were as follows: *Acts of the Eighth Ecumenical Council* for John VIII (873); *Acts of the Seventh Ecumenical Council* for Pope Hadrian (871); *Collectanea* for John the Deacon, which includes *Chronographia tripertita* for John the Deacon (871–4);

Studies in Theophanes, ed. by M. Jankowiak & F. Montinaro (Travaux et mémoires 19), Paris 2015, pp. 149–57.

Anastasius started his *CT* with excerpts of the *Opuscula historica* attributed to Nicephorus, patriarch of Constantinople (806–15), who died in 828, 29 years before they end! Nicephorus, possibly a continuator of Theophylact Simocatta, provided genealogies for figures ranging from Adam up to Emperor Michael III (d. 867).[4] This part included lists of Christian patriarchs and high priests of Israel, emperors and empresses, and books of the bible, as well as a family tree of Valentinian I. The second part of Anastasius' *CT* was an excerpt of the *Ecloga chronographica* of George Syncellus,[5] that covered the history of the Roman Empire from Pompey to the rule of Diocletian.[6] Finally, excerpts of the *Chronographia* of Theophanes Confessor (d. 818) extended the Latin ecclesiastical history requested by John the Deacon (the so-called *Historia Ecclesiastica* which John never completed) from Diocletian up to 813.[7]

Context of Anastasius' translation

It is in the context of Rome's *rapprochement* with the Byzantines as a potential ally against the Saracens that we can understand Anastasius' decision to translate the three Byzantine chronicles that made up the *Historia tripertita*, and especially the almost full translation of Theophanes' account of the decades after Muhammad's death. These years were crucial for the developing understanding by Byzantium that Islamic military power was a formidable threat. Anastasius had a keen interest in the beginnings of this threat to Frankish and Byzantine power, and in sharing that knowledge with others in the West, even though his sources may have been at times misleading and inaccurate. Inadequate as it may have been, the *CT* became the chief source on Islam available in western Europe between the ninth and twelfth centuries, when it was superseded by two polemical works of Peter the Venerable of Cluny. These were *Summa totius haeresis Saracenorum* and *Liber contra sectam sive haeresim Saracenorum*.[8] Even Peter, however, used Anastasius as his main source. It is perhaps ironic that a work begun with the intent of mending fences with the Byzantines eventually served as an instrument of the Crusades, which drove the western and eastern churches into a schism that has lasted until today.

the *Gesta Sancti Papae Martini* (c. 875). The dedicatory prefaces are published by E. Perels and G. Laehr in *Anastasii Bibliothecarii epistolae sive praefationes* (MGH Ep. 7. Epistolae Karolini Aeui 5), Berlin 1912–1928, repr. München 1978, pp. 395–442. See G. Arnaldi, Giovanni Immonide e la cultura a Roma al tempo di Giovanni VIII, *Bulletino dell'Istituto storico italiano per il medioevo* 68, 1956, pp. 33–89. For a resume of Anastasius' translation corpus, see Neil, *Seventh-century popes* (quoted n. 2), pp. 42–91; R. E. Forrai, Anastasius Bibliothecarius and his textual dossiers : Greek collections and their Latin transmission in ninth-century Rome, in *L'Antiquité tardive dans les collections médiévales : textes et représentations, VIe-XIVe siècle*, études réunies par S. Gioanni et B. Grévin (Collection de l'École française de Rome 405), Rome 2008, pp. 317–36.

4. Niceph., *Brev.* and *Chron.*

5. George Syncellus had died by the time Theophanes compiled his preface, perhaps in 814: Mango – Scott, p. xliv.

6. Georg. Sync.

7. Anast. An earlier edition of the Latin version was made by I. Bekker, *Anastasii Bibliothecarii historia ecclesiastica sive chronographia tripertita*, in I. Classen's edition, *Theophanis Chronographia* (CSHB), II-III, Bonn 1839–41.

8. Petrus Venerabilis, *Schriften zum Islam*, ed., übers. und kommentiert von R. Glei (Corpus islamo-christianum, Series latina 1), Altenberge 1985.

The question of whether Anastasius had independent knowledge of the Arabs, or Saracens, as he usually calls them, is a vexed one. He may well have had first-hand knowledge of their successful attempt to breach the walls of Rome in 846 during the pontificate of Sergius. His successor Pope Leo IV (847–55) was left to organise his own repairs to the walls, although the Frankish emperor Lothar, then king of Italy, assisted with an empire-wide tax for the fortification of Rome. His son and co-ruler Louis II, later king of Italy, repelled the Saracens in 847 and again in 852 near Benevento.[9] He also provided military aid in 871 which contributed to a significant naval victory over Arab forces at Bari, before his eventual capture by Adelchis, duke of Benevento.

Anastasius was involved indirectly in Louis II's attempts to repel the Arab fleet in 871.[10] A letter reportedly sent by Louis to the Byzantine emperor Basil in 866, requesting naval support against the Saracens, is thought by some scholars to have been written by Anastasius but unfortunately this letter does not survive. Anastasius had close connections with the court of Louis II, his uncle Arsenius, later bishop of Orte (855–68), being the legate *(missus)* of Louis II from 848 or 849.[11] Anastasius probably sought refuge in Louis' court after his expulsion from the city by Leo IV in 850, before his triumphant return to the city as antipope in 855. Thus he was only too well acquainted with the risks posed by this alien force and its alien religion.

The only reason this should be of any interest to readers of a volume on Theophanes' *Chronicle* is that Anastasius can add (albeit meagrely) to what we know from Theophanes for the years from 565 to the end of the *Chronicle*, because he translated it literally and in full, and because he had access to a better Greek manuscript of Theophanes' text than that preserved in the edition of de Boor. Throughout his other works (to be discussed below) Anastasius consistently identifies Arabs with Saracens, an identification which was to become the stereotype in the medieval West. In this respect, he follows Theophanes. The Saracens, first mentioned by Theophanes in the year 335/6 as the captors of the Assyrians in Persia,[12] were identified with Ishmaelites by Sozomen.[13] Theophanes knew

9. B. M. Kreutz, *Before the Normans : Southern Italy in the ninth and tenth centuries*, Philadelphia PA, 1996, pp. 26 f., 37.

10. *Ludovici II. Imperatoris epistola ad Basilium I. Imperatorem Constantinopolitanum missa*, ed. W. Henze (MGH Ep. 7. Epistolae Karolini Aeui 5), Berlin 1912–28, repr. München 1978, pp. 386–94. Other scholars have claimed that the letter was a fabrication made later by Anastasius under Pope John VIII: see Henze's preface, to the edition, p. 386. For a full analysis of this important letter, with a bibliography of recent scholarship on it, see Federico Montinaro's chapter in this volume.

11. *Il Chronicon di Benedetto, monaco di S. Andrea del Soratte e il Libellus de imperatoria potestate in urbe Roma*, a cura di G. Zucchetti (Fonti per la storia d'Italia 55), Roma 1920, p. 203.

12. Theoph. AM 5828, p. 33: "in the same year [AD 335/6] many of the Assyrians in Persia were being sold in Mesopotamia by the Saracens" (Mango – Scott, p. 54). This section is omitted from Anastasius' *CT*.

13. Soz., VI, 3, pp. 456–64; Sozomen described how their leader Mavia led them to victory in Arabia, and signed a truce with the Romans. He continues, "This is the tribe which took its origin and had its name from Ishmael, the son of Abraham; and the ancients called them Ishmaelites after their progenitor. As their mother Hagar was a slave, they afterwards, to conceal the opprobrium of their origin, assumed the name of Saracens, as if they were descended from Sara, the wife of Abraham. Such being their origin, they practice circumcision like the Jews, refrain from the use of pork, and observe many other Jewish rites and customs": transl. C. D. Hartranft, *The Ecclesiastical history of Sozomen* (Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, ser. 2, 2), Edinburgh 1893, p. 375.

the account in Sozomen's *Ecclesiastical history*: "[Sozomen] relates many things about this race, its origins and name and that they are circumcised at the age of 13."[14] We find the same identification of Saracens and Ishmaelites in John of Damascus' work *On heresies*, where he describes Islam as "the superstition of the Ishmaelites, which foretold the coming of the Antichrist."[15] Theophanes and John of Damascus shared a common source in Theodore Lector's history which went down to 518, although Theophanes only knew it in an abbreviated form.[16] It is perhaps from Theodore Lector that John of Damascus took his spurious etymology of the name of Saracens in *De haeresibus*, where he discusses the Ishmaelites, also called Agarenes: "They are also called Saracens, which is derived from *Sarras kenoi*, or destitute of Sara, because of what Agar [the mother of Ishmael] said to the angel: 'Sara hath sent me away destitute.'"[17] This spurious etymology is also found in Anastasius' version of the *Opuscula historica* of Nicephorus, which provided a short history of the Arab uprising after the death of the Persian king Chosroes (628):[18]

> *It was then that the Saracens began their desolation of the world in the year 6126, indiction seven* [AD 633/4]. *Constantine, his* [sc. Heraclius'] *son, was killed in his 29th year in Sicily* [AD 668]*; under him a large part of the Empire was destroyed by Saracens. Constantine, the grandson of Heraclius, ruled for 17 years, under whom Byzantium was laid waste by Saracens. In his 13th year the sixth synod was held at Constantinople* [680–1]. *And he strove manfully against the Saracens, forcing them away from the power they held against the Romans, and trampling down many of them.*

Quality of Anastasius' translation

While Anastasius' version is an often inconsistent rendition of the Greek, it was based on an early and more reliable version of Theophanes' *Chronographia* than now survives, as noted by its editor Carl de Boor.[19] Anastasius made a very literal translation, albeit with some errors, and excerpted Theophanes' text as he saw fit. For this reason, it has been useful in some places for establishing the original text where the direct transmission offers a degenerate version.[20] Interestingly for our purposes, Anastasius translated Theophanes in full for the period regarding Muhammad's life and death (AD 629/30 = AM 6122), and his immediate successors Abu Bakr (AD 630–2) and Umar, up to his ninth year

14. Theoph. AM 5869, p. 64; Mango – Scott, p. 99; cf. Theod. Lect., fr. 185, p. 69.6–17, cited in the apparatus of Mango – Scott.

15. *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos. 4, Liber de haeresibus; Opera polemica*, besorgt von B. Kotter (Patristische Texte und Studien 22), Berlin 1981, 100, p. 60.1–2.

16. See, in this volume, the chapter by B. Pouderon, where he discusses the problems associated with the text of Theodore Lector.

17. John Damas., *De haer.* 100, ed. Kotter (quoted n. 15), p. 60. St John of Damascus, *Writings*, transl. by F. H. Chase (The Fathers of the Church 37), Washington DC, 1958, p. 153.

18. Anast., pp. 44–5: *tunc et Saraceni orsi sunt uniuersitatis desolationem 6126 anno, indictione septima. Constantinus, filius eius, annis 29. hic in Sicelia interfectus est. sub quo plurima pars reipublicae a Saracenis desolata est. Constantinus, nepos Heraclii, annis 17, sub quo Byzantium a Saracenis deuastatum est. et sexta synodus 13 anno eius facta est Constantinopoli. et contra Saracenos uiriliter egit, coercens eos ab imperio contra Romanos habito hosque deterruit plurimum.* My translation.

19. De Boor in Theoph. 2, pp. 401–35 (n. 7).

20. De Boor in Theoph. 2, pp. 413–5 (n. 7).

(AD 641/2), and subsequent military engagements with the Arabs, right up to the end of Theophanes' *Chronicle*.[21] The early chapters cover the defection of Arab Christians to their Muslim "fellow-tribesmen" (AD 630/1); the fall of Hera and Gaza, and the entry into Palestine (AD 631/2); the fall of the Syrian cities of Bostra, Emesa and Damascus and the Arab entry into Egypt (AD 632/3–633/4); the fall of Jerusalem (AD 634/5) and Antioch (AD 636/7); of Edessa and "all of Mesopotamia" (AD 637/8); the fall of Persia (AD 638/9); and the fall of Caesarea in Palestine (AD 640/1 = AM 6133). They also related the ups and downs of the Heraclian dynasty after the death of Heraclius: the senate's rejection of Heraclonas and Martina from the imperial throne, and the subsequent elevation of Constans II (AD 640/1).

One discrepancy from fact in Theophanes' account, faithfully followed by Anastasius, concerns the manner and date of Muhammad's death. According to Theophanes, the prophet's death occurred in AM 6122 (= AD 629/30), after ten misguided Jewish leaders had joined him, thinking he was the Messiah.[22]

> *Those* [Jews] *who did so were ten in number, and they remained with him until the eating* [2 MSS; the rest read, like Anastasius: *until his murder*]. *But when they saw him eating camel meat, they realized that he was not the one they thought him to be, and were at a loss what to do; being afraid to abjure his religion, those wretched men taught him illicit things directed against us, Christians, and remained with him.*

The Latin rendering "until his murder" *(usque ad caedem eius)* was probably based on a scribal error in the Greek.[23] The "act of eating," if that is the true reading, must refer to Muhammad eating camel meat, a food proscribed for Jews in the Torah (Deut. 14:7).

In Theophanes' next entry, that for 630/1, Abu Bakr is recorded as the new Arab leader, having replaced Muhammad "who had died earlier."[24] In fact he did not die until two years later, in 632.

Greek and Latin manuscript traditions

As well as being unique in the western tradition, Anastasius' translation is important because it was a very literal translation based on Greek manuscripts earlier than those consulted by de Boor for his 1885 edition. De Boor concludes that the Latin can only be used with extreme caution in the restoration of the Greek text, and only where the Latin tradition is unanimous or allows for a "sure decision."[25]

21. AM 6122 to AM 6134. See B. Neil, Anastasius Bibliothecarius, in *Christian-Muslim relations: a bibliographical history. 1, (600-900)*, ed. by D. Thomas and B. Roggema, Leiden – Boston 2009, pp. 786–90.

22. Theoph. AM 6122, p. 333; Mango – Scott, p. 464; see also p. 465 n. 2, on the variant Greek readings.

23. Mango – Scott, p. 465 n. 2, plausibly suggest that σφαγῆς "murder" replaced φαγῆς "food; act of eating". The variant φαγῆς occurs in two manuscripts.

24. Mango – Scott, p. 466.

25. P. Chiesa, M. Cupiccia and A. Galli, Anastasius Bibliothecarius, in *La trasmissione dei testi latini del medioevo. 2 = Mediaeval Latin texts and their transmission*, a cura di P. Chiesa e L. Castaldi, Firenze 2005, p. 101.

De Boor's edition of the Greek text was based primarily on two late manuscripts, *Vat. Barb.* 553 (16[th] c.) and *Vat. gr.* 154 (12[th] c.), both highly fragmentary as his many indications of lacunae show, but, according to him, preserving the best Greek tradition available.[26] The other seven manuscripts derived from an inferior source to that used by Anastasius.[27] Mango and Scott observed that the text of Theophanes has numerous gaps after AD 535/6, and drew attention to the existence of two early manuscripts, from the late ninth century, one of which was wrongly dated to the tenth or eleventh century by de Boor (*Vat. gr.* 155), and the other an Oxford manuscript not used by him at all (Christ Church, *Wake* 5).[28]

The most interesting of de Boor's Greek manuscripts, from my point of view, is *Paris BN Coislin* 133, a twelfth-century manuscript containing parts of the *Chronographicon syntomon* of Nicephorus, and of Synkellos' *Ecloga chronographica*. The "numerous gaps" in this manuscript of Theophanes after 536 correspond to Anastasius' comment in his Preface to John the Deacon that "[I] left out a few things from the civil record generally, although from Emperor Justinian and from the beginning [I] omitted a few things from the records of these chronicles."[29] From my own comparison with the Greek text, Anastasius omitted about one half of the contents from 537 to 565. The only rationale in terms of content is that he favoured religious over secular events, in keeping with John's request for an ecclesiastical history. I have not yet consulted the Coislin manuscript, but it is possible that it shares a common Greek source with Anastasius' *CT*, which parallels in its rubrics and dating system *Par. gr.* 1710. De Boor lists the gaps in the Greek text as compared with the Anastasian translation, noting, for example, a lacuna of several years which is not reflected in Anastasius.[30] Another example is AM 6030, or the 11[th] year of Justinian, on the encaenia of Hagia Sophia, a gap in the Greek text which is translated by Anastasius.[31]

De Boor used three Latin manuscripts for his edition of Anastasius' version.[32] The oldest surviving witness is *Vat. pal.* 826 (9[th] c.);[33] *Cassinensis* 6 can be precisely dated to the abbacy of Desiderius at the monastery of Montecassino (1058–86); the third,

26. De Boor in Theoph., p. vii.
27. See the stemma in MANGO – SCOTT, p. xcvi, which locates *Vat. Barb.* 553 (16[th] c.) and *Vat. gr.* 154 (12[th] c.) as branches of a common source, one that was parallel to the unknown source used by Anastasius. Both branches stem from an unidentified Ur-text.
28. MANGO – SCOTT, pp. xcvi–xcvii. The discovery of the Christ Church manuscript was announced by J. B. BURY, An unnoticed MS of Theophanes, *BZ* 14, 1905, p. 612 f.
29. *Ex ciuilibus autem gestis quaedam summatim excerpsi, quamuis a Iustiniano principe ac deinceps pauca omiserim rerum quae ab his chronographis relata sunt* (*Preface to John the Deacon* = *Anastasii Bibliothecarii epistulae* [quoted n. 3], pp. 419–21, no. 7). My translation.
30. Anast., pp. 217.1–232.29.
31. Anast., p. 141.
32. Anast., pp. [illegible]–340.
33. De Boor in Theoph. 2, p. 425, dated it to the tenth century, but the ninth century is preferred by B. BISCHOFF, Italienische Handschriften des neunten bis elften Jahrhunderts in frühmittelalterlichen Bibliotheken außerhalb Italiens, in *Il libro e il testo : atti del convegno internazionale Urbino, 20–23 settembre 1982*, a cura di C. Questa e R. Raffaelli, Urbino 1984, pp. 187–8.

Vat. Pal. 909, thought to have been produced in either Naples or Benevento,[34] was produced between 976 and 1025. According to Brown, *Vat. pal.* 909 is the only surviving copy of the *Historia miscella* of Landolf Sagax, who copied Anastasius to the letter in the second part of his continuation of Paul the Deacon's *Historia romana*,[35] and is probably the idiograph.[36]

De Boor used *Cassinensis* 6 as the basis of his Latin edition, even though it suffered from later corrections from a reader whose improvements were "often totally arbitrary and rarely successful."[37] He preferred it over the earliest manuscript, since *Vat. Pal.* 826 was vitiated by numerous scribal errors. He also mentioned several others that he did not consult, but that were used by Fabrot in his seventeenth-century *editio princeps*:[38] (4) *Vat. Lat.* 2013; (5) *Paris, BN* 5091 once owned by Jacob Augustus de Thou; and (6) *Paris, BN* 5092 once owned by D. Charles de Monchal, archbishop of Toulouse.[39] Two fragments of the text were discovered by Virginia Brown in the 1990s.[40]

The fragments can be dispensed with fairly quickly. Both are written in Beneventan script, a testimony to their production in the vicinity of the duchy of Benevento (southern Italy) and are copied by the same hand. The Altamura fragment (*Altamura Archivio Biblioteca Museo Civico fondo Sabini*, perg. 1[v]) is largely illegible, in spite of (or because of) heavy restoration, and was cut at the corners to make a cover for another volume.[41] The Altamura manuscript conveys a fragment of Anastasius' translation for the years 626–7, which recounts Heraclius' joyful return to Constantinople, having made peace with the Persians after six years of warfare.[42] The Altamura fragment states: "At this time Moamed, leader of the Arabs, that is, the Saracens, living under the Persians, was in his 6[th] year out of a total of 9."[43]

The second fragment, *Matera Archivio Diocesano*, fr. 9, fol. 1[v], provides a better reading. The Matera fragment is twice as long (a *bifolium*), and was preserved as the cover of a volume of records for 1551. It transmits a copy of Anastasius' translation of the *Chronographia* for the years 804–7 and 809–10.[44] These passages recount Nicephorus' payment of substantial tribute to contain the Arabs in the East, and Nicephorus' imposition

34. V. BROWN, The *Chronographia tripertita* of Anastasius Bibliothecarius : new fragments in Beneventan script at Altamura and Matera, *Altamura* 35, 1993, pp. 132–40, at p. 133 n. 9, cites the arguments for preferring Naples or Benevento.
35. *Landolfi Sagacis Historia Romana*, a cura di A. Crivellucci (Fonti per la storia d'Italia 49), Roma 1912.
36. CHIESA – CUPICCIA – GALLI, Anastasius Bibliothecarius (quoted n. 25), p. 102.
37. *Ibid.*
38. *Anastasii Bibliothecarii Historia ecclesiastica sive chronographia tripertita*, accedunt notae C. A. Fabroti [Fabrot], Parisiis 1649; see DE BOOR, *Theophanis Chronographia*, vol. 2, pp. 423–5, who judged that both codices from the *Bibliothèque nationale* had been emended from older manuscripts (*ad fidem veterum librorum emendata*).
39. Both notations of provenance were made in Fabrot's preface, reprinted in BEKKER, *Anastasii Bibliothecarii historia ecclesiastica* (quoted n. 7), pp. 3–4.
40. BROWN, The *Chronographia tripertita* (quoted n. 35), pp. 132–7.
41. *Ibid.*, p. 134, with a plate showing the mutilated fragment on p. 135: *Altamura Archivio Biblioteca Museo Civico fondo Sabini*, perg. 1[v].
42. Anast., p. 205.
43. Theoph. AM 6119, p. 327, MANGO – SCOTT, p. 457.
44. Anast., pp. 321–3.

of exorbitant taxes on Byzantine citizens in 809–10.[45] On the basis of paleographical evidence, and guided by Lowe's work on the Beneventan script,[46] Brown believes that both the Altamura and Matera fragments date to the tenth or eleventh century, thus locating them up to a century before *Casinensis* 6 (a. 1085).[47] While the content of the fragments adds nothing to our knowledge of the Latin tradition, their existence does indicate a wider dissemination of Anastasius' version in Byzantine Italy than the six complete manuscripts would suggest.

Saracens and Rome in the mid-ninth century

Apart from his correspondence on the Saracen invasion of southern Italy, mentioned above, there is also some evidence that Anastasius had independent knowledge of early Islam in one of his translations from Greek, the monothelite dossier known as the *Collectanea*. The Saracen invasions of the eastern Byzantine territories and North Africa in the 630s and 640s are mentioned in two documents of this dossier. First, in the *Relatio motionis*, a record of the trial of Maximus the Confessor in 655, John the former *sacellarius* of Peter the Patrician was adduced as an accuser. John alleged that Maximus had advised Peter the Patrician, when he was general of Numidia, not to follow Emperor Heraclius' command to lead an army against the Saracens in Egypt in 633.[48] There is no other evidence for these events apart from this allegation. The Byzantine concern with the Saracen threat echoes several charges brought against Pope Martin I (649–53), in his trial in Constantinople in the early 650s, namely that he had supplied money and a *Tome* to the Saracens, and had written letters to them in an attempt to conspire against the emperor.[49]

A third source of information for Anastasius was the Roman *Liber pontificalis*. In this text, whose first redaction dates to the early sixth century, the anonymous author of the entry on Martin I (649–53) relates that when Olympius, the Byzantine exarch of Sicily, had made peace with Pope Martin, he mustered the army and set out for Sicily against

45. Anast., pp. 325–7. Brown also mentions several Beneventan and non-Beneventan manuscripts which she believed to contain full versions of the *Chronographia*: *London, British Library, Burney* 284 (13th c.); *BN lat.* 5093 (16th c.); *BN lat.* 5501 (12th c.); *Vat. lat.* 2012 (15th/16th c.). The latest of these, dating to the fifteenth or sixteenth centuries, is testimony to the continued popularity of *CT* in the Renaissance: Brown, The *Chronographia tripertita* (quoted n. 34), p. 133 n. 6. A fifth witness, *Avranches, Bibliothèque municipale* 160 (13th c.), may preserve a partial version.

46. E. A. Lowe, *The Beneventan script : a history of the South Italian minuscule*, Oxford 1914; 2nd edition prepared and enlarged by V. Brown, Roma 1980. A full list of Brown's publications on Beneventan manuscripts (published as *Miscellanea Beneventiana*) can be found at http://epigraphy.osu.edu/collections/vlc-beneventan (accessed 10 January 2015).

47. Brown, The *Chronographia tripertita* (quoted n. 34), p. 137.

48. *Relatio motionis* 1, in *Maximus the Confessor and his companions : documents from exile*, ed. and transl. by P. Allen and B. Neil (Oxford early Christian texts), Oxford 2002, pp. 48 f.

49. *Narrationes de exilio Papae Sancti Martini* ch. 3, ed. and transl. in Neil, *Seventh-century popes* (quoted n. 3), p. 170: *Ego aliquando ad Saracenos nec litteras misi nec quem dicunt tomum qualiter credere debeant aut pecunias umquam transmisi, exceptis dumtaxat quibusdam illuc uenientibus seruis Dei causa elemosynae quibus et modicum quid praebuimus minime ad Saracenos transmissum*. Cf. *Narrationes* ch. 7, ed. Neil, pp. 194–6, and discussion at pp. 113–6 of Martin's alleged conspiracy with Olympius.

the Saracen people who were living there, and the Roman army suffered destruction there.[50] Only in the *Liber pontificalis* do we find Olympius taking an army to Sicily against the resident Saracens. Stratos has noted that there is absolutely no evidence for an Arab settlement in Sicily in 652, or even an Arab raid on Sicily at this time.[51] The two-year peace treaty signed with the Arab caliph in 651–3 makes an attack during this period highly unlikely.[52] While this excursion may not have occurred—not at this time at least—it is doubtful that Anastasius was aware of the fact.

Conclusion

Anastasius' translation of the *Historia tripertita* included three annalistic histories, of which the *Chronicle* of Theophanes was the most significant and detailed element. This excursus on the context, quality and transmission of Anastasius' translation of Theophanes' *Chronicle* has not yielded any new insights into Theophanes' text. It is perhaps significant that Anastasius translated the Greek text in full from the year 565, rather than excerpting it, but not too much can be made of that point alone. Anastasius gives no hint of other motives than the one he states in his preface to John the Deacon: to oblige his request for assistance in the compilation of an ecclesiastical history. Anastasius' independent knowledge of Islam was sketchy, and informed by unreliable sources such as the *Collectanea* and the *Liber pontificalis*, supplemented by first-hand experience of Saracen incursions in Rome. This text was most useful in preserving a version of Theophanes for the West that could be taken up in the twelfth century by Peter the Venerable of Cluny. It was only then that the real significance of the text for western perceptions of early Islam began.

50. *LP* I, p. 338: *Videns ergo Olympius exarchus quia manus Dei circumtegebat Martinum sanctissimum papam, necesse habuit se cum pontifice concordare et omnia quae ei iussa fuerant eidem sanctissimo uiro indicare. Quia facta pace cum sancta Dei ecclesia, colligens exercitum, profectus est Siciliam aduersus gentem Saracenorum qui ibidem inhabitabant. Et peccato faciente maior interitus in exercitu Romano prouenit.*

51. A. Stratos, The exarch Olympius and the supposed Arab invasion of Sicily in AD 652, *JÖB* 25, 1976, pp. 63–73.

52. These arguments are elaborated in B. Neil, Commemorating Pope Martin I : his trial in Constantinople, *Studia patristica* 39, 2006, pp. 77–82.

THEOPHANES AT THE TIME OF LEO VI*

by Juan Signes Codoñer

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1. Constantine VII and Theophanes

In 1994, Paul Speck published a detailed investigation of the authorship of the chronicle of Theophanes. He concluded that the text was not written by the famous iconodule saint but by a younger contemporary, a "second" Theophanes who managed to survive until late in the ninth century and was directly related to the empress Zoe Karbonopsina, the fourth wife of Leo VI and mother of Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus.[1] Most of Speck's conclusions were highly speculative and interdependent on each other. His analysis was, in fact, a chain of unwarranted hypotheses. The reactions were, not surprisingly, negative. In a detailed study in 1996, Ralph-Johannes Lilie already detected the major inconsistencies of Speck's arguments,[2] while a short footnote in the book of Mango and Scott on Theophanes published a year later dispatched Speck's thesis in a few words: "We are reluctant to admit this intriguing theory, which necessitates a good deal of unprovable speculation."[3] Recently Panayotis Yannopoulos has also dealt with the topic to refute Speck's arguments.[4]

This will be the aim of the present paper. A reconsideration of the available evidence is worthwhile insofar as many of the problems that triggered Speck's arguments remain unsolved. In particular, the kind of kinship that linked Theophanes to Constantine VII is still awaiting some explanation, as is the silence of contemporary sources (including Photius) about Theophanes' literary background and his own work. The study by Filippo Ronconi in this volume, which dates the oldest manuscript preserving the version with the chronological rubrics at the end of the ninth or even the very beginning of the tenth century, makes a new start to this issue more urgent than ever.

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1. P. Speck, Der "zweite" Theophanes : eine These zur *Chronographie* des Theophanes, in *Varia. 5* (Ποικίλα βυζαντινά 13), Bonn 1994, pp. 431–83.
2. R.-J. Lilie, *Byzanz unter Eirene und Konstantin VI. (780–802)* (Berliner byzantinische Studien 2), Frankfurt am Main 1996, esp. pp. 378–422.
3. Mango – Scott, pp. xliii–lxii.
4. P. Yannopoulos, *Théophane de Sigriani, le Confesseur (795–818)*, Bruxelles 2014, pp. 215–22.

It is convenient to reassess the evidence by taking a fresh look at the sources. To begin with, there are several unrelated texts that refer to the kinship between the emperor Constantine VII and Saint Theophanes. One of these is the history of the so-called Continuator of Theophanes, which was written by an anonymous author by order of the emperor Constantine VII himself. The title of the history as reconstructed from the damaged text preserved in the only surviving manuscript, refers to the kinship between the saint and the emperor in a very general and imprecise way:

> Χρονογραφία συγγραφεῖσα ἐκ προστάξ<εως Κω>νσ<ταντίνου> τοῦ φιλοχρίστου καὶ πορφυρογεννήτου δεσ<πότου ἡμῶν, υἱοῦ> Λέοντος τοῦ σοφωτάτου δεσπότου καὶ <ἀοιδίμου ἡμῶν βα>σιλέως, ἀρχομένη ἔνθεν κατέληξεν <ὁ κατὰ γένος προ>σήκ<ων> τῷ βασιλεῖ μακαρί<τη>ς Θεοφάνης <ὁ> τῆς <Σιγριανῆς>.[5]

> *Chronicle written by order of Constantine, our Christ-loving lord born in the purple, son of our most wise lord and glorious Emperor Leo, beginning where the blessed Theophanes of Sigriane, related by birth to the emperor, left off.*

This lack of precision does not actually imply ignorance of the exact links between Theophanes and Constantine, for they are more precisely indicated in the ensuing prologue:

> [...] ἐκείνην ταύτης ἀρχὴν εἶναι νομίσας τῆς ἱστορίας ἀρίστην, τὴν τῷ μακαρίτῃ Θεοφάνει γενομένην κατάληξιν· ὃν κατὰ συγγένειαν καὶ ἀγχιστείαν τὸ εἶναι υἱωνὸς λαχὼν ἀποσεμνύνεις τε ἐκ τῶν σῶν ἱκανῶς καὶ ἀντιλαμβάνεις αὖθις παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ τινα εὔκλειαν.[6]

> *[...] and you deemed as the best beginning of this history the closing point in the work of the blessed Theophanes, whose grandchild you are by consanguinity and kinship, honouring him fittingly through your works and in turn receiving from him a certain renown.*

However, it is clear that Constantine, who was born in 905, could not be a grandson of Theophanes, who died ca. 818. This observation led Jacques Goar to conjecture a lacuna after κατάληξιν. This he filled with several lines of Greek text, in which Constantine VII was made grandson of Basil, not of Theophanes.[7] Certainly, it would make more sense if Constantine referred to his grandfather Basil at this point, but as there is no sign of a lacuna here, it would be risky to base any argumentation on this. Accordingly, modern scholarship has rightly rejected Goar's addition but no valid alternative has been put forward so far. Speck for instance conjectured that τὸ εἶναι υἱωνὸς λαχὼν was interpolated,[8] whereas Ševčenko, without wholly excluding interpolation or lacuna,

5. Theoph. cont., p. 3.1–7, with the reconstruction by I. Ševčenko, The title of and preface to *Theophanes continuatus*, *Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata* 52, 1998, pp. 77–93, upheld in the forthcoming edition of the text that Michael Featherstone and I are preparing for the Corpus fontium historiae Byzantinae. The English translations of the passages from Theophanes continuatus are ours.

6. Theoph. cont., p. 5.2–6.

7. Goar's addition is reproduced in the edition of F. Combefis, Paris 1685: πάντων τῶν βασιλέων [illegible] σὺν λόγου, συλλαβεῖν· εἰ καὶ τοῦ ἀοιδίμου [illegible] τὰ παρὰ σοῦ ἱστορούμενα, καὶ μετὰ πάσης σαφηνείας [illegible] ἀληθῆ καὶ εἰλικρινῆ εἰς τὸ φανερὸν παρὰ τῆς σῆς [illegible] οὐδοτιοῦν διηγήσασθαι.

8. [illegible] Theophanes (quoted n. 1), p. 467.

hesitatingly concluded "that the author of the Preface may have had no precise knowledge of the nature of the relationship between his imperial patron and Theophanes."[9] What strikes the reader, however, is that Constantine should present himself as his grandfather's grandson κατὰ συγγένειαν καὶ ἀγχιστείαν, literally, "by consanguinity and kinship by engagement."[10] This unusual precision, whatever its precise meaning, may not be superfluous and would perhaps make better sense if the author intended to use the term "grandson" (υἱωνός) in the broader sense of "descendant."

A tenth-century dithyramb to honour Theophanes attributed to a certain Theodorus *protoasekretis* (*BHG* 1792), preserved in the *Monac. gr.* 3, fol. 8r-13v, is also relevant for our argument here. In the closing paragraph, Theophanes is addressed in the second person. There, an unnamed emperor is said to "be proud of your kinship" (γένει τῷ σῷ σεμνύμενος) and even "exult in it much more than in imperial honours that bring splendour" (μᾶλλον ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἢ ταῖς βασιλικαῖς τιμαῖς καὶ λαμπροφορίαις ἐπιγανύμενος). The emperor honours the saint with choruses, lamps and icons, becoming "the leader of your festivity" (τὸν τῆς σῆς πανηγύρεως ἔξαρχον).[11] The author of the text must be identified with Theodorus Daphnopates, a well-known intellectual, close to Romanos I and Constantine VII, who was also *protoasekretis*.[12] Given that there is also no doubt, as Krumbacher already argued, that the emperor mentioned in the poem is Constantine VII, the dithyramb confirms the official version of the kinship between Constantine and Theophanes.[13]

But the crucial indication about the kinship between the emperor and Theophanes is provided by a third work composed during the reign of Constantine VII, the so-called *De administrando imperio*. After copying some passages on the Arabs from the *Chronicle* of Theophanes, the compiler concludes in the following way:

> ἕως ὧδε ἐκανόνισεν τοὺς χρόνους τῶν Ἀράβων ὁ ἐν ἁγίοις Θεοφάνης, ὁ τὴν μονὴν συστήσας τοῦ καλουμένου μεγάλου Ἀγροῦ, μητρόθειος τυγχάνων τοῦ μεγάλου καὶ εὐσεβοῦς καὶ χριστιανικωτάτου βασιλέως Κωνσταντίνου, υἱοῦ Λέοντος, τοῦ

9. Ševčenko, The title (quoted n. 5), p. 90.

10. That ἀγχιστεία could be understood as "kinship by engagement" at this time is supported by *Procheiron* 7.7, ed. K. E. Zachariä von Lingenthal, Heidelberg 1837 = *Eisagoge* 17.7, ed. Leipzig 1852, where it is defined as follows: ἀγχιστεία δέ ἐστιν οἰκειότης προσώπων ἐκ γάμων ἡμῖν συνημμένη συγγενείας ἐκτός. The term, however, has been differently interpreted at different times, as a swift perusal of the old Attic dictionaries makes immediately evident.

11. Edited by K. Krumbacher, Ein Dithyrambus auf den Chronisten Theophanes, *Sitzungsberichte der philosophisch-philologischen und historischen Classe der königlichen bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaft zu München 1896. Heft 4*, München 1897, pp. 583–625, esp. 617–8.

12. The identification escaped Krumbacher, Ein Dithyrambus (quoted n. 11). For a biography of Daphnopates see *PmbZ* #27694, which does not include a complete list of his works. See however H. G. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich*, München 1959, p. 552; Théodore Daphnopatès, *Correspondance*, éd. et trad. par J. Darrouzès et L. G. Westerink, Paris 1978, pp. 2, 5; W. Buchwald *et al.*, *Dictionnaire des auteurs grecs et latins de l'Antiquité et du Moyen Âge*, Turnhout 1991, s.v. "Daphnopatès (Théodore)."

13. The possibility that Daphnopates was the author of the final section of *Theophanes continuatus* (and could therefore be held responsible for the reference to Theophanes in the title and prologue of the work!) was ruled out by Darrouzès and Westerink, Théodore Daphnopatès (quoted n. 12), pp. 6–10 and A. Markopulos, Théodore Daphnopatès et la Continuation de Théophane, *JÖB* 35, 1985, pp. 171–82.

σοφωτάτου καὶ ἀγαθοῦ βασιλέως, ἐγγόνου δὲ Βασιλείου, τοῦ ἐν μακαρίᾳ τῇ μνήμῃ τὰ σκῆπτρα τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων βασιλείας κρατήσαντος.[14]

Up to this point the history of the Arabs is set in order chronologically by St. Theophanes, who founded the monastery of the so-called Megas Agros and was uncle on the mother's side of the great and pious and most Christian emperor Constantine, son of Leo, the most wise and virtuous emperor, and grandson of Basil, of blessed memory for his tenure of the sceptre over the empire of the Romans.

For the first time, Theophanes is presented here as the emperor's maternal uncle (μητρόθειος). Surely, the term is again used in a broad sense, for Theophanes could not have been an uncle of Constantine VII. But the text indicates now that the kinship between Constantine and Theophanes was through his mother, Zoe Karbonopsina. In fact, nothing in the origins of Basil the Macedonian refers to a link with Theophanes, as it would otherwise have been mentioned in the *Vita Basilii*, where the author takes great pains to provide Basil with a convenient ascendency.

2. The ancestors of Zoe Karbonopsina

But can we find anything more specific in Zoe's life that would connect her with the family of Theophanes?[15] Unfortunately, the sources are absolutely silent on this point, as we do not even know the family name of Zoe, just her sobriquet, "the one with black-coal eyes." This is particularly frustrating, for we are informed about the importance of Zoe's family (this being one of the reasons for being chosen as Leo's fourth wife!) and can imagine that it is precisely because her family was so well known that the contemporaries did not bother mentioning it.

In fact, when the Continuator of Theophanes refers to a certain Photeinus, strategos of the Anatolikoi at the time of Michael II of Amorion (820–9), he remarks that this man was the "great grandfather" of Zoe:

Καὶ δὴ τὸν πρωτοσπαθάριον Φωτεινόν, πρόπαππον μὲν Ζωῆς τῆς ἐν μακαρίᾳ τῇ λήξει θεοστέπτου Αὐγούστης τυγχάνοντα, στρατηγοῦντα δὲ τηνικαῦτα τῶν Ἀνατολικῶν, τὰ τῆς Κρήτης ἅπαντα διοικεῖν προεβάλλετο.[16]

He entrusted the entire administration of Crete to the protospatharios Photeinus, the great-grandfather of the God-crowned Augusta Zoe of pious memory, who was then general of the Anatolikoi.

Thus, the Continuator was so well informed about Zoe's lineage that he could trace it back for at least three generations. Unfortunately, no further precision is given about this Photeinus and his possible kinship with Theophanes, who was his contemporary.

In the *Life of Euthymius*, who was appointed patriarch by Leo VI, mention is also made of two mighty senators and relatives of Zoe, Himerius, drungary of the fleet, and the patrician Nicholas, both of whom apparently exerted pressure for Zoe's union with

14. *Ibid.*, ch. 22.77–82.
15. On her see now *PmbZ* #28506.
16. Theoph. cont., p. 76.8–12. See Speck, Der "zweite" Theophanes (quoted n. 1), pp. 467–8.

the emperor to be canonically accepted.[17] As proof of Zoe's influence, in the same *Life of Euthymius*, Zoe tells the newly appointed patriarch Nicholas that he was elected only because this was her will.[18]

Another relative of Zoe could have been Leo Choirosphaktes, which may explain the latter's ascent at the Court during the reign of Leo VI. But, alternatively, the family of Choirosphaktes' wife may have played a role, for he says that she was also related to the emperor's relatives.[19] In fact, Choirosphaktes' first services to Leo VI date from 896, when he was ambassador at the court of King Symeon and was imprisoned in Bulgaria, that is, well before Leo VI started his liaison with Zoe Karbonopsina in 903.[20] This has led scholars to believe that Choirosphaktes was related to Leo's second wife Zoe Zautzina.[21]

At any rate, Zoe belonged to a very powerful and influential family, this being perhaps one of the reasons the emperor chose her as a partner and good candidate for marriage, since by doing so he perhaps hoped to assuage any possible objection to her promotion as empress.[22] But what about the family of Theophanes himself? If he had been an ancestor of Zoe, this may mean that Theophanes' family could also have been of some means. And this is in fact the image that the existent *Lives* of the saint have transmitted to us. In fact, through these *Lives* we are informed that his father Isaak was favoured by the emperor Constantine V and was appointed drungary of the Aegean fleet, the same post held by the above-mentioned Himerius, the relative of Zoe.[23] The emperor held Isaak in such high regard that he turned his Christian name into a family name so that his son, baptized Theophanes, received the patronymic "Isaakios" as his family name, as patriarch Methodius tells us in the biography of the saint.[24] Unfortunately, we do

17. *Vita Euthymii patriarchae Cp*, text, transl., introd. and commentary by P. Karlin-Hayter (Bibliothèque de Byzantion 3), Bruxelles 1970, here p. 109.24–8: Οὐ πολὺ τὸ ἐν μέσῳ, καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς συγκλήτου τοῦ τε Ἰμερίου τοῦ κατ' ἐκεῖνο καιροῦ δρογγαρίου τῶν πλωίμων, καὶ Νικολάου πατρικίου, ἀμφοτέρων συγγενῶν ὑπαρχόντων <τῆς Ζωῆς>, τῆς Καρβονόψιδός φημι, οὗτοι τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ εἰ ἔξεστιν καὶ τὴν αὐγούσταν ἐπ' ἐκκλησίας ἀναγορεύεσθαι ἐπερώτων. In a further fragment of the same work, Himerios is presented as being married to Zoe's sister, see B. Flusin, Un fragment inédit de la vie d'Euthyme le patriarche, *TM* 9, 1985, pp. 111–31, here p. 129.98–9.
18. *Vita Euthymii*, 111.14–22.
19. This "double marriage," which linked Choirosphaktes with the imperial family, is adduced by Choirosphaktes himself during his exile at the end of the reign of Leo VI in order to move the emperor to recall him from exile. The exact words used by Choirosphaktes when addressing the emperor are γένος εἰμὶ συζύγου τῆς σῆς, ἡ δὲ ἐμὴ σύζυγος τῶν σοι προσηκόντων αἷμα τὸ ἐγγύτατον, see G. Kolias, *Léon Choerosphactès : magistre, proconsul et patrice*, Athen 1939, letter 32, lines 29 ff. Moreover, the Arab historian Tabari presents Choirosphaktes as the uncle of Constantine VII, see Kolias, *ibid.*, pp. 16–9.
20. See Kolias, *Léon Choerosphactès* (quoted n. 19), pp. 28–47.
21. *PmbZ* #28506, pp. 760–1.
22. For the dependence of Leo VI on the noble families of the Constantinopolitan senate, which ultimately approved his fourth marriage, see now G. Strano, Potere imperiale e γένη aristocratici a Bisanzio durante il regno di Leone VI, *Bizantinistica* 4, 2002, pp. 81–99. An overview of Zoe's family, as discussed here, is to be found in Ch. Settipani, Les réseaux familiaux dans l'aristocratie byzantine : quelques exemples du VIe au XIe siècle, in *Les réseaux familiaux : Antiquité et Moyen Âge*, éd. par B. Caseau (MTM 37), Paris 2012, pp. 287–306, here 303.
23. *PmbZ* #3471.
24. Methodius, *Vita Theophanis*, here § III.4–5 (pp. 3.11–3, 3.29–4.5): [...] τὴν πατρικὴν ὀνομασίαν μετεκληρώσατο, καίπερ οὐκ ὀνομασθεὶς οὕτως ἐν τῷ βαπτίσματι, ἀλλὰ φιλοπατόρως τῷ τοῦ Ἰσαύρου μιαρῷ Κωνσταντίνῳ ἐπικληθεὶς Ἰσαάκιος. [...] Ὁ μὲν οὖν Θεοφάνης Ἰσαάκιος, ὁ τῷ φανῆναι θεόθεν ἔχων

not know what the original family name could have been. It is not assured, either, that "Isaakios" was used by other relatives of Theophanes as a family name and thus passed to later generations. In fact, I have not been able to find "Isaakios" used as a family name anywhere in the ninth or tenth centuries,[25] the form with the ending -ιος being regularly used as a Christian name.[26]

In any case, the father's wealth certainly passed to the son. Again, according to the testimony of the *Life of Theophanes* written by Methodius, after the saint left the capital and the Princes' Islands, he established himself in the monastery of Polichnion, in Sigriane (Bithynia), which was a *proasteion* of his, that is, his own property or the property of his family. Later he settled on the island of Kalonymos facing the coast at Sigriane, where again he owned a property that he had inherited from his father.[27] And when he finally decided to buy a property in Sigriane to found the monastery of Megas Agros, he claimed the rights of pre-emption as a neighbour. His relatives did not lend him the money this time, but he managed to get a loan with the help of some monks.[28] Undoubtedly, Theophanes' relatives had deeper roots in Bithynia as landowners.[29] The monastery of Sigriane was, significantly, founded on an estate neighbouring the lands of the family and it is to be assumed that the family continued to be connected with the monastery for generations.

3. Leo Katakylas and family archives

It is against this background that a notice about a later resident at the Sigriane monastery becomes perhaps relevant. The notice is preserved in an address Constantine VII made to his son Romanus concerning a search for books that he made when he decided to compose a treatise on imperial expeditions. The passage deserves to be quoted *in extenso*:

ὅθεν πολλὰ περὶ τούτων ἀνερευνήσαντες καὶ μηδεμίαν ὑπόμνησιν ἐναποκειμένην τῷ παλατίῳ εὑρίσκοντες, ὀψὲ καὶ μόλις ποτὲ περὶ τούτων ὑπόμνημα ἐν τῇ μονῇ τῇ

τὸ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ τῷ δείκνυσθαι Ἰσαάκιος θεοφανῶν, εἴτ' οὖν ἀπὸ Θεοῦ γενόμενος Ἰσαὰκ καὶ διὰ Ἰσαάκιον λογισμὸν θεοφανῆσαι εὐδοκηθείς, οὗτος Ἰσαακίου καὶ Θεοδότης γονέων ἐβλάστησεν καὶ ταύτην τὴν πατρῴαν προσηγορίαν, ὡς ἐπωνύμιον κέκτηται, τῇ ἐπιμνήσει τοῦ πατρὸς πρὸς τοῦ τυράννου Κωνσταντίνου, πατρωνυμήσας τὸ Ἰσαάκιος, ἐπεὶ καὶ τῷ βαπτίσματι καὶ τῷ σχήματι Θεοφάνης ὠνόμαστο, ὥσπερ ἔφαμεν.

25. See, for example, Γεώργιος ὁ Ἰσαάκιος in the *Practicum Joannis Vatatzae protocynegi* (1341) preserved among the Acta Monasterii Iviron edited by V. Kravari, J. Lefort, H. Métrévéli, N. Oikonomidès, and D. Papachryssanthou, *Actes d'Iviron. 3. De 1328 au début du XVIᵉ siècle* (Archives de l'Athos 18), Paris 1995, pp. 59–77, here p. 68, line 38.

26. See Theognostus, *Canones sive De orthographia*, ed. J. A. Cramer, *Anecdota Graeca e codd. manuscriptis bibliothecarum Oxoniensium*, vol. 2, Oxonii 1835, § 554: Τὰ διὰ τοῦ ιος ἀπὸ βαρβάρων ὀνομάτων εἰς παραγωγὴν ἐληλυθότα, καὶ τὴν πρωτότυπον πειρᾶται φυλάττειν γραφὴν, καὶ διὰ τοῦ ι κλίνεσθαι τὴν παραγωγήν· οἷον, Ἀβραάμ, Ἀβραάμιος· Ἰσαάκ, Ἰσαάκιος.

27. Methodius, *Vita Theophanis*, § XIII.21–2 (pp. 15.20–22, 16.3–5): ἐν τῇ κατὰ τὸ Σιγριανὸν ὄρος μονῇ τοῦ Πολιχνίου λεγομένῃ, γενομένῃ ποτὲ προαστείῳ αὐτοῦ, εὔθετον ἑαυτὸν εἰς θυσίαν κυρίῳ [...] προσάγοντα, [...] ἐν τῇ καλουμένῃ νήσῳ τῆς Καλωνύμου πορεύεται καὶ ὅπερ εἶχεν ἐν ταύτῃ γονεοσδότως κτήματος κτίζει καὶ συντελεῖ μοναστήριον.

28. Methodius, *Vita Theophanis*, § XIV.24 (p. 17.1–13).

29. For the Bithynian monasteries see C. Mango and I. Ševčenko, Some churches and monasteries on the southern shore of the Sea of Marmara, *DOP* 27, 1973, pp. 235–77 and, more recently, M. F. Auzépy, Les monastères, in *La Bithynie au Moyen Âge*, éd. par B. Geyer et J. Lefort (Realités byzantines 9), Paris 2003, pp. 431–58.

καλουμένῃ Σιγριανῆς εὑρεῖν ἠδυνήθημεν, ἐν ᾗ Λέων ὁ μάγιστρος, ᾧ Κατάκυλας ἦν ἐπώνυμον, τὸν μονήρη βίον ἠσπάσατο. οὗτος γὰρ ὁ μάγιστρος περὶ τούτων ἐγγράφως διέθετο ἐκ προστάξεως Λέοντος τοῦ φιλοχρίστου καὶ σοφωτάτου βασιλέως Ῥωμαίων, τοῦ καὶ πατρὸς ἡμῶν καὶ σοῦ πάππου· ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ μουσικῆς Ἑλληνικῆς ἀμέτοχος ὁ μάγιστρος ἦν, πολλὰ βάρβαρά τε καὶ σόλοικα καὶ ἀσυνταξίας ἡ τούτου συγγραφὴ περιεῖχεν, εἰ καὶ ὁ ἄνθρωπος θεοσεβὴς καὶ ἀνὴρ ἐπιθυμιῶν ἦν τῶν τοῦ πνεύματος, ὡς ἔδειξεν ὁ αὐτοῦ βίος. ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ ἀμοιρεῖν αὐτὸν, ὡς ἔφαμεν, παιδείας Ἑλληνικῆς, καὶ ἡ τούτου συγγραφὴ μᾶλλον ὑπῆρχεν ἐπισφαλὴς καὶ ἐπιλήψιμος, ὅμως ἐπαινετὴ καὶ ἀληθὴς τῷ θεοσεβῆ εἶναι τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ ἐνάρετον. ταύτην ἡμεῖς εὑρόντες παρημελημένην τῷ λόγῳ, καὶ ὡς ἐν ἴχνει σκιᾶς ἀμυδρῶς πως τὰ πράγματα διαγγέλλουσαν, καὶ μηδὲ τὸ τοῦ τρίτου μέρους τῶν, ὥσπερ ἡμεῖς πρὸς τὸ σαφέστερόν τε καὶ πλατικώτερον μετηγάγομεν, ἔχουσαν, συνεγραψάμεθά σοι τοῦ καταλιπεῖν εἰς ὑπόμνησιν.[30]

Hence, having completed a great deal of research, yet finding no memorandum deposited in the palace, we were at last just able to discover one which dealt with these matters in the monastery called Sigriane, in which Leo the magistros, named Katakylas, had embraced the monastic life. For this magistros committed these things to writing by order of Leo the Christ-loving and most wise emperor of the Romans, our father and your grandfather, but since the magistros was unaccomplished in Hellenic letters, his book contains many barbarisms and solecisms and lapses of syntax, even though the man was devout and most desirous of the things of the spirit, as his life showed. But in that he did not partake of Hellenic learning, as we have said, his compilation was somewhat weak and misleading; nevertheless it was praiseworthy and accurate insofar as the man was pious and virtuous. Since we found this work composed in a negligent fashion, therefore, setting matters forth indistinctly as though in the footprints of a phantom, so to speak, and not even equalling a third part of that which we have conveyed for the sake of greater clarity and greater detail, we have written these things down for you in order to bequeath them as a memorandum and guide.

We are thus told that when Constantine searched for material for his book, he found a ὑπόμνημα of the magister Leo Katakylas at the monastery of Sigriane and that Katakylas had composed this treatise following a commission previously made to him by Leo VI. Constantine finds fault with the work for not being written in good Greek, but unfortunately says nothing more concrete about the person of Katakylas or even about his library, whether it was richly endowed or just served the emperor on this occasion. No single word is uttered about a possible connection of this Katakylas with the family of Theophanes or of Zoe.

This Leo Katakylas must, however, have been a person of some relevance. The *Life of Ignatius* informs us that he was γαμβρός of Patriarch Photius and as a drungary, this time *of the watch*, was the person responsible for prosecuting and banishing the partisans of Ignatius.[31] That this relationship with Photius may have implications for the cultural

30. *De cer.*, I, Appendix, pp. 456–7 = Const. VII, *Three treatises*, text C, pp. 94.24–96.39 (the translation is by Haldon).

31. Niketas David Paphlagon, *Vita Ignatii*, PG 105, col. 569D: τούτων οὖν ὅσους φυλακαῖς καὶ μάστιξι πείθειν οὐκ εἶχε [i.e. Photius], τῷ ὠμοτάτῳ πάντων ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἀπηνεστάτῳ παρέπεμπε γαμβρῷ. Λέων δὲ οὗτος ἦν ὁ καλούμενος Κατάκαλος, τῆς βίγλας δρουγγάριος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ προβιβασθείς. The silence of Photius on Theophanes is puzzling, not only because he may have been a distant relative

background of our Katakylas is confirmed in a further passage of the *Life of Euthymius*, where it is said that Katakoilas (now written with οι) was banished by Stylianus Zaoutzes at the beginning of Leo's reign, probably because of his association with Photius.[32] In the same text we are further informed that a *proasteion* of Katakoilas was used for building the monastery of Psamathia, near the Studite monastery, where Euthymius retired as abbot and that relatives of Katakoilas protested against the expropriation of this and other properties at the Bosphoros. Thus Euthymius intercedes for him and Katakoilas is recalled from exile and paid for his expropriated properties.[33] Finally, we know from other sources that Leo Katakoilas led a campaign against the Bulgars later in Leo's reign, after regaining the favour of the emperor who appointed him domestikos of the scholai in 896. The campaign ended in the complete failure of the imperial troops, and was perhaps the cause of Leo's retirement to the monastery of Sigriane.[34]

It is obviously speculative to suppose that Leo retired to Sigriane because he had family connections there, but an indication that this could in fact be the case may be adduced from the connection a certain Katakoilas of the ninth century had with the region. This Katakoilas, who remained faithful to Michael II during the invasion of Thomas the Slav and is repeatedly mentioned by Genesius and the Continuator,[35] was strategos of the Opsikion theme, where Sigriane is located and one of the few regions in Anatolia that did not betray Michael to Thomas. This first Katakoilas was ἐξάδελφος (cousin) of Michael II[36] and could have been the first member of the family who rose to prominence.

What kind of books could Leo Katakoilas have collected or even composed in his retirement in Sigriane? It is revealing that Constantine VII, who looked for books at the monastery, complained about the bad Greek used by Katakoilas in this text; a remark that reminds us of identical complaints uttered by the emperor in the proem of the *De administrando imperio* concerning the language of the documents collected in this work. As proved by James Howard-Johnston, Leo VI had already compiled the main dossier of reports on foreign nations for the *DAI*, which his son Constantine simply brought

of Theophanes, as suggested above, but also because he appears to have had no knowledge of the *Chronicle* which by that time had already been translated into Latin by Anastasius Bibliothecarius. Several explanations of this silence can be adduced: a) the *Chronicle* of Theophanes was already too known to require an entry in the *Bibliotheca*, b) the stylistic standards of Theophanes deterred Photius from a review, c) Photius did indeed write an entry but it was not copied into the final draft of the *Bibliotheca*, compiled by different copyists working on Photius' Nachlass, as recently proved by F. Bossina, L'automne du patriarche : Photios, la *Bibliothèque* et le Venezia, *Bibl. Naz. Marc., gr.* 450, in *Textual transmission in Byzantium : between textual criticism and Quellenforschung*, ed. by J. Signes Codoñer and I. Pérez Martín, Turnhout 2014, pp. 93–130.

32. *Vita Euthymii*, pp. 11.15–18: ἔστι δ' οὓς καὶ ἀπέκειρεν καὶ ὑπερορίᾳ κατεδίκασεν, ἐξ ὧν εἷς [illegible] ὁ Κατακοίλας, ὃς καὶ συγγενὴς ὑπῆρχεν Φωτίου, τοῦ κατὰ καιρὸν [illegible].

33. *Vita Euthymii*, pp. 27.19–22, 29.29–33.

34. [illegible] and, for the defeat at Bulgarophygon in 896, Theoph. cont., pp. 359.23, 360.8–13. For the life of Katakoilas see now *PmbZ* #24329. It is unlikely that this was the same person as Leo Katakoilas who probably rebelled in 913 against the regency of patriarch Nicholas, when Zoe Karbonopsina was not in power. See *PmbZ* #24404.

35. Gen., pp. 28.6, 35.48, Theoph. cont., pp. 53.22, 57.10, 64.13, 67.3.

36. Gen., p. [illegible].

up to date by adding some new texts.[37] Many of these reports (we could perfectly label them ὑπομνήματα, as the one prepared by Katakoilas) were based on direct evidence gathered on the spot by imperial agents serving abroad and written in plain Greek. Leo Katakoilas, with a military career behind him, perfectly fits in with this image of a learned civil servant able to produce written memoirs or ethnographic reports based on his first-hand knowledge of foreign peoples with whom he came into contact, as in the case of the Bulgars.

But he was not the only one. Both Genesius and the so-called Theophanes continuatus worked on the continuation of the *Chronicle* of Theophanes on the basis of a dossier of sources, whose origin remains unknown, but again preserves the family traditions of high dignitaries mostly of eastern origin, such as Manuel the Armenian, Theophobus the Persian or Alexius Musele.[38] Unfortunately, the only collection of family memoirs (interspersed with references to classical sources[39]) that has come to us from the Byzantine age is the work of Katakalon Kekaumenos,[40] who, curiously enough, bore as his first name a variant of the family name Katakoilas. This must of course be sheer coincidence, but the fact remains that in this period direct knowledge about the neighbouring nations or events in the remote provincial areas was irregularly conveyed to the capital through the agency of dignitaries and generals, most probably through the written reports they made. This explains the difficulties that emperors like Leo VI or Constantine VII had in making sense out of the disparate writings they had at their disposal.

Apparently, the chronicle of Theophanes also made use of reports of this kind for some of the information he provides on foreign nations. Particularly revealing, for example, is the ethnographic excursus given by Theophanes on the origins of the Bulgarian nation, which also appears summarized in Nicephorus' *Short history*. In his excursus, Theophanes uses indigenous names for rivers and nations, and even for the local fish caught in the rivers mentioned. For instance, he refers to the entrance to Lake Maeotis, "where the so-called *mourzouli* is caught" (ἐξ οὗ ποταμοῦ ἀγρεύεται τὸ λεγόμενον μουρζοῦλιν) or to the river Kouphis, "where the Bulgarian fish *xyston* is caught" (ἔνθα τὸ ξυστὸν ἀγρεύεται Βουλγαρικὸν ὀψάριν).[41] This obviously peripheral remark reminds us of a similar one found in the *DAI* concerning the river Karakoul in Chazaria, "at which the *verzitikion* is fished for" (ἐν ᾧ καὶ τὸ βερζίτικιον ἁλιεύεται). In closely comparing chapter 42 of the *DAI* with the ethnographic excursus of Theophanes, one cannot fail to appreciate the considerable similarities between the wording and purpose of the two texts. Obviously,

37. J. Howard-Johnston, The De administrando imperio : a re-examination of the text and a re-evaluation of its evidence about the Rus, in *Les centres proto-urbains russes entre Scandinavie, Byzance et Orient : actes du colloque international tenu au Collège de France en octobre 1997*, éd. par M. Kazanski, A. Nercessian et C. Zuckerman (Realités byzantines 7), Paris 2000, pp. 301–36.

38. J. Signes Codoñer, *El periodo del segundo iconoclasmo en Theophanes continuatus : análisis y comentario de los tres primeros libros de la crónica*, Amsterdam 1995, pp. 663–4.

39. For instance, Kekaumenos reports stories of the Vlachs basing on family traditions, but copies at the same time from ancient sources a short historical excursus dating their history back to Trajan and Decebalus. See *Советы и рассказы Кекавмена : сочинение византийского полководца XI века*, подгот. текста, введение, пер. и комментарий Г. Г. Литаврина, Москва 1972, § 75 (pp. 284–6).

40. For the authorship of this work see J. Shepard, A suspected source of Scylitzes' *Synopsis Historion* : the great Catacalon Cecaumenus, *BMGS* 16, 1992, pp. 171–82.

41. Theoph. am 6171, p. 357.5 and 9.

the report of Theophanes was integrated into his chronicle well before the *DAI* was composed, and even George the Monk based a short reference to the Bulgarians on it.[42] But the point here is that apparently the same kind of sources were looked at by different persons in different periods, thus somehow connecting all of them. As we have seen, the *DAI* copied other passages from Theophanes in order to provide information about the origins of the Arab nation. Why, however, did the *DAI* fail to include Theophanes' report on the Bulgarians? There is no chapter dedicated to the Bulgarians in the *DAI*! Their absence in the *DAI* is especially remarkable, for in the 10th century the Bulgarians undoubtedly represented the most important foreign nation for Byzantium, once the Abbasid caliphate had ceased to be a threat to the survival of the empire. We can only speculate about the reasons for this omission, which is probably related to the unfinished state of the *DAI* and the difficulty of obtaining some detailed and updated report on the empire of Symeon. But for our purpose here, it is again clear that Constantine VII must have known the ethnographic excursus on the Bulgarians of Theophanes and that, for whatever reason, he decided not to include it in the dossier of the *DAI* prepared by his father. Perhaps his search of the materials in the library of Leo Katakoilas, with his experience in the Bulgar wars, was also related with his purpose of filling the gaps of the dossier of the *DAI*.

In sum, we have seen that a first Katakoilas was related to the iconoclast emperor Michael II, and a second one, named Leo, to the patriarch Photius. This Leo was a rich landowner with many properties in the capital, but his retirement to the monastery of Sigriane may point to a special family link with the monastery. May it have been possible that the Katakoilas family was related to the family of Theophanes? In fact, Theophanes' family owned some estates in the area of Sigriane, and the first Katakoilas, the relative of Michael II, seemed to have had supporters in the thema of Opsikion, where Sigriane belonged. If this were the case and Theophanes were somehow related to the Katakoilas, we could thus conjecture a link between Zoe and the Katakoilas. All these connections, however, will remain hypothetical—our best source, the *Life of Euthymius*, is disappointingly silent about Zoe's origins—as long as no new evidence is available, such as, for instance, a connection of some branch of the manuscript tradition with the Bithynian area.[43]

What is certain instead is Zoe's interest in diffusing the *Chronicle* of Theophanes, as the famous iconodule saint was considered a member of her own family. As we saw, Zoe's son Constantine was especially proud of his kinship with Theophanes. He inherited this sentiment from his mother. It certainly was a very remote relation, going back to the beginning of the ninth century, which may explain the vagueness of the allusions preserved in the sources of Constantine's time. But it could have been conveniently exploited by Zoe, whose position first as Leo's mistress and then as the empress responsible for the tetragamic schism must have been very difficult. It took some time before she was

42. Georg. Mon., pp. 728–9. See however D. Afinogenov, The story of the patriarch Constantine II of Constantinople in Theophanes and George the Monk : transformations of a narrative, in *History as literature in Byzantium : papers from the fortieth Spring Symposium of Byzantine studies, University of Birmingham, April 2007*, ed. by R. Macrides, Farnham 2010, pp. 207–14, who argues that George the Monk occasionally directly used Theophanes' sources.

43. See D. Afinogenov's contribution in this same volume.

recognised not only as mother of the Porphyrogenitus baby, but also as the legitimate wife of Leo VI. Far from being merely the concubine of the emperor, Zoe was also a member of a powerful family able to put pressure on the emperor and on the patriarch Nicholas; the connection to the famous iconodule saint could thus contribute to promoting her image.

4. The chronological rubrics and the *Chronographia* of Nicephorus

Beyond the inferences we made above regarding the links of Zoe with the famous confessor, there is evidence to suggest that it was during the reign of Leo VI that the *Chronicle* of Theophanes first became well known and diffused. In fact, the manuscripts *Christ Church Wake* 5 and *Vaticanus Graecus* 155, two of the oldest testimonies of the chronicle of Theophanes, can be referred precisely to Leo's reign. The writing of the two manuscripts is very similar and they could have been copied at the same place, although Filippo Ronconi excludes in the present volume that they could have been written by the same hand. This hand was dated by Nigel Wilson thirty years ago "to the last two or three decades of the ninth century."[44] The dating has not been questioned by later scholars so far and has been confirmed by Ronconi, who considers the early years of the tenth century to be equally acceptable. Accordingly, if both manuscripts were copied some time before the year 906, when Zoe was already Leo's mistress, they could have been conceived as a way of promoting Zoe's family by emphasizing her links to the famous chronicler and iconodule martyr.

To sustain this hypothesis it is worth considering the fact that, for the first time, these twin manuscripts contain the chronological rubrics. These rubrics were always thought to have been drawn up by Theophanes, thus contributing to his fame. However, the dating of the *Parisinus gr.* 1710 back into the middle of the ninth century, as proposed by Boris L. Fonkič[45] and Filippo Ronconi,[46] questions this supposition, for the rubrics are lacking in the *Parisinus*, exactly as in the virtually contemporary translation made by Anastasius Bibliothecarius during his stay in Constantinople or later in Rome. It appears now that the rubrics were added after 873–5 when Anastasius finished his translation. The chronological rubrics were therefore added at the time at which our twin manuscripts *Wake* 5 and *Vat. gr.* 155 were copied.

We can find an explanation for their addition in the fact that the new edition was intended to enhance the value of the chronicle. A very competent scholar was needed to produce the rubrics, perhaps a Melkite emigrant, if there is a connection with the chronological tables of Nicephorus, as suggested below. But it is not necessary to assume that he worked under imperial patronage. Ronconi has argued that the two manuscripts were produced for different clients, possibly of a different social status (*Wake* 5 being more prestigious than *Vat. gr.* 155), but their striking chronological proximity speaks

44. N. Wilson, A manuscript of Theophanes in Oxford, *DOP* 26, 1972, pp. 357–60.

45. Б. Л. Фонкич, О датировке и происхождении Парижского списка «Хронографии» Феофана (*cod. Paris. gr.* 1710), in Id., *Греческие рукописи европейских собраний : палеографические и кодикологические исследования 1988-1998 гг.*, Москва 1999, pp. 47–9. See also B. Fonkič, Sulla datazione dei codici greci in minuscola del secolo IX, in *Byzantina Mediterranea : Festschrift für Johannes Koder zum 65. Geburtstag*, K. Belke *et al.* (Hg.), Wien 2007, pp. 175–86, here 178, note 11.

46. See again his contribution in this volume.

for a surge in the interest in the text, perhaps in connection with Zoe's rise at the court as partner and wife of Leo VI.

Marek Jankowiak in this volume argues, however, that the rubrics were part of the original format of the chronicle, which included regnal years, *annus mundi*, and the full rubrics with the synchronisms. He draws this conclusion from the fact that all these elements are preserved in the different branches of the transmission, including the Slavonic translation, even if none of them has them all. Although other options are still at hand, his suggestion, if accepted, would not go against the idea of an improved edition of the text as the one represented by *Wake* 5 and *Vat. gr.* 155. The rubrics, lost in the *vulgata* of Anastasius and *Parisinus gr.* 1710, may have been restored in it, perhaps with the help of an earlier expanded version which also served as a base for the Slavonic translation. The main point is, however, the importance of the regnal years for the structure of the chronicle (the "real chronological backbone of the chronicle" according to Jankowiak). There are more arguments in favour of this point. Let us first consider again the words written by Theophanes in the prologue:

> ἐκ τῶν ἀρχαίων ἱστοριογράφων τε καὶ λογογράφων ἀναλεξάμενοι ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις τόποις τετάχαμεν ἑκάστου χρόνου τὰς πράξεις, ἀσυγχύτως κατατάττοντες· ἵνα εἰδέναι ἔχωσιν οἱ ἀναγινώσκοντες ἐν ποίῳ χρόνῳ ἑκάστου βασιλέως ποία πρᾶξις γέγονεν, εἴτε πολεμική, εἴτε ἐκκλησιαστική, εἴτε πολιτική, εἴτε δημώδης, εἴτε τις ἑτέρα.[47]
>
> *[…] making a selection from the ancient historians and prose-writers I have consigned to their proper places the events of every year, arranged without confusion, so that the readers may be able to know in which year of each emperor what event took place, be it military or ecclesiastical or civic or popular or of any other kind.*[48]

As we see, the entries were arranged according to the regnal years of the emperors, exactly the same disposition that is found in the *Parisinus gr.* 1710 and in the Latin version of Anastasius.[49] The year of the era is mentioned both in Anastasius and the *Parisinus* only at the proclamation of every emperor, but not for the following years of his reign, which are numbered consecutively. Moreover, the text of the *Parisinus* has been sequentially arranged according to regnal years. The same hand that copied the text systematically wrote the name of the new emperor with majuscules in the upper margin,[50] although the leaves were probably cut for a new binding and in the second half of the volume there remain only traces of the names and in some cases (Leo IV for instance at fol. 366^v) not even that.[51]

47. Theophanes, Preface, p. 4.13–18.
48. Adapted from Mango – Scott, p. 2.
49. Speck, Der "zweite" Theophanes (quoted n. 1), pp. 471–2 already felt uncomfortable about this coincidence between *Parisinus gr.* 1710 und Anastasius.
50. Filippo Ronconi confirmed this point to me.
51. The following names of emperors are still legible: fol. 8^r (Konstantinos), fol. 27^v (Konstantios), fol. 37^v (Ioulianos), fol. 44^r (Iovianos), fol. 45^r (Oualentinianos), fol. 46^r (Oualês), fol. 54^r (Theodosios I), fol. 61^r (Arkadios), fol. 67^r (Theodosios II ὁ μικρός), fol. 84^v (Markianos), fol. 90^r (Leon ὁ μέγας), fol. 98^r (Zenon), fol. 109^r (Anastasios), fol. 131^r (Ioustinos I), fol. 138^v (Ioustinianos I), fol. 202^r (Ioustinos II), fol. 208^r (Tiberios), fol. 211^v (Maurikios), fol. 249^v (Phokas), fol. 279^r (Konstans), fol. 288^r (Konstantinos IV), fol. 296^r (Ioustinianos II), fol. 304^v (Leontios), fol. 306^r (Apsimaros), fol. 307^r (Ioustinianos II πάλιν), fol. 316^r (Philippikos), fol. 318^v (Artemios), fol. 320^r

Even more significant is the fact that in a number of cases the end of the reign is closed with an *explicit* that is also written in majuscules in the main body of the text.[52]

It is also significant that at the beginning of Theophanes' prologue no reference is made to the synchronisms between the regnal years of emperors, patriarchs and foreign rulers. The concern for these synchronisms is, however, mentioned in connection with the task undertaken by George the Syncellus at the very beginning of the prologue, which is worth reproducing here:

> Ὁ μὲν μακαριώτατος ἀββᾶς Γεώργιος, ὁ καὶ σύγκελλος γεγονὼς Ταρασίου, τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου πατριάρχου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, ἐλλόγιμος ἀνὴρ καὶ πολυμαθέστατος ὑπάρχων πολλούς τε χρονογράφους καὶ ἱστοριογράφους ἀναγνοὺς καὶ ἀκριβῶς τούτους διερευνησάμενος, **σύντομον χρονογραφίαν** ἀπὸ Ἀδὰμ μέχρι Διοκλητιανοῦ, τοῦ βασιλέως Ῥωμαίων καὶ διώκτου τῶν Χριστιανῶν, ἀκριβῶς συνεγράψατο, τούς τε **χρόνους** ἐν πολλῇ ἐξετάσει ἀκριβολογησάμενος καὶ τὰς τούτων διαφωνίας συμβιβάσας καὶ ἐπιδιορθωσάμενος καὶ συστήσας ὡς οὐδεὶς ἄλλος τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ, τάς τε τῶν ἀρχαίων βασιλέων παντὸς ἔθνους **πολιτείας τε καὶ τοὺς χρόνους** ἀναγραψάμενος καὶ κατὰ τὸ ἐφικτὸν αὐτῷ τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς τῶν μεγάλων καὶ οἰκουμενικῶν θρόνων, Ῥώμης τε, φημί, καὶ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, Ἀλεξανδρείας τε καὶ Ἀντιοχείας καὶ Ἱεροσολύμων, τούς τε ὀρθοδόξως τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ποιμάναντας καὶ τοὺς ἐν αἱρέσει λῃστρικῶς ἄρξαντας καὶ τοὺς τούτων **χρόνους** ἀκριβῶς ἐνέταξεν.[53]
>
> *The most blessed Father George, who had also been Syncellus of Tarasios, the most holy patriarch of Constantinople, a man of distinction and great learning, after he had perused and thoroughly investigated many chronographers and historians, composed with all accuracy **a succinct chronicle** from Adam down to Diocletian, the Roman emperor who persecuted the Christians. He made a very exact study of the **dates**, reconciled their divergences, corrected them, and set them together in a manner surpassing all his predecessors. He recorded **the lives and dates** of the ancient kings of every nation and, as far as he was able, accurately inserted, with their **dates**, the bishops of the great ecumenical sees, I mean those of Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, both those who had tended the Church in the right faith and those who, like robbers, had ruled in heresy.*[54]

Syncellus' concern for the chronology of kings and patriarchs is not reflected in his own chronicle, which does not display the synchronisms mentioned by Theophanes. Yet

(Theodosios), fol. 326^r (Leon III), fol. 349^r (Constantine V), fol. 371^v (Eirene and Konstantinos VI) and fol. 385^r (Nikephoros).

52. This happens in fol. 208v (τέλος τῆς βασιλείας Ἰουστίνου), fol. 202^v (τέλος τῆς βασιλείας Ἰουστινιανοῦ τοῦ μεγάλου), fol. 211^r (τέλος τῆς βασιλείας Τιβερίου), fol. 249^r (τέλος τῆς βασιλείας Μαυρικίου), fol. 279^r (τελευτὴ Ἡρακλείου) and fol. 288^r (τέλος τῆς βασιλείας Κωνστάντος). In the fol. 138^r, the reign of Justin I is closed only by the ornamental line at the very end of the page. The same type of majuscule appears in a note at fol. 388^r, indicating the inclusion in the text of a report on the exile of Pope Stephen: τὰ περὶ τοῦ μακαρίου Στεφάνου τοῦ παπᾶ Ῥώμης, ὅπως τε ἔφυγε ἐν Φραγγικῇ καὶ ἐσώθη λέξων ἔρχομαι. The first person used in this note appears to come from the copyist who added this piece of text, not from the author. This is an important point, for the place where the report stands has been subject to some discussion. See Speck, Der "zweite" Theophanes (quoted n. 1), pp. 441 (note 21), 482.
53. Theophanes, Preface, p. 3.9–23 (my emphasis).
54. Mango – Scott, p. 1.

the only aspect of Syncellus' "succint chronicle" highlighted by Theophanes is precisely the fact that it consisted of chronological tables, and the word χρόνους ("dates") is used three times in the passage quoted above. Nothing is said, on the contrary, of the πράξεις, the deeds of emperors and patriarchs. Only the word πολιτείας, translated as "lives" by Mango and Scott, may refer to the contents of Syncellus' chronicle, but this is again far from describing the actual content of the work, certainly not a succession of biographies. Therefore, I suspect that the term refers in fact to the "governorship" of the emperors, that is, to their regnal years. At any rate, one sees a striking contrast with the words Theophanes uses for his own work, where, along with the χρόνοι (mentioned three times, but without any connection to the synchronisms), the πράξεις are also mentioned (four times). The whole passage is reproduced here again with the relevant terms in italic:

> [...] τάς τε βασιλείας καὶ τοὺς πατριάρχας καὶ τὰς τούτων **πράξεις** σὺν τοῖς **χρόνοις** κατὰ τὸ δυνατὸν ἡμῖν ἀκριβῶς συνεγραψάμεθα, οὐδὲν ἀφ᾽ ἑαυτῶν συντάξαντες, ἀλλ᾽ ἐκ τῶν ἀρχαίων ἱστοριογράφων τε καὶ λογογράφων ἀναλεξάμενοι ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις τόποις τετάχαμεν ἑκάστου **χρόνου** τὰς **πράξεις**, ἀσυγχύτως κατατάττοντες· ἵνα εἰδέναι ἔχωσιν οἱ ἀναγινώσκοντες ἐν ποίῳ **χρόνῳ** ἑκάστου βασιλέως ποία **πρᾶξις** γέγονεν, εἴτε πολεμική, εἴτε ἐκκλησιαστική, εἴτε πολιτική, εἴτε δημώδης, εἴτε τις ἑτέρα. οὐ γὰρ μικρὰν ὠφέλειαν, ὡς οἶμαι, καρποῦται τῶν ἀρχαίων τὰς **πράξεις** ἀναγινώσκων.[55]

> *[I] have written down accurately to the best of my ability* [...] *the reigns of the emperors and the patriarchs and their* **deeds**, *together with their* **dates**. *I did not set down anything of my own composition, but have made a selection from the ancient historians and prose-writers and have consigned to their proper places the* **events** *of every* **year**, *arranged without confusion. In this manner the readers will be able to know in which* **year** *of each emperor what* **event** *took place, be it military or ecclesiastical or civic or popular or of any other kind; for I believe that one who reads the* **actions** *of the ancients derives no small benefit from so doing.*[56]

Were it not for the emphasis on "events" of every kind, the text would appear as a variation on Theophanes' description of Syncellus' work some lines before. It seems in fact to have been written to stress the differences with the chronography of Syncellus. This suggests that the βασιλείας of the beginning of the proem is a synonym to the βασιλέων... πολιτείας used above.

So did Theophanes imply that Syncellus composed a chronological table but not a chronicle, that is, the chronological frame for a chronicle but not the chronicle itself? In fact, the words used by Theophanes in the prologue, as noted by Mango and Scott, are "hardly an accurate description of Syncellus' long and learned chronicle."[57] On the contrary, Theophanes' prologue accurately describes a chronological table, such as, for instance, the tables of the regnal years of emperors, patriarchs and archbishops (including their condition of heretics, exactly as indicated in the prologue!) that are preserved under the name of Nicephorus and were published by Carl de Boor. Curiously enough, this work, usually referred to as his *Chronographia brevis*, is called χρονογραφία σύντομος (or

55. Theophanes Preface, p. [illegible] (my emphasis).
56. Mango – Scott, p. 2.
57. Mango – Scott, p. 2, note 1.

alternatively, χρονογραφικὸν σύντομον) in the manuscript tradition, exactly the title that is given by Theophanes for Syncellus' work in his prologue.[58] The difference is that the chronicle of Syncellus apparently stopped at Diocletian, whereas the one attributed to Nicephorus continued until his own times; and, of course, that our "Syncellus" does not have any chronological table. But this does not exclude either that Syncellus could have established synchronisms between the reigns of emperors, patriarchs and other rulers (if we believe Theophanes' statement) or that this text may have been transmitted separately.

But has the *Chronographia brevis* actually been written by Nicephorus? De Boor apparently thought so, although he was perfectly aware that the present versions of the text are updated and suggested that a first publication only took place after the death of the patriarch. This should have been the version translated into Latin by Anastasius Bibliothecarius.[59] More recently, Mango also considered that the archetype of the work could have well been compiled by Nicephorus and published after his death. But he goes further and questions that Nicephorus was the author of the text, which might have been attributed to him by the person who found it among his papers.[60] Mango points out that some manuscripts do not attribute the work to Nicephorus for it appears anonymously. The fact that the edition of de Boor has not taken into account all the manuscripts of these tables[61] obviously makes a dating, not to speak of an attribution of the text, premature. But it does not support the authorship of Nicephorus either. Anyway, for our concern here, it is to be noted that many of the supposedly updated versions of the *Chronographia brevis* conclude the list of patriarchs and emperors with the reign of Leo VI. This circumstance implies a diffusion of the text at the same time at which we conjectured that the chronological rubrics were added to the original draft of Theophanes' chronicle.[62]

On the other hand, the order in which the patriarchates are listed changes from one manuscript to the other and cannot be without relevance for establishing the milieux that copied or expanded these tables. Whereas Theophanes' prologue presents the bishops in the order Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem, in the *Chronographia brevis* they are listed as Constantinople, Rome, Jerusalem, Alexandria, Antioch or, in other manuscripts, even Jerusalem, Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch.[63] It is significant that Jerusalem is promoted to the third or first position in the manuscripts, thus pointing to an Oriental author of the text like George Syncellus, and, in any case, ruling out Nicephorus' authorship. De Boor took this circumstance into account, but as he considered Nicephorus to be the author of the first draft of these tables, he suggested that the original text was expanded in Jerusalem ca. 850.[64] He could thus

58. Niceph., *Chron.*
59. *Ibid.*, pp. xxxv–xxxvi.
60. Introduction to Niceph., *Brev.*, p. 4.
61. See his introduction to Niceph., *Chron*, pp. xli–xlvi. New manuscripts, including Slavic versions, are listed by C. Mango, introduction to Niceph., *Brev.*, pp. 3–4.
62. For example, the last emperor mentioned in some manuscripts is Basil I (867–86) and the last patriarch Stephen (886–93), the dates of whose reigns are accurately given. For Basileios see Niceph., *Chron.*, p. 101, lines 24–5: ἔτη ιη′ μῆνας ι′ ἡμέρας κθ′; and for Stephen, *ibid.*, p. 120, line 16: ἔτη ς′ μῆνας η′. This would imply that the manuscript was copied during the patriarchate of Antony Kauleas (893–901).
63. Introduction to Niceph., *Brev.*, pp. 4–5.
64. Niceph., *Chron.*, pp. xxxiv, xxxvi.

explain the prominence of Jerusalem in some manuscripts, but created a new problem by supposing an early diffusion of the work in Palestine for which we do not have any evidence. The connection with Syncellus would solve these difficulties and would oblige reconsidering the chronology of the variants of the *Chronographia brevis*, for which a new edition is urgently needed.

Further evidence that the chronological tables, although updated, can be traced back to Syncellus is provided by the division found there between bishops appointed before or after the reigns of Christian emperors. Sentences such as καὶ ὅσοι ἐπίσκοποι μετὰ τὸ χριστιανῆσαι τοὺς βασιλεῖς or καὶ ὅσοι μετὰ τὸ χριστιανῆσαι τοὺς βασιλεῖς ἐπεσκόπησαν introduce the names and years of the bishops appointed after the reign of Constantine in their corresponding sees. The lists of the bishops are thus divided in two parts around the reign of Diocletian, who marked the end of the part of the *Chronographia brevis*, which Syncellus could have initially completed.

Accordingly, it could be that the original list or a very similar one was in fact composed by George the Syncellus and used and consulted by Patriarch Nicephorus, who may have had access to the materials of Syncellus before they reached Theophanes.[65] Paul Speck argued that Nicephorus used Syncellus' dossier as a base for composing his *Breviarium* and that the part of the dossier referring to events between 610–41 got lost and was never returned to George after being used by Nicephorus.[66] If this was the case, Syncellus could hardly have been pleased, although we ignore how he was intending to use his dossier when he lent it to Nicephorus.

On the other hand, the patriarch apparently did a rather poor job as a historian. A manuscript has been preserved in London (*Brit. Mus. Add.* 19390) containing what appears to be a first draft of Nicephorus' *Breviarium*, which better preserves the original wording of the sources.[67] There he only loosely connected the episodes collected from his sources and left even an unexplained gap of 27 years between 641 and 668.[68] When Nicephorus later revised this version and produced a better text, from which the other manuscript of the work descends (*Vat. gr.* 977), he improved the style using an Atticist pattern that was praised by Photius[69] (who apparently ignored the existence of the *Chronicle* of Theophanes), but he did not fill the gap and stopped the stylistic revision at chapter 12, because "he either became tired of such extensive revision or found his draft nearly acceptable as it stood, and so made only minor changes to his earlier text."[70]

65. As suggested by P. Speck, *Das geteilte Dossier: Beobachtungen zu den Nachrichten über die Regierung des Kaisers Herakleios und die seiner Söhne bei Theophanes und Nikephoros* (Poikila Byzantina 9), Bonn 1988. Mango, introduction to Niceph., *Brev.*, p. 12 also suggests that Syncellus was the common link between the works of Theophanes and Nicephorus: "This is rather odd: two authors (i.e. Theophanes and Nicephorus) were not only exact contemporaries, they also belonged to the same ecclesiastical party. George Synkellos, to whom Theophanes owed the bulk of his documentation, held high office under Patriarch Tarasios and must have been personally known to Nikephoros."

66. Speck, *Das geteilte Dossier* (quoted n. 65), pp. 514–9.

67. Both Speck, *Das geteilte Dossier* (quoted n. 65), p. 515, and Mango, introduction to Niceph., *Brev.*, pp. 5–7, agree on this point.

68. Introduction to Niceph., *Brev.*, pp. 14–5.

69. *Bibl.*, cod. 66: Ἀνεγνώσθη ἱστορικὸν σύντομον Νικηφόρου τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις Κωνσταντινουπόλεως [illegible].

70. Introduction to Niceph., *Brev.*, p. 6.

In Mango's view, this confirms that the *Breviarium* was an œuvre de jeunesse of the 780s.[71] The text was then probably not published by the patriarch, but as Mango suggests, by someone who had access to his papers, after his death.[72] Accordingly, the tables of Syncellus, whether the original text or a copy made for Nicephorus (and maybe expanded with lists of rulers after Diocletian), could have also been found among the papers of the patriarch after his death and attributed to him. This appropriation of someone else's work along with the fact that Nicephorus aspired to the glory of being a classicising historian (the first after the Dark Centuries!) by his careful rewriting of the papers of Tarasius' Syncellus, could have further alienated Nicephorus and George. More personal reasons can easily be imagined. Nicephorus, a layman at that time, was elected patriarch upon Tarasius' death in 806, and not George, who, as Tarasius' Syncellus, was his natural successor. In any case, Nicephorus' weariness as he was revising the *Breviarum* makes him a less likely candidate than Syncellus for drawing the very entangled chronological tables.

This circumstance may explain why George did not entrust the influential and learned patriarch—who had already used his papers—with the completion of his chronology, as might have been expected, but a monk, Theophanes, who was probably his best friend. Perhaps conscious of the appropriation of Syncellus' work by Nicephorus, Theophanes wrote a remarkable prologue vindicating for his friend the authorship of the tables and silencing the name of the patriarch.[73] This hypothesis may explain why it was precisely Theophanes who was chosen by Syncellus to continue his work, despite his not being the most qualified person for this task.[74]

Finally, it is interesting to note that the chronological tables are always transmitted in the manuscripts along with the works of Syncellus and Theophanes, the three works being presented as a *chronologia tripartita* by Anastasius Bibliothecarius, whereas they are never copied with the *History* of Nicephorus. This circumstance is relevant and may confirm that the tables were attributed to the patriarch secondarily.

This all remains, however, hypothetical as long as there is no new edition of the chronological tables which would duly take into account the Slavonic manuscripts. This is, as stressed already by Mango, an urgent desideratum that will enable a reconsideration of the problem of Nicephorus' authorship. In particular, if the tables could be showed of eastern provenance, either because of the order in which the patriarchates are listed, or on the basis of the origin of the manuscripts, Syncellus would appear a more likely candidate for the compilation of the tables than the patriarch. The next step would then be to elucidate whether the rubrics of the *Chronicle* of Theophanes, which was transmitted

71. *Ibid.*, p. 12.

72. *Ibid.*, p. 7.

73. Speck, Der "zweite" Theophanes (quoted n. 1), pp. 458–63 suggested that the prologue, which contains some repetitions, could have been forged upon some draft made by Syncellus. This hypothesis appears to be unnecessary for explaining the facts.

74. We would thus not need to doubt Theophanes' intervention on the dossier of texts handed down to him by George the Syncellus. Another matter is if he altered the wording of the sources or limited himself to ordering the material, as suggested by Mango, Who wrote the Chronicle. In any case, we must take into account that in his presentation of his *Chronographia tripartita*, Anastasius Bibliothecarius refers to Theophanes in terms that suggest that he composed several works: "sed et studia eius ad nos usque perlata, quis vel quantus vir iste fuerit solertibus manifestant, ex horum ergo chronographiae amoenissimo quaedam decerpam horto [...]" (Anast., p. 34.17–9).

together with the chronological tables, were compiled on their basis. Marek Jankowiak in this volume has pointed out some discrepancies between the rubrics of Theophanes and the *chronographikon syntomon*, but these could have easily appeared in the process of inserting the tables into the narrative frame of the chronicle, whose compiler was also using chronological data taken from other sources.

5. Some suggestions

To sum up, I have tried to open new lines of research on the complex issue of the transmission of Theophanes, rather than to establish certainties, for many issues remain unexplained. Despite this *caveat*, I still consider it likely that a second edition of the chronicle of Theophanes, represented by *Christ Church Wake* 5 and *Vat. gr.* 155, was sponsored by Zoe Karbonopsina and/or Leo VI at the time of their marriage or in the years preceding it. This new edition included the chronological rubrics based, among other works, on the tables probably composed by Syncellus, which until then circulated as a separate work under the name of Nicephorus. It does not really matter for our argument whether these rubrics were originally present in the archetype of Theophanes, as Marek Jankowiak suggests in this volume (and thus these twin manuscripts preserved the original text more faithfully than the previous copies known to us), or, on the contrary, were inserted at a later stage or even at the end of the ninth century. Be it as it may, we can postulate a first edition produced perhaps after the end of the iconoclast struggle and based on the original, which already contained a scholion on the date of the Quinisext council that is preserved in all the manuscripts.[75] George the Monk may have already consulted this first edition that was diffused in the wake of the restoration of icon worship, as Theophanes was one of its most famous martyrs.[76] A third and last edition could be dated to the reign of Constantine Porphyrogenitus and was probably linked with the antiquarian and historical interests of the emperor.[77] Constantine, in fact, prepared a continuation of the chronicle of Theophanes that ended in 813; this task was entrusted to Genesius and then to the anonymous author of the so-called Theophanes continuatus. The emperor probably used Theophanes for his *excerpta historica*, although, curiously enough, there are no excerpts of him in the preserved volumes, whereas the later text of George the Monk is repeatedly used for this historical encyclopaedia. A further puzzle to be solved.

75. For this see P. A. Yannopoulos, Les vicissitudes historiques de la chronique de Théophane, *Byz.* 70, 2000, pp. 527–53 esp. 543–4 and note 41, who considers, not convincingly, that the scholion is of Studite provenance. Instead, for Speck, Der "zweite" Theophanes (quoted n. 1), pp. 478–81, it is an addition made by Syncellus. For the flight of the pope Stephen copied at the wrong place see Speck, *ibid.*, p. 482.

76. It remains to be assessed whether the Studites, as Yannopoulos argues in the above article and in his recent book, Yannopoulos, *Théophane* (quoted n. 4), were the actual editors of this first edition based on the original loose dossier. Against this supposition see the convincing arguments adduced by F. Ronconi in this volume.

77. Speck, Der "zweite" Theophanes (quoted n. 1), pp. 473–5, considers that manuscripts a (*Vat. Barberinus* 553) and b (*Vat. gr.* 154) of the de Boor edition, as well as the passages of the *DAI*, belong to an improved edition made by Constantine VII. See also P. A. Yannopoulos, Théophane abrégé au x siècle, *Βυζαντινά* 15, 1989, pp. 307–14.

THE *CHRONICLE* OF THEOPHANES IN THE INDIRECT TRADITION

by Federico Montinaro

After the ancient writers, first George the monk, synkellos of the most holy patriarch Tarasios, then Theophanes the confessor, hegoumenos of the monastery of Agros, excelled in summarizing history. These men carefully read through the history books, making a précis of them in simple, unaffected language, touching exclusively on the substance of the events which had taken place. George, however, began with the creation of the world and took his narrative down to the tyrants, Maximian, I mean, and his son. Theophanes took the other's conclusion as his starting point and setting out the subsequent chronology brought his race to an end with the death of the emperor Nikephoros, the ex-minister of finance. After him nobody devoted himself to a similar enterprise. There were indeed those who attempted to do so […] but, because they took their task too lightly, they all failed to write with the requisite degree of accuracy. Many important events they omitted altogether and their works are of little value to posterity. […] Nonetheless, I took great pleasure in reading the work of the abovementioned men and I hope that a synopsis will be of no small benefit to those who love history, especially to those who prefer that which is easily accessible to what has to be striven for; a synopsis, that is, which will provide them with a brief overview of what has taken place at various times and thus free them of the need to consult massive tomes of memoirs.

The foreword to the *Synopsis of histories*, composed towards the end of the eleventh century by a senior official John Skylitzes, gives us a glimpse into the functional way the historian's work was conceived at the Komnenian Court.[1] Several generations of mid-Byzantine historians, whose names I have omitted, are virtuously blamed for their imprecisions (and opinions in writing of contemporary events), yet can be easily epitomized for the comfortable use of Skylitzes' audience. The *Chronicle* attributed to

1. *Ioannis Scylitzae synopsis historiarum*, rec. I. Thurn (CFHB 5), Berlin – New York 1973, pp. 3 f.; Engl. transl. John Skylitzes, *A synopsis of Byzantine history, 811–1057*, transl. by J. Wortley, introd. by J.-C. Cheynet and B. Flusin, and notes by J.-C. Cheynet, Cambridge 2010, pp. 1 ff., which I have modified in several details.

Studies in Theophanes, ed. by M. Jankowiak & F. Montinaro (Travaux et mémoires 19), Paris 2015, pp. 177–205.

Theophanes the Confessor († 817 or 818) and that of George Synkellos, whose work Theophanes claims to be taking over in his preface, are Skylitzes' main model.[2]

In fact, Skylitzes is misrepresenting slightly the scope of Theophanes' work. This does not end with the reign of Nikephoros I (802–11), but includes those of Staurakios (811) and Michael I (811–3). In a coherent way, an alternative account of the same two reigns and of that of Leo V (813–20) opens the *Synopsis*. It is tempting to believe that Theophanes' positive portrait of Leo V, written to all appearances before the official endorsement of Iconoclasm by that emperor, was unacceptable for the later historian, and that revision necessitated the rewriting of the two short introductory reigns.[3] Theophanes' *Chronicle* was widely read in Byzantium and beyond. Besides the perhaps unimpressive number of mediaeval manuscripts that transmit it directly, many authors writing in different genres from the ninth to the fourteenth centuries reproduced and abridged it. Despite Skylitzes' celebration, they seldom credited its author.

Direct and indirect transmission

The nineteenth-century editor of the *Chronicle*, Carl de Boor, distinguished two main branches in the manuscript tradition. The first and "better" one is only represented by two very fragmentary witnesses (12th-century *Vat. gr.* 154 and 16th-century *Vat. Barb.* 553). To the second and "worse" branch, characterised by numerous errors and interpolations, belong de Boor's other eight main witnesses (to which can now be added 10th-century *Oxon. Aed. Chr. Wake* 5 and some insignificant fragments) as well as the lost model of Anastasius' Latin translation (below). Several cases of mixed allegiance suggested to the German editor that the archetype of the entire tradition contained marginal annotations and corrections, which were copied arbitrarily by the scribes, while the nature of the interpolations in the lists of patriarchs, affecting especially the Eastern sees, led him to believe that an early copy of the *Chronicle* travelled to Palestine and was brought back to Constantinople, where it became the archetype of the "worse" branch. De Boor further showed that the latter branch reached most later Byzantine readers, with the exception of George the Monk and Constantine VII.[4]

De Boor's reconstruction has not remained entirely unchallenged. At the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, K. Praechter, S. Šestakov, and P. G. Preobraženskij pointed out independently the limitations of the editor's choice not to exploit systematically the indirect tradition, particularly the unpublished section of a world chronicle down to 962, preserved in *Paris. gr.* 1712 and formerly attributed to Symeon

2. On George and his part in the composition of Theophanes' work, see Mango, Who wrote the Chronicle, and, in this volume, the contributions by A. Kompa and W. Treadgold.

3. Thus B. Flusin, in *A synopsis* (quoted n. 1), pp. xiii f., n. 7.

4. Theoph. 2, pp. 349–552 with Mango – Scott, pp. xcv–xcviii. See also W. Brandes, Die melkitischen Patriarchen von Antiochia im 7. Jahrhundert: Anzahl und Chronologie, *Le Muséon* 111, 1998, pp. 37–57, at pp. 48 ff.; Id., Der frühe Islam in der byzantinischen Historiographie: Anmerkungen zur Quellenproblematik der Chronographia des Theophanes, in *Jenseits der Grenzen*, hrsg. von A. Goltz, H. Leppin and H. Schlange-Schöningen (Millennium Studien 25), Berlin – New York 2009, pp. 313–43, at pp. 341 f. (where one should read *Vat. gr.* 155 instead of *Paris. gr.* 155), regarding de Boor's theory of the Palestinian model.

the Logothetes. This was proven by Praechter to be the intermediary between Theophanes and the eleventh-century historian Kedrenos.[5]

De Boor's attitude should be set against his immediate predecessor G. L. F. Tafel's excessive reliance on Kedrenos for reconstructing Theophanes' text in his sample edition.[6] De Boor himself had explained his choice in the philological foreword to his edition, dated 1883–5, as one of economy.[7] Nonetheless, he soon supplied minor amendments to his own text from a manuscript of the "original" Logothetes.[8] In 1897, he drew attention to the excerpts from the *Chronicle* in a fourteenth-century witness to later Byzantine historians (*Vindob. hist. gr.* 37), commenting laconically: "Der Text ist nicht uninteressant, da er an einigen Stellen gegen die Handschriften mit der Übersetzung des Anastasius übereinstimmt. Leider sind die Exzerpte zum Teil so willkürlich und der Codex ist so unglaublich liederlich geschrieben, daß wenig sichere Resultate zu gewinnen sind."[9] De Boor's hesitation illustrates all too well the need to take a fresh look at the *Chronicle*'s indirect tradition.

Theophanes and the so-called *Scriptor incertus de Leone Armenio*

The early history of the reception of Theophanes' *Chronicle* is bound, in modern studies, to that of a renowned if in many respects still mysterious early ninth-century text. In 1936, I. Dujčev published a hitherto overlooked edifying tract on emperor

5. K. Praechter, *Quellenkritische Studien zu Kedrenos (Cod. Paris. gr. 1712)* (Sitzungsberichte der philosophisch-philologischen und historischen Klasse der bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 1897, 2, 1), München 1897; С. Шестаков, Аноним *cod. Paris. gr.* 1712 в пределах хронографии Феофана, *Ученые записки Императорского Казанского Университета* 64, 1897, май-июнь, pp. 1–38, июль-август, pp. 1–32; П. Г. Преображенский, *Летописное повествование св. Феофана Исповедника: исследование из области византийской историографии*, Вена 1912. The latter work is rightly dismissed for its bold conclusions by Mango – Scott, pp. xcvii f., yet Preobraženskij's demonstration of the importance of *Paris. gr.* 1712 for Theophanes' text retains some value. See also the comments of К. Н. Успенский, Очерки по истории иконоборческого движения в Византийской империи в VIII-IX вв. Феофан и его Хронография, *VV*, n.s., 3, 1950, pp. 393–438, and 4, 1951, pp. 211–62, at pp. 414 f.; Α. Μαρκόπουλος, *Ἡ χρονογραφία τοῦ Ψευδοσυμεὼν καὶ οἱ πηγές της*, Ιωαννίνα 1978, pp. 111–41. Only the section of Pseudo-Symeon's chronicle for which the author is independent (AD 813–962) was published first by F. Combefis, then in the Bonn corpus by I. Bekker and put under the name of Symeon Magister (Ps.-Sym.). A complete edition was announced by A. Markopoulos over thirty-five years ago and still is awaited.

6. G. L. F. Tafel, *Theophanis Chronographia* (Sitzungsberichte der philosophisch-historischen Klasse der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften 1853), Wien 1853, pp. 21–172, covering Heraclius' reign. See de Boor in Theoph. 2, pp. 354–9.

7. Theoph. 2, p. 360: "Eine Benutzung des in den jüngeren byzantinischen Chroniken […] gebotenen Materials habe ich nur in geringem Umfange eintreten lassen. Eine sichere Handhabung desselben würde bessere Texte derselben voraussetzen und die vorhergehende Lösung äusserst weitschichtiger Fragen […]. Dabei hätte es leicht geschehen können, dass die Ausgabe selbst unter den Vorarbeiten untergegangen wäre. Wo ich an verschiedenen Punkten […] angesetzt habe, erwies sich der Vortheil aus der Untersuchung als geringfügig".

8. C. de Boor, Zur Chronik des Pseudo-Polydeukes, *BZ* 2, 1893, pp. 563–8, at pp. 567 f., drawing upon *Vat. gr.* 163, with W. Brandes, Review of Mango – Scott, *BZ* 91, 1998, pp. 549–61, at p. 560.

9. C. de Boor, Die Chronik des Logotheten, *BZ* 6, 1897, pp. 233–84, at p. 277 n. 1. On the manuscript, see S. Wahlgren's introduction to Sym. Log., pp. 40* f.

Nikephoros I's disastrous campaign against the Bulgars of 811, preserved among other hagiographic texts in *Vat. gr.* 2104. The text is dated to the late ninth century by a reference to the baptism of the Bulgars but preserves a detailed account, no doubt contemporary in its core, of the earlier Byzantine defeat with unique information (e.g. one of the earliest and most informative mentions of the *Hikanatoi* corps) and a characteristically negative portrait of the emperor.[10] H. Grégoire identified the piece as a fragment, however manipulated for hagiographical purposes, of a lost continuation of the *Chronicle* of John Malalas, which also contained originally, in his view, the so-called *Scriptor incertus de Leone Armenio* preserved in *Paris. gr.* 1711. Grégoire also suggested that this original work was used by Theophanes.[11]

More recently, the existence of one original chronicle, spanning the eighth and ninth centuries and containing both the 811 fragment and the *Scriptor incertus*, has been defended by C. Mango. He pointed out that the *Life of Ioannikios* by the monk Sabas (*BHG* 935), composed in the 850s, combined content found in the two fragments.[12] Those who reject the existence of such a chronicle must explain the textual parallels between the 811 fragment and the *Scriptor*; they also have Sabas consult a multitude of historical sources for his task.[13] One may add that R. Browning's objection to the effect that in the tenth century the so-called Ps.-Symeon (below) displays extensive knowledge of contents found only in the *Scriptor* need not mean that there did not exist a source which extended back to 811 and earlier. As we shall see, Ps.-Symeon only knew the

10. И. С. Дуйчев, Нови житийни данни за похода на император Никифора в България през 811 година, *Списание на Българската Академия на Науките* 54, 1936, pp. 147–88, and the revised standard edition in I. Dujčev, La chronique byzantine de l'an 811, *TM* 1, 1965, pp. 205–54.

11. The text in *Leonis grammatici chronographia*, ex. rec. I. Bekkeri (CSHB), Bonnae 1842, pp. 335–62, with the corrections of R. Browning, Notes on the "Scriptor incertus de Leone Armenio", *Byz.* 36, 1965, pp. 389–411. See H. Grégoire, Un nouveau fragment du "Scriptor incertus de Leone Armenio", *Byz.* 11, 1936, pp. 417–27; Id., Du nouveau sur la chronologie byzantine : le "Scriptor incertus de Leone Armenio" est le dernier continuateur de Malalas, *Académie royale de Belgique. Bulletins de la classe des lettres et des sciences morales et politiques et de la classe des beaux-arts*, 5e sér., 22, 1936, pp. 420–36.

12. C. Mango, The two Lives of St. Ioannikios and the Bulgarians, *Harvard Ukrainian studies* 7, 1983 (= *Okeanos : essays presented to Ihor Ševčenko on his sixtieth birthday by his colleagues and students*), pp. 393–404. P. Sophoulis, The "Chronicle of 811", the "Scriptor incertus" and the Byzantine-Bulgar wars of the early ninth century, *Bulgaria mediaevalis* 1, 2010, pp. 377–84, provides new elements in favour of the unitary theory, but speculates, unnecessarily in my view, that the two fragments were originally composed by two different authors and bound together into a "dossier of loose papers." Building upon Mango's reconstruction, Treadgold, *Middle Byzantine historians*, pp. 90–100, surmises that the lost work spanned the years 769–828 and attributes it to Photios' father, Sergius the Confessor; see also Id., *The Byzantine revival, 780–842*, Stanford 1988, pp. 376 ff., and The lost "Secret history" of Niketas the Paphlagonian, in *The steppe lands and the world beyond them : studies in honor of Victor Spinei on his 70th birthday*, ed. F. Curta, B.-P. Maleon, Iaşi 2013, pp. 645–76, at pp. 664 ff.; Μαρκοπουλος, [illegible] (quoted n. 5), pp. 155 ff.

13. Thus A. Kazhdan & L. Sherry, Some notes on the "Scriptor incertus de Leone Armenio", *BSl* 58, 1997, pp. 110 ff.; A. Markopoulos, La "Chronique de l'an 811" et le "Scriptor incertus de Leone Armenio" : problèmes des relations entre l'hagiographie et l'histoire, *REB* 57, 1999, pp. 255–62; P. [illegible], A context for the controversial "Chronicle of 811", *DOP* 60, 2006, pp. 87–109, implying, wrongly, at p. 90, n. 3, that Mango endorsed Grégoire's idea that Theophanes made use of the 811 fragment. As a matter of fact, Mango rejected it explicitly: see Mango – Scott, p. lx, n. 49.

Scriptor indirectly and followed Theophanes very closely until 813, making only sporadic additions from other sources. Finally, any differences in style between the two fragments is easily explained by the more sophisticated later editing of the text that transmits the account of the 811 disaster.

At the same time as Mango definitely refuted Grégoire's hypothesis of Theophanes' dependence on the first fragment, A. Kazhdan, together with Lee Sherry, made the opposite suggestion in a short article appeared posthumously. He argued that the second fragment, which he considered a separate piece, "in its vocabulary and in its animosity toward Iconoclasm, reminds of Theophanes and could be produced as an attempt to continue 'the jewel of the middle Byzantine historiography'."[14] Kazhdan did not live to explore his last hypothesis.

An *Epitome*? Theophanes and the mid-Byzantine historians

Tenth-century authors provide both explicit and implicit but often puzzling evidence for the text of the *Chronicle*. Surely, the emperor Constantine VII, who prided himself with counting Theophanes the Confessor among his ancestors, quoted dozens of passages from the *Chronicle*, often explicitly, in his *De administrando imperio*.[15] However, the two mid-Byzantine historians who incurred the largest debt towards Theophanes, without crediting him, are George the Monk and Symeon the Logothetes. The nature of this debt has been matter of debate for over a hundred years.[16]

At the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the notion emerged among philologists of a lost mid-Byzantine *Epitome*, which left a trace mainly in the work of George the Monk (down to 842, written after 871 in the published redaction), in that of Kedrenos, and in the interrelated chronicles attributed in the manuscripts variously to Theodosius of Melitene, Leo the Grammarian, and Symeon the Logothetes.[17] Scholarly attention initially concentrated on the early part of the lost *Epitome*, believed to draw upon and continue John of Antioch (late sixth or early seventh century), until, in 1979, W. Treadgold called attention to its later part. Treadgold studied in some detail the period 780–829 in George and Symeon, arguing, on the basis of the similar paraphrases of Theophanes and the common additions to the latter, that George and Symeon depended on a lost common source, which abridged and continued Theophanes. This common source would be the *Epitome*,[18] which Treadgold sees as a work: (1) compiled after 844, as proven by a common reference to Michael I's death, which occurred in that year

14. Kazhdan & Sherry, Some notes (quoted n. 13), p. 112, with I. Ševčenko's definition.

15. See the index to *DAI*, p. 341; cf. also below. Theophanes is overlooked in the historical *Excerpta* compiled for the same emperor. On the evidence of Joseph Genesios, see Genesios, *On the reigns of the emperors*, transl. and commentary by A. Kaldellis (Byzantina Australiensia 11), Canberra 1998, pp. xxi f.

16. I am leaving aside the problem of the sources shared by Theophanes and George: see S. Forrest's contribution to this volume.

17. As originally argued by E. Patzig, Leo Grammaticus und seine Sippe, *BZ* 3, 1894, pp. 470–97. For an overview of the studies, see G. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*. 1, Leiden 1983³, pp. 515–8, and the later studies cited further below. I wish to thank Warren Treadgold and Staffan Wahlgren for patiently discussing with me the issues raised by the *Epitome*.

18. W. Treadgold, The chronological accuracy of the Chronicle of Symeon the Logothete for the years 813–845, *DOP* 33, 1979, pp. 157–97, at pp. 164–71.

(Georg. Mon., p. 776.23 f. and Sym. Log., p. 209.19; see the table below); (2) spanning, unusually, the period from 284 (rather than the creation) to 829; (3) relying almost entirely upon Theophanes, which it continued after 813. Treadgold goes as far as to speak of the compiler's style.[19]

This representation of the *Epitome* requires revision. It is not methodologically sound, for example, to make it start with 284 based only on the alleged absence of parallels between George and Symeon before that date, for such parallels, although not numerous, do exist and were pointed out by de Boor in his edition of George's chronicle. The contention that George "was well read if not well educated" appears contradictory too when almost all of George's sources, also featured in Symeon, are automatically ascribed to the anonymous compiler of the *Epitome*.[20]

The clear relationship between Theophanes and the mid-Byzantine historians can only be established after the publication of the complete Ps.-Symeon (above) as well as the so-called "B" redaction of the chronicle of Symeon the Logothetes. The "A"-text currently available in S. Wahlgren's edition goes down to 948 and was written after 959. The "B"-text continues, alters and interpolates it to varying degrees.[21] What can be stated at the present stage is that the evidence adduced so far is insufficient to suggest that an epitome of any kind was consistently involved in the transmission of Theophanes' text in the tenth century.

The origin of the collective argument on the *Epitome* can be traced back to E. Patzig's 1892 dissertation on the reception of the lost historical work of John of Antioch.[22] In order to prove the existence of the *Epitome*, Patzig presented seven pieces of information about Phokas' reign found in Patriarch Nikephoros' *Short history* and paralleled in George the Monk, Leo the Grammarian, Kedrenos, and Zonaras, but absent in Theophanes.[23] While not directly affected by the later editions of Nikephoros, George, and Symeon the Logothetes (Patzig's "Leo"), Patzig's argument presents obvious weaknesses, which have not been noted. The striking fact that Symeon reproduces none of the passages omitted by George, and Kedrenos none of those omitted by Symeon would rather point to a line of transmission from George through Symeon to Kedrenos. Furthermore, C. Mango has since demonstrated that Zonaras depended on Nikephoros, drawing information directly from the latter.[24] Patzig argued further that "Georg und Zonaras können die Erzählung vom Tode des Phokas unmöglich aus Nikephoros entlehnt haben, wenn die ganze Geschichte des Phokas bei der Leosippe aus anderer Quelle stammt." This "source"

19. Treadgold, *Middle Byzantine historians*, pp. 110–4 and n. 91.
20. *Ibid.*, pp. 117 and 114, for the definition.
21. See Wahlgren's introduction to Sym. Log., p. *5–*8.
22. E. Patzig, *Johannes Antiochenus und Johannes Malalas* (Jahresberichte der Thomasschule in Leipzig über das Schuljahr 1891/1892), Leipzig 1892. Patzig later withdrew some of his early conclusions.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 13: Niceph., *Brev.* § 1, p. 36.35–48 (with Georg. Mon., p. 662.14–18, Sym. Log., p. 153.3–7, Cedr., pp. 712.20–713.7, and Zon., pp. 202.17–203.10); § 2, p. 38.10–42 (with Zon., pp. [illegible]); pp. 38–40.42–6 and 53 ff. (with Georg. Mon., p. 668.6–11, Sym. Log., p. [illegible], and Zon., pp. 207.14 f.); § 3, pp. 40–42.1–16 (with Zon., pp. 204.16–205.5); § 15, p. 62.5–9 (with Georg. Mon., p. 671.8–14, and Sym. Log., p. 160.71–6); § 17, p. 64.1–8 (with Georg. Mon., p. 672.3–6, and Sym. Log., p. 160.81–5); § 27, p. 76.4–10 (with Georg. Mon., p. 673.12–8, Sym. Log., p. 162.133–7, and Cedr., p. 752.18–23).
24. See his introduction to Niceph., *Brev.*, p. 19.

is represented by Patzig as a sequence of three fragments of John of Antioch, paralleled in George and Symeon, the last of which corresponds in content to the first of the seven pieces he had presented above. It makes little difference for the purposes of the present discussion whether we attribute the fragments in question to John of Antioch himself (with U. Roberto) or to a continuator writing in the seventh century (with S. Mariev).[25] In fact, the fragments as they stand in the excerpts collected under Constantine VII certainly are not the source of any of the later authors under study—in at least two instances the source, as Patzig, crucially, failed to notice, need not be other than Theophanes![26] Once Patzig's argument against George's dependence on Nikephoros is dismissed, it becomes simpler to admit that the information passed from Nikephoros to George and from George to Symeon (see also below).[27]

As for the later centuries, Treadgold and Wahlgren have stated their reasons to believe that Symeon did not depend on George, but on the latter's source. These are mainly three: there are no correspondences between George and Symeon after the reign of Michael II; Symeon includes (and is supposedly able to date correctly) events not mentioned or chronologically misplaced by George, as well as many passages derived from Theophanes that George omits; he echoes none of George's peculiar theological excursuses.[28] These arguments, however, are undermined by a wider analysis of the reigns from Leo III to Leo V, which suggests to me a much simpler solution of the puzzle: Symeon read both Theophanes and George.[29]

	Theoph.	Georg. Mon.	Sym. Log.
Leo III	p. 391.3	p. 735.13 f.	p. 180.2 (Theoph.)
	pp. 401.29–402.7	pp. 735.15–736.12	pp. 180.2–181.11 (Georg.)
	pp. 390.20–4 and 391.6 ff.	pp. 736.12–737.17	pp. 181.11–182.33 (Th./G.)[30]

25. See *Ioannis Antiocheni fragmenta ex Historia chronica*, introd., ed. critica e trad. a cura di U. Roberto (Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur 154), Berlin – New York 2005, frs. 318–9 and 321, pp. 548–52, with the editor's introduction, p. xlii–xliv, also referring to an *Epitome* "realizzata tra la metà del VII e i secoli XI–XII" accounting, in his view, for the stylistic differences between the sixth-century core and the fragments pertaining to the seventh century in the *Excerpta de insidiis*. *Contra* S. Mariev, Neues zur "Joahnnischen Frage"?, *BZ* 99, 2006, pp. 535–49, at pp. 537–9; *Ioannis Antiocheni fragmenta quae supersunt omnia*, rec. Anglice vertit indicibus instruxit S. Mariev (CFHB 47), Berlin – New York 2008, p. 9*, holding the fragments to be spurious.
26. Compare Georg. Mon., p. 662.14–18 and Sym. Log., p. 153.3–7, with Theoph., pp. 289.26–290.3 (cf. John of Antioch, fr. 318.26 ff.); Georg. Mon., pp. 664.16–665.6, and Sym. Log., p. 155.26–31, with Theoph., pp. 266.25–297.2 (cf. fr. 319.8 ff.).
27. Compare Georg. Mon., pp. 665.14–666.13, and Sym. Log., p. 156.40–51, with Niceph., *Brev.* § 1, p. 36.35–48 (cf. fr. 321.31–40). Zonaras' presentation of information found in frs. 319 and 321 is insufficient to prove the existence of a lost source.
28. See Treadgold, The chronological accuracy (quoted n. 18), pp. 168 f.; S. Wahlgren's introduction to Sym. Log., pp. 118* f.
29. This was already suggested by P. Sauerbrei, *De fontibus Zonarae quaestiones selectae*, Lipsiae 1881, p. 17, who, however, did not offer a demonstration.
30. While following mainly George's wording, Symeon agrees with Theophanes that Justinian II proclaimed Leo spatharios and that Theodosius made him strategos of the East. According to George, the latter emperor both proclaimed Leo spatharios and abdicated in his favour, following the acclamation by the soldiers.

	Theoph.	Georg. Mon.	Sym. Log.
	-	pp. 737.21–738.6	p. 182.33–40
	pp. 399.28–400.13	-	p. 182.41–43
	pp. 406.25–31 and 407.15–409.14	pp. 738.11–741.20	pp. 182.43–183.59 (Georg.)
	-	pp. 743.1–744.4	p. 183.59–70[31]
	-	p. 742.1–22	pp. 183.70–184.79
	p. 409.14–8	p. 744.4–10	p. 184.79–82 (Georg.)
	p. 395.13–25	pp. 744.19–745.8	p. 184.82–90 (Theoph./Georg.)[32]
	p. 396.7–21	p. 745.8–15	p. 184.90–6 (Georg.)
	p. 399.6–19	pp. 745.16–746.6	pp. 184.96–185.106 (Georg.)
	p. 398.7–31	-	p. 185.106–13
	pp. 400.18–401.3	-	p. 185.113–8
	p. 401.9–12	-	p. 185.118 f.
	p. 401.22 f.	-	pp. 185.119 f.
	p. 417.14–21	-	p. 186.121 ff.
	pp. 409.30–410.3	-	p. 186.123–6
	p. 410.4–17	-	p. 186.126 ff.
	p. 410.3 f.	-	p. 186.128 f.
	p. 412.6–21	p. 744.11–8	p. 186.129–137 (Theoph.)
	-	p. 744.16 ff.	p. 186.137 ff.
Constantine V	-	pp. 750.15–751.16	p. 187.2–19
	-	-	*p. 187.19 f.*
	pp. 413.28–414.2	-	pp. 187.20–188.22
	pp. 414.20–415.30	-	p. 188.22–40
	p. 417.26–32	-	p. 188.40–3
	pp. 419.7–421.2	-	pp. 188.43–190.65
	pp. 418–27 *passim*	pp. 752.18–754.1	p. 190.65–77 (Georg.)
	pp. 422.11–7, 427.14 ff. and 429.19–23	p. 752.12–7	p. 190.77–83 (Theoph./Georg.)
	p. 426.14 ff.	-	p. 190.83 ff.
	-	-	*p. 190.85 f.*
	pp. 427.29–428.3	p. 754.3 f.	p. 190.86 f. (Georg.)
	p. 428.3–12	p. 755.1–6	p. 190.87–93 (Georg.)
	pp. 442.1–12 and 420.11–6	pp. 755.20–757.8	pp. 190.93–191.109 (Georg.)
	pp. 442.18–24 and 436.27–437.9	p. 757.11–8	p. 191.109–13 (Theoph./Georg.)
	pp. 432.29–433.20	-	p. 191.113 ff.
	pp. 434.6–435.5	pp. 758.11–759.15	pp. 191.116–192.132 (Georg.)
	p. 435.5 ff.	p. 759.19 ff.	p. 192.132 ff. (Georg.)
	pp. 432.29–433.10	p. 758.3–10	p. 192.134–9
	pp. 439.22–440.6	pp. 766.21–767.4	pp. 192.139–193.147 (Theoph.)

31. In Patriarch Germanos' abdication scene, George has simply θεὶς τὸ ὠμόφορον (p. 743.7), to which Symeon appears to have added ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ τραπέζῃ τῆς Μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας (p. 183.65). The addition is paralleled in the *Life of Germanos* in *Syn. CP*, c. 678 f. (ἐπὶ τῆς ἁγίας τραπέζης).

32. The redaction of George's chronicle in *Coisl.* 305 is closer to Theophanes, yet incompatible with Symeon's text: see Georg. Mon., p. 744, apparatus. Nowhere else does Symeon display parallels with *Coisl.* 305.

	Theoph.	Georg. Mon.	Sym. Log.
	pp. 443.31–444.6	-	p. 193.147 f.
	p. 444.16–25	-	p. 193.148–51
	p. 447.10–26	-	p. 193.151–61
	p. 448.4–10	-	pp. 193.161–194.168
	p. 448.10–23	p. 760.10–7	p. 194.168–74 (Georg.)
	-	-	*p. 194.174–8*
Leo IV	-	p. 765.8 f.	p. 194.2
	p. 449.11–6	p. 765.9 f.	p. 194.2–6 (Theoph.)
	pp. 449.17–450.19	-	pp. 194.6–195.30 (Theoph.)
	p. 451.11–27	-	pp. 195.30–196.3
	p. 453.4–20	-	p. 196.33–9
	p. 453.20 ff.	-	p. 196.39 ff.[33]
	p. 453.25–30	p. 765.11–4	p. 196.41–5 (Theoph./Georg.)
Constantine VI and Irene	p. 454.1–12	-	p. 196.2 f.
	p. 454.12–25	-	p. 193.4–11
	p. 455.12–7	p. 766.16–20	p. 197.11–6 (Georg.)
	p. 455.19 ff.	-	p. 197.16–9
	p. 463.21–8	-	p. 197.19 ff.
	p. 456.2–22	p. 767.5–14	pp. 197.21–198.28 (Georg.)
	p. 456.25–9	-	p. 198.29 ff.
	p. 457.6–11	p. 767.14–8	p. 198.31–34 (Theoph./Georg.)
	pp. 457.13–458.3 and 460–2	pp. 767.19–769.11	pp. 198.34–199.67 (Georg.)
	-	p. 770.7 ff.	p. 199.68
	pp. 464.10–465.11	-	pp. 199.68–200.81
	pp. 465.32–467.5	-	pp. 200.81–200.97
	-	-	*p. 200.97 ff.*
	p. 467.5 f.	-	pp. 200.99–201.100
	p. 467.6–27	-	p. 201.101–10
	p. 468.7–14	-	p. 201.110–7
	p. 469.4–15	-	p. 201.117–20
	p. 469.23–6	p. 770.10 f.	pp. 201.120–202.122 (Theoph.)
	p. 470.1 ff.	-	p. 202.123
	pp. 470.24–471.5	p. 770.12–20	p. 202.124–7 (Theoph./Georg.)
	p. 470.10–20	-	p. 202.127–32
	p. 471.13–8	-	p. 202.132 ff.
	p. 471.20–7	-	p. 202.134–8
	pp. 471.32–472.22	pp. 770.21–771.7	pp. 202.138–203.144 (Theoph.)
	p. 468.9–21	-	p. 203.144 ff.
	p. 472.22	-	p. 203.147
	p. 473.11–22	p. 771.10–20	p. 203.147–50
	p. 474.6–15	-	p. 203.150–8[34]
	p. 476.3–25	pp. 771.20–772.4	pp. 203.158–204.169 (Theoph.)

33. The additional mention of a "multitude of prisoners" made by Hārūn need not indicate that Symeon read anything more than the preserved text of Theophanes.

34. Symeon alone specifies that Irene's distributions took place ἐν τῇ Μέσῃ. See below, n. 41.

	Theoph.	Georg. Mon.	Sym. Log.
Nikephoros	-	p. 772.6	p. 204.2
	p. 476.25 ff.	-	p. 204.2 f.
	pp. 477.29–478.28	-	pp. 204.3–205.20
	p. 479.4–9	p. 772.6	p. 205.20–3 (Theoph.)
	-	-	*p. 205.23 ff.*
	p. 479.10 f.	-	p. 205.25 f.
	pp. 479.15–30 and 480.15–9	p. 772.7–22	p. 205.26–37 (Georg.)
	-	pp. 772.26–774.2	pp. 205.37–206.56
	p. 480.6–9	p. 774.3 ff.	p. 206.56–9 (Georg.)
	cf. p. 475.15–8	p. 774.5–9	p. 206.59–61
	p. 480.11 ff.	-	p. 206.61 f.
	p. 481.15 f. and 20	p. 774.10 f.	pp. 206.62–207.64 (Theoph.)
	pp. 490.4–491.22	pp. 774.18–775.12	p. 207.64–75 (Georg.)
	pp. 491.22–492.2 and 486	p. 775.12–26	p. 207.75–81 (Theoph.)
Staurakios	-	p. 776.2 f.	p. 208.2
	pp. 492.2–5 and 495.15 ff.	p. 776.3 ff.	p. 208.2 ff. (Georg.)
	pp. 492.25–493.5	-	p. 208.5 f.
	pp. 493.21–8 and 494.7 f.	p. 776.5–11	p. 208.5–11 (Georg.)
	-	-	*p. 208.11*
Michael I	p. 493.15–8	-	p. 209.2
	pp. 493.30–494.3	-	p. 209.2–7
	p. 494.26–31	-	p. 209.7 ff.
	p. 497.16–30	-	p. 209.9 ff.
	p. 499.31–502.29	p. 776.14–24	p. 209.11–9 (Georg.)
Leo V	-	p. 772.2 f.	p. 210.2
	p. 502.20–1	-	p. 210.2 ff.
	p. 503.5–25	-	pp. 210.4–211.21
	-	-	*p. 211.21 f.*
	-	p. 777.3–15	p. 211.22–6
	p. 499.6 ff.	p. 777.20–3	p. 211.26 ff.
	-	p. 778.2–5	p. 211.28 ff.
	-	pp. 778.8–779.26	pp. 211.30–212.43
	-	p. 780.3–8	p. 212.43–7
	-	pp. 782.12–783.3	p. 212.47–52
	-	pp. 783.6–789.10	pp. 212.52–214.77
Michael II	-	p. 792.7 f.	p. 214.2
	-	pp. 792.9–793.1	p. 214.2–11
	-	-	*p. 214.11 f.*
	-	pp. 793.7–797.16	pp. 214.12–215.29[35]

35. Treadgold, The chronological accuracy (quoted n. 18), p. 168, n. 42, states that George omitted 'Thomas the Slav' lifting the siege of Constantinople to raid Thrace, an event featured in Symeon. Compare, however, Sym. Log., p. 215.23 ff. (ὁ δὲ ἀμηχανίᾳ περιεχομένος, τὴν πόλιν ἀφεὶς ἐπὶ [illegible]) with Georg. Mon., pp. 794.27–795.3 (Θωμᾶς ὁ ματαιόφρων καὶ [illegible] ἐφ' ἕνα χρόνον ἐκπορθήσας καὶ τὴν Θρᾴκην δηώσας καὶ [illegible]) and 17 f. (καὶ σκοτοδινία πολλὴ καὶ ἀμηχανία περιέσχε τὸν εὐρίπιστον καὶ [illegible]). Symeon's version is more probably an unfortunate abridgement of George's narrative. Cf. P. Lemerle, Thomas le Slave, *TM* 1, 1965, pp. 255–97, at p. 260.

	Theoph.	Georg. Mon.	Sym. Log.
	-	cf. p. 798.1 ff.	*p. 215.29–35*
	-	p. 792.8 f.	pp. 215.35–216.37
	-	-	*p. 216.37 f.*

On nine occasions (in Italic in the table) Symeon is clearly independent of both Theophanes and George. In one case, he appears to make a personal comment in terms reminiscent of contemporary hymnography.[36] In another case, he is "recycling" and referring to Constantine V a rare expression found, in an almost identical context, once in each of the two fragments of the *Scriptor incertus* (above)—which Symeon used extensively for this period—with reference to Emperors Nikephoros and Leo V respectively.[37] In yet another case, he may have composed a personal development on the death of Empress Irene in a style evocative of George.[38] Two additions concern Euphrosyne, who features in Symeon's account of Theophilos' reign as the emperor's mother. This information is probably linked to a group of hagiographic texts relating to the posthumous absolution of Theophilus (*BHG* 1731–5), the best known of which is the *Life* of Empress Theodora perhaps independently known by George.[39] On one occasion, Symeon has additional information about the inhabitants of Thrace, whom he calls, as elsewhere, "Macedonians."[40] The remaining additions, except for one discussed below, concern City monuments and the burial of a member of the imperial family and may stem from either oral tradition, a Constantinopolitan source belonging to the *Patria* genre, or hagiography.[41]

36. Sym. Log., p. 187.19 f.: ὢ τῆς βλασφημίας· φεῖσαι ἡμῶν, Κύριε. Cf. A. Spanos, *Codex Lesbiacus Leimonos 11* (Byzantinisches Archiv 23), Berlin – New York 2010, no. 1, p. 159, l. 33.

37. Compare Sym. Log., p. 190.85 f. (ἐπαρθεὶς δὲ τῷ φρονήματι ὁ ἄθεος διὰ τὴν παρ' αὐτοῦ γενομένην νίκην, with reference to military success against the Arabs, which, according to Symeon, encouraged the convocation of the iconoclast Synod of Hiereia) with Dujčev, La chronique (quoted n. 10), p. 210, l. 15 (λοιπὸν οὖν ἐπαρθεὶς τῷ φρονήματι καὶ τῇ καρδίᾳ ὁ ταλαίπωρος, following the account of Nikephoros' initial victory against the Bulgars and announcing the nemesis) and *Scriptor incertus* in *Leonis grammaticis chronographia* (quoted n. 11), p. 348.16 (ἐπαρθεὶς τοίνυν τῶν φρονημάτων ὁ Λέων, ὡς ὅτι αὐτὸς κατέβαλεν τὸν πόλεμον, again on a victory against the Bulgars and the second Iconoclasm). On the use of the *Scriptor incertus* by Symeon, see Μαρκόπουλος, Ἡ χρονογραφία (quoted n. 5), pp. 152–7 (overlooking this parallel), in reference to Ps.-Symeon. Ps.-Symeon only knew this source through Symeon, as a quick check of the parallels identified in 1973 by Markopoulos with the (then unpublished) text of Symeon reveals. Wahlgren (who also overlooks this parallel) is overly sceptic as to the direct use of this source by Symeon, in the introduction to Sym. Log., p. *120.

38. Sym. Log., p. 194.174–8; cf. *ibid.*, pp. 186.138 f. and 231.326 (death of Emperor Theophilos), and Georg. Mon. pp. 311.4 (death of Herod), 683.17, and 788.15 (= Sym. Log., p. 213.69) and 20.

39. Sym. Log., pp. 214.11 ff. and 216.37. See the mentions of Euphrosyne in A. Μαρκόπουλος, Βίος τῆς αὐτοκράτειρας Θεοδώρας (*BHG* 1731), *Σύμμεικτα* 5, 1983, pp. 249–85, § 3 f., p. 260. The priority of this text over George is contested by D. Afinogenov, The bride-show of Theophilos : some notes on the sources, *Eranos* 95, 1997, pp. 10–8, with an overview of the texts in question; Id., The date of "Georgios Monachos" reconsidered, *BZ* 92, 2, 1999, pp. 437–47, at pp. 441–4. The material in Symeon may be linked to the *Narratio historica in festum restitutionis imaginum* (*BHG* 1734) published by F. Combefis, *Graeco-Latinae patrum Bibliothecae auctarium novum*, 2, Parisiis 1648, cc. 715–43, which was inaccessible to me at the time of writing.

40. Sym. Log., pp. 211.21 f.; cf. *ibid.*, pp. 236 ff.

41. *Ibid.*, pp. 200.97 ff. (καὶ αἱ καμάραι αἱ ὑποκάτω, ἔνθα ἀπέκειντο καὶ τὰ σχέδη πάσης γραφῆς, ἃ ἡρμήνευσεν ὁ ἅγιος Ἰωάννης ὁ Χρυσόστομος), 205.23 ff. ([*scil.* Νικηφόρος] προσελάβετο δὲ Κωνσταντῖνον,

For the rest, Symeon followed mainly George, switching allegiance to Theophanes here and there in order to complement his narrative. This is illustrated by the way a cast-back in Symeon's text is accompanied, as in the following example, by the combination of Theophanes' and George's narratives: being at first unable to locate the events described by George, Symeon browsed through his manuscript of Theophanes and, having found the relevant passage, was influenced by it in composing his own version.

Theoph., pp. 409.16–8 and 395.13–25	Georg. Mon., pp. 744.4–10 and 744.19–745.8	Sym. Log., p. 184.79–88
Γρηγόριος δέ, ὁ ἱερὸς πρόεδρος Ῥώμης, καθὼς καὶ προέφην, Ἀναστάσιον ἅμα τοῖς λιβέλλοις ἀπεκήρυξεν ἐλέγξας τὸν Λέοντα δι' ἐπιστολῶν ὡς ἀσεβοῦντα, καὶ τὴν Ῥώμην σὺν πάσῃ τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ ἀπέστησεν...	διὰ ταῦτα οὖν καὶ ὁ τῆς μεγάλης Ῥώμης πρόεδρος Γρηγόριος τὴν τῆς αὐτοῦ βασιλείας ὑποταγὴν ἐκτιναξάμενος τὸ αἱρετικὸν αἶσχος ἀποδιδράσκει σπονδὰς εἰρηνικὰς εἰς τὴν τῶν Φράγγων ὑποταγὴν εἰσδεξάμενος σὺν πάσῃ τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ, καὶ τοὺς φόρους εὐθὺς κωλύσας τὸν Ἀναστάσιον καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ ἀνεθεμάτισεν...	διὰ ταῦτα καὶ ὁ πρόεδρος Ῥώμης ἀφηνίασε καὶ πρὸς τὸν Φράγγον σπονδὴν εἰρηνικὴν ποιησάμενος τούς τε φόρους ἐκώλυσε καὶ Ἀναστάσιον καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ ἀνεθεμάτισεν.
Μασαλμᾶς δὲ χειμάσας ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ ἐξεδέχετο τὰς τοῦ Λέοντος ὑποσχέσεις, μηδὲν δὲ παρὰ Λέοντος δεξάμενος καὶ γνοὺς ὅτι ἐνεπαίχθη ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, ἐλθὼν εἰς τὴν Ἄβυδον ἀντεπέρασε λαὸν ἱκανὸν εἰς τὴν Θρᾴκην καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλεύουσαν πόλιν ἀπεκίνησεν, γράψας καὶ πρὸς Σουλεϊμὰν τὸν πρωτοσύμβουλον καταλαβεῖν μετὰ τοῦ προετοιμασθέντος στόλου. τῇ δὲ ιε' τοῦ Αὐγούστου μηνὸς παρεκάθισε τὴν πόλιν ὁ Μασαλμᾶς λυμηνάμενος καὶ τὰ Θρᾴκια κάστρα. περιχαρακώσαντες δὲ τὸ χερσαῖον τεῖχος ὤρυξαν φόσσαν μεγάλην καὶ ἐπάνω αὐτῆς περιτείχισμα στηθαῖον διὰ ξηρολίθου ἐποίησαν. τῇ δὲ α' τοῦ Σεπτεμβρίου μηνὸς τῆς α' ἰνδικτιῶνος ἀνέβαλεν ὁ [illegible] Σουλεϊμὰν μετὰ τοῦ στόλου καὶ τῶν ἀμηραίων αὐτοῦ ἔχων παμμεγέθεις ναῦς καὶ πολεμικὰς κατήνας καὶ δρόμωνας τὸν ἀριθμὸν ͵αω', καὶ προσώρμισαν ἀπὸ τῆς Μαγναύρας ἕως τοῦ Κυκλοβίου.	Ὁ οὖν Μάσαλμας,[42] καθὼς ἀνωτέρω εἴρηται, τὴν Ἄβυδον καταλαβὼν καὶ ἀντιπεράσας λαὸν ἄπειρον καὶ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἐξορμήσας γράφει πρὸς Σουλεϊμᾶν τὸν πρωτοσύμβουλον ἐλθεῖν ἐν τάχει μετὰ τοῦ στόλου. καὶ τῇ μὲν ιε' τοῦ Αὐγούστου μηνὸς παρακαθίσας τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὸ χερσαῖον τεῖχος περιχαρακώσας ἐλυμαίνετο σφόδρα τὰ Θρᾳκῷα μέρη. τῇ δὲ α' τοῦ Σεπτεμβρίου μηνὸς ἀνέβαλεν ὁ Σουλεϊμᾶν ἔχων παμμεγέθεις ναῦς καὶ πολεμικὰς τειχήρεις καὶ δρόμωνας μεγάλους πάνυ χιλίους ὀκτακοσίους.	Μάσαλμας δὲ ἐξεδέχετο τὰς τοῦ Λέοντος ὑποσχέσεις. Μηδὲν δὲ παρὰ Λέοντος δεξάμενος καὶ γνούς, ὅτι ἐνεπαίχθη ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλεύουσαν πόλιν ἐκίνησε καὶ τὴν Ἄβυδον καταλαβὼν καὶ ἀντιπεράσας λαὸν πλεῖστον γράφει πρὸς Σουλεϊμᾶν τὸν πρωτοσύμβουλον ἐλθεῖν ἐν τάχει μετὰ τοῦ στόλου. Καὶ τῷ Αὐγούστῳ μηνὶ παρακαθίσας τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὸ χερσαῖον τεῖχος περιχαρακώσας ἐλυμαίνετο σφόδρα τὰ θρᾳκῷα μέρη. τῇ δὲ πρώτῃ τοῦ Σεπτεμβρίου μηνὸς ἀνέβαλεν ὁ Σουλεϊμᾶν, ἔχων εὐμεγέθεις ναῦς τριήρεις καὶ δρόμωνας χιλίους ὀκτακοσίους.

[illegible] καὶ ὑπέδειξεν αὐτῷ τὸν ἀνακτισθέντα πλοῦτον ὑπὸ ὀρθομαρμαρώσεως, τὸν νῦν ἐν τῷ [illegible] and 208.11 (Staurakios' wife Theophano buried ἐν τῇ μονῇ τοῦ Σατύρου). Theophano was a daughter of the deposed emperor Michael I and thus one of the sisters of the future patriarch Ignatios, himself a monk or abbot at Satyros before or after the patriarchate—the sources do not agree: see R. Janin, *Les églises et les monastères des grands centres byzantins* (Géographie ecclésiastique de l'Empire byzantin 2), Paris 1975, p. 42. A detail at p. 203.154 (above, n. 34) may stem from a similar source.

42. See above, n. 32.

In one case at least, the combination of the two sources has left a clear trace and George's text appears to have been cut and pasted in Symeon's version, with the beginning of one sentence adapted to a different sentence. This happens as soon as Symeon parts ways with Theophanes, having followed him for several pages.

Theoph., pp. 422.11–17, 427.14 ff., and 429.19–23	Georg. Mon., pp. 753.15–754.1 and 752.12–7	Sym. Log., p. 190.75–83
ἐν τούτοις Κωνσταντῖνος Γερμανίκειαν παρέλαβεν ἐπιστρατεύσας τὴν Συρίαν καὶ Δουλίχιαν ἄδειαν εὑρὼν διὰ τὴν τῶν Ἀράβων πρὸς ἀλλήλους μάχην. λόγῳ δὲ τοὺς ἐν αὐταῖς Ἄραβας ἐξαποστείλας ἀόπλους προσελάβετο καὶ τοὺς πρὸς μητρὸς συγγενεῖς καὶ ἐν Βυζαντίῳ μετῴκισεν, σὺν καὶ πολλοῖς Σύροις Μονοφυσίταις αἱρετικοῖς, ὧν οἱ πλείους εἰς τὴν Θρᾴκην οἰκοῦντες μέχρι τοῦ νῦν καὶ ἐν τῷ τρισαγίῳ τὴν τριάδα σταυροῦντες κατὰ Πέτρον τὸν Κναφέα διήρκεσαν... καὶ τῷ αὐτῷ χρόνῳ Κωνσταντῖνος τὴν Θεοδοσιούπολιν παρέλαβεν ἅμα τῇ Μελιτηνῇ, καὶ ᾐχμαλώτευσε τοὺς Ἀρμενίους... Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς Κωνσταντῖνος Σύρους τε καὶ Ἀρμενίους, οὓς ἤγαγεν ἀπὸ Θεοδοσιουπόλεως καὶ Μελιτηνῆς, εἰς τὴν Θρᾴκην μετῴκισεν, ἐξ ὧν καὶ ἐπλατύνθη ἡ αἵρεσις τῶν Παυλικιάνων. ὁμοίως καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει, ὀλιγωθέντων τῶν οἰκητόρων αὐτῆς ἐκ τοῦ θανατικοῦ...	σὺν πᾶσι δὲ τούτοις ἔφθασεν ἡ ὀργὴ καὶ εἰς τὸν ἀνίερον Ἀναστάσιον τὸν πατριάρχην, καὶ οἰκτίστῳ πάθει τῷ λεγομένῳ χορδαψῷ καταλύει τὸν βίον. Ὁ δέ γε τύραννος βασιλεὺς τὴν πόλιν ἐάσας... Τῶν δέ γε Σαρακηνῶν κατ' ἀλλήλων μαχομένων ἀκούσας ἐκστρατεύει πρὸς τὰ μέρη τῆς Συρίας καὶ διὰ τὴν ταύτην πρόφασιν τε καὶ ἄδειαν προσλαβόμενος λόγῳ τοὺς συγγενεῖς αὐτοῦ Ἀρμενίους καὶ Σύρους αἱρετικοὺς εἰς τὸ Βυζάντιον μετῴκισεν, ὧν οἱ πλείους οἰκοῦντες ἐν τῇ Θρᾴκῃ μέχρι νῦν Θεοπασχῖται κατὰ Πέτρον εἰσὶ τὸν δείλαιον.	ἔφθασε δὲ καὶ ἡ ὀργὴ εἰς Ἀναστάσιον τὸν ἀνίερον, καὶ οἰκτίστῳ πάθει, τῷ λεγομένῳ χορδαψῷ, καταλύει τὸν βίον. ὁ δέ γε τύραννος τῶν Σαρακηνῶν κατ' ἀλλήλων μαχομένων ἀκούσας ἐκστρατεύει πρὸς τὰ μέρη τῆς Συρίας καὶ Γερμανίκειαν παρέλαβε καὶ Θεοδοσιούπολιν καὶ Μελιτηνήν, αἰχμαλωτίσας πάντας τοὺς ἐκεῖσε, καὶ διὰ τὴν τοιαύτην πρόφασιν τοῦ θανατικοῦ [sic] προσλαβόμενος τοὺς συγγενεῖς αὐτοῦ Ἀρμενίους τε καὶ Σύρους αἱρετικοὺς εἰς τὸ Βυζάντιον μετῴκισεν καὶ ἐν τῇ Θρᾴκῃ, οἱ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν τὴν αἵρεσιν τοῦ τυράννου διακρατοῦσιν.

In short, Symeon acted like today's student of history who, besides reading a concise introduction, engages with a more solid reference work.

The only plausible evidence for the independent use by Symeon of a source common to George comes from one of the passages on the reign of Michael II listed above. As Treadgold pointed out, George and Symeon place the Arab conquest of Sicily, the Cyclades, and Crete under the reign of Michael and under the reign of Theophilos respectively. George links the conquests to the sack of Amorion, which only occurred in 838, while Symeon dates them to the time of the revolt of Thomas the Slav, which itself dates from the early years of Michael's reign.[43] Thus it is incorrect to state that Symeon inserted the conquests, which can be dated otherwise to the years 826–8, "in the right place."[44] In the tenth century, Symeon was not the first to establish a link between the loss of the islands and Thomas' revolt. The so-called Continuator of Theophanes and Joseph

43. Lemerle, Thomas le Slave (quoted n. 35), p. 290.

44. Treadgold, The chronological accuracy (quoted n. 18), p. 168 and 167, following A. A. Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes. 1* (Corpus Bruxellense historiae Byzantinae 1), Bruxelles 1935, pp. 49–88.

Genesius had done so before him.[45] According to P. Lemerle, it henceforth became "un lieu commun de l'historiographie byzantine que de lier les deux événements."[46]

In fact an overlooked passage in Constantine VII's *De administrando imperio*, composed shortly before Symeon's chronicle, displays textual parallels with both George's and Symeon's versions of the events. It is an isolated excursus within a set of excerpts from Theophanes' *Chronicle*, placed under the heading ἐκ τοῦ Χρονογράφου τοῦ μακαρίου Θεοφάνους etc.

DAI § 22.41–8, p. 94 ff.	Georg. Mon., pp. 797.21–798.1 ff.	Sym. Log., p. 215.29–35
ὅτι γὰρ Μιχαὴλ ὁ Τραυλὸς τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς ἐπεκράτησεν, καὶ ἡ τοῦ Θωμᾶ ἀντάρσια ἐγένετο μέχρι τριετοῦς χρόνου ἐπικρατήσασα, τότε τοῦ βασιλέως ἀσχολουμένου ἐπὶ τοῖς συμβεβηκόσι πράγμασιν, εὑρόντες [illegible] οἱ τὴν Ἰσπανίαν οἰκοῦντες Ἀγαρηνοί, στόλον ἱκανὸν ἐξαρτίσαντες καὶ ἀρξάμενοι ἀπὸ τῶν τῆς Σικελίας μερῶν πάσας τὰς Κυκλάδας νήσους ἠρήμωσαν, καὶ ἐλθόντες ἐν Κρήτῃ καὶ ταύτην εὔκαιρον καὶ ἀνειμένην εὑρόντες, μηδενὸς ἀνταίροντος ἢ κωλύοντος, ταύτην παρέλαβον, καὶ διακρατοῦσιν ἕως τὴν σήμερον.	ἐφ'οὗ [scil. Θεοφίλου] [...] ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ πλήθη πλοίων αὐτῶν [scil. τῶν Σαρακηνῶν] ἐξελθόντα τὰς Κυκλάδας νήσους ἠρήμωσαν καὶ τὴν Κρήτην καὶ τὴν Σικελίαν παρέλαβον.	ἀσχολουμένου δὲ Μιχαὴλ πρὸς τὸν ἀντάρτην Θωμᾶν καὶ τῇ πρὸς αὐτὸν φροντίδι παντὸς ἄλλου καταφρονήσαντος Κρήτη καὶ Σικελία καὶ αἱ καλούμεναι Κυκλάδες νῆσοι τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς περιηρέθησαν ἐξ Ἄφρων τε καὶ Ἀράβων, λαβόντων ἀρχὴν ἄρτι πρῶτον διὰ τὰς τοῦ λαοῦ ἁμαρτίας καὶ τὴν τῶν κρατούντων δυσσέβειαν ταπεινοῦν καὶ ὑπὸ χεῖρα σφῶν ἄγειν τὰ τῶν Χριστιανῶν πράγματα.

Even if George and Symeon did rely here on a common source independently intercepted by Constantine VII—which is far from verified—there would still be no obvious reason to suppose that this source extended back into the period covered by Theophanes. The fact that Symeon got his hands on this material may indeed explain why he abandoned George at this point. It cannot therefore cause surprise that Symeon could access not only George, but also George's source, Theophanes. Constantine VII combined them too elsewhere in the *De administrando imperio*[47] as did other, later authors (below). Whatever the reasons that led Symeon to leave out instead George's pointless theological rants, the modern reader may feel some sympathy with that choice.

Theophanes and Ps.-Symeon: a note on chronology

There is consensus that Ps.-Symeon accessed Theophanes' *Chronicle* directly.[48] A. Markopoulos blamed the weakness of Ps.-Symeon's chronology in the last section of his

45. Theoph. cont., p. 73; Gen., II 10, pp. 32–3.
46. Lemerle, Thomas le Slave (quoted n. 35), p. 279.
47. See *DAI* §§ 14, 15, and 17, with the apparatus.
48. Treadgold, *Middle Byzantine Historians*, pp. 218 f. I cannot see how the fact that, for the years after 813, "Pseudo-Symeon includes enough information that is not in George" could suggest that "his source was neither George nor Symeon but their common source" (*ibid.*, p. 111), with reference to the *Epitome*.

work (813–962) on the alleged inability to get to grips with the competing chronological systems found in his sources, namely the Byzantine era, which began in (September) 5509 BC, and the so-called Alexandrian era, which began ideally in 5500, in practice in 5492 BC.[49] The truth is again much simpler. As I hope to show, Ps.-Symeon's mistakes in this section are merely the result of the attempt to extend Theophanes' computation and to connect it with chronological indications of an entirely different nature found in one other source.

The earliest use of the Year of the Creation in Ps.-Symeon occurs in the eleventh year of Diocletian, equated to AM 5787 according to Theophanes' system (fol. 82ʳ). In truth, Theophanes does not explicitly mention the AM in this entry and has already used it in the chronological rubric of the very first entry of the *Chronicle* (AM 5777). Yet it is no coincidence that AM 5787 immediately precedes in Theophanes the explicit mention of AM 5788. Thereafter, Theophanes keeps on mentioning the AM and AD in a rather unpredictable way in the rubrics, with the only recognizable pattern being, with rare exceptions, the occurrence of a change of ruler in Byzantium. Ps.-Symeon recognized this pattern and followed it consistently. He indeed converts Theophanes' chronological indication for the year of Constantine's accession (AM 5797) into the Byzantine era (AM 5813), but later simply follows Theophanes on both the "Alexandrian" AM and the Year of the Incarnation.[50]

Now, when he parts company with Theophanes, Ps.-Symeon continues visibly to count from the last entry in the *Chronicle*, AM 6305 and AD "805"—in fact 812/813—only skipping one year and thus placing Leo V's accession in AM 6307 and AD "807"—in fact 814/815.[51] The subsequent emperors are assigned a date of accession by the simple addition of the length of their reigns. This information matches what we find in Symeon, Ps.-Symeon's main source for the period after 813. Although Ps.-Symeon only knew Symeon in the later redaction, which lies as yet unpublished, it is reasonable to assume that the chronology was not altered dramatically.[52] Thus, according to Symeon, Michael II becomes emperor in AM 6314 and AD "814," with Leo assigned, on the authority of Symeon, seven years and five months. Theophilus becomes sole ruler in 6323 and AD "823," with Michael similarly assigned eight years and nine months, and so on.[53]

49. Μαρκοπουλος, Ἡ χρονογραφία (quoted n. 5), p. 149 f. On the discrepancy between the Alexandrian and the Dionysian eras, see Mango – Scott, p. lxiv.

50. Thus, for example, Ps.-Symeon dates Julian's accession to AM 5853 and AD "353"—in fact 360/361—just one year short of Theophanes' indication. The mistake was probably prompted by the presence of a similar indication in the preceding entry in Ps.-Symeon's model (Praechter, *Quellenkritische Studien* [quoted n. 5], p. 53; *Paris. gr.* 1712, fol. 91ᵛ). On Constantine, see Praechter, p. 35, F. Halkin, Constantin d'après le Pseudo-Syméon, *Byz.* 29–30, 1959–60, pp. 7–27, at p. 11, and *Paris. gr.* 1712, fol. 83ʳ. For the unpublished section of Ps.-Symeon, see e.g. Heraclius' accession, dated, in agreement with Theophanes, to AM 6102 and AD "602" (*Paris. gr.* 1712, fol. 171ᵛ), Tiberius Apsimarus', similarly dated to AM 6191 and AD "691" (fol. 194ᵛ), and Constantine VI's accession, AM 6273 and AD "773" (fol. 220ᵛ).

51. Ps.-Sym., p. 603; *Paris. gr.* 1712, fol. 235ʳ.

52. Μαρκοπουλος, Ἡ χρονογραφία (quoted n. 5), p. 144; Wahlgren's introduction to Sym. Log., p. *46.

53. Michael II: Ps.-Sym., p. 620 with 603 and Sym. Log., p. 210; Theophilus: Ps.-Sym., p. 624 with 620 and Sym. Log., p. 214; Michael III (AM 6335): Ps.-Sym., p. 647 with 624 and Sym. Log., p. 216 (Theophilus, twelve years); Basil I (AM 6362): Ps.-Sym., p. 686 with 647 (Michael III, twenty-

The "Short chronicles" and the late authors

During the reign of Basil I (867–86), Theophanes was excerpted savagely by the anonymous compiler of a short world chronicle, now preserved in a tenth- or eleven-century Madrid manuscript.[54] For Roman and Byzantine times, the material in the Madrid text is organized by emperor, with a few lines being devoted to each of them. The main sources for this period are, besides Theophanes, the chronological tables of the patriarch Nikephoros and the chronicle of George Synkellos. This reinforces the notion that the three works soon circulated together (see also below). It should also be noted that the Madrid chronicle displays two errors in common with members of de Boor's *y* family of manuscripts of the *Chronicle* of Theophanes. These are σκήπτρῳ for σκήπτῳ (p. 61.7 with Theoph., p. 164.19, apparatus), common to all the *y* manuscripts, and ἴνδικτον for ἴδικτον (pp. 61.17 f. with Theoph., p. 241.1), found only in sixteenth-century *Mon. gr.* 291. This evidence, however, appears insufficient to conclude that the Madrid chronicle depended on that specific family.

C. Mango has shown that the so-called Μέγας χρονογράφος, excerpts of which, spanning the mid-fifth to mid-eight centuries, are found in *Vat. gr.* 1941, was not Theophanes' source, but used the *Chronicle* instead.[55] P. Schreiner surmised that a second short chronicle—*Chronik 2*—in a sixteenth-century manuscript at the Escorial, which covers irregularly the period 730–820 and which would appear to depend almost entirely on Theophanes' text, is in reality independent from it in at least five entries.[56] This is not the place for a detailed discussion of each single entry; it is, however, reasonable to ask whether the differences between Theophanes and the short chronicle really allow for such a conclusion: in entry no. 3, the reference to the revolt of Artabasdos as having lasted two years may stem from a hasty reading of Theophanes; in entry no. 6, the one-year shift is probably accidental; in no. 9, the anonymous chronicler may have had a good reason to anticipate Constantine V's death by one day; in no. 10, the city of Chalcedon may have seemed a more recognizable geographical landmark than Theophanes' "Chrysopolis;" finally, in no. 16, the anonymous chronicler may have misplaced one of the two confrontations between the Byzantines and the Bulgars (no doubt meant by "Slavs") on the river Strymon, mentioned by Theophanes in the later part of the *Chronicle* (pp. 464, 484 f.).

seven years and four months) and Sym. Log., p. 232 (twenty-six years and four months); Leo VI (AM 6388, probably a corruption in the manuscript, since the calculation for Alexander is the correct sum of Basil's and Leo's years): Ps.-Sym., p. 700 with 686 and Sym. Log., p. 260 (Basil, nineteen years); Alexander (AM 6407): Ps.-Sym., p. 715 with 700 (Leo VI, twenty-five years and nine months) and Sym. Log., p. 270 (twenty-five years and eight months); Constantine VII (AM 6408): Ps.-Sym., p. 718 with 715 and Sym. Log., p. 294 (Alexander, one year and twenty-nine days); Romanos II (AM 6456): Ps.-Sym., p. 756 with 718 (Constantine VII, forty-eight years, including Romanos I) and Sym. Log., p. 298 (fifty-five years), this being the only greater adjustment, probably to be ascribed to Ps.-Symeon rather than to the later redaction of the Logothetes.

54. *Anonymi chronographia syntomos e codice Matritensi No. 121 (nunc 4701)*, ed. A. Bauer, Lipsiae 1909, pp. 35–67. Cf. I. Ševčenko, The search for the past in Byzantium around the year 800, *DOP* 46, 1992 (= *Homo Byzantinus: papers in honour of Alexander Kazhdan*), pp. 279–93, at p. 284.

55. Mango—Scott, pp. lxi f. The text in P. Schreiner, *Die byzantinischen Kleinchroniken. 1. Einleitung und Text* (CFHB 12), Wien 1975, pp. 40–5.

56. *Ibid.*, p. 46–9; the text at pp. 47 ff.; entries nos. 3, 6, 9, 10, and 16. See *ibid.* 2. *Historischer Kommentar*, Wien 1977, at pp. 84–96.

In the twelfth century John Zonaras relied heavily upon Theophanes for the years 565–813 in his *Epitome of histories*. There is no reason to doubt that Zonaras knew Theophanes directly.[57] As O. Lampsides has amply illustrated, Constantine Manasses, writing in the middle of the same century, combined Theophanes' and George the Monk's prefaces in the introductory verses of his historical poem.[58] Manasses' contemporary Michael Glycas appears instead to have only known Theophanes indirectly.[59]

R. Tocci has brilliantly shown how the late thirteenth-century historian Theodore Skoutariotes, in his *Synopsis*, combined Theophanes with the latter's source for the reign of Justinian, Procopius, in order to build an image of that emperor that fits his own vision of history.[60] The forthcoming edition, by the same scholar, of Theodore's early *Chronica*, which served as the basis for the *Synopsis*, will certainly shed further, much needed light on the circulation and readership of Theophanes' *Chronicle* in the last centuries of Byzantium.[61] The fourteenth-century author of another historical poem, Ephraim Ainios, knew Theophanes only through Zonaras.[62]

Finally, I would like to call the reader's attention to three mistaken quotes from the *Chronicle* in S. D. Byzantios and S. Kalliadou's ill-famed historical and geographical description of Constantinople.[63] While quoting Theophanes explicitly, the authors never state upon which edition they draw. The first two quotes concern events not covered by Theophanes. In the first one, they attribute to Theophanes a passage actually found, with minor variants, in Symeon the Logothetes and in the above-mentioned tenth-century continuation of Theophanes' *Chronicle*, as well as in a more distant version in the published section of Ps.-Symeon.[64] In the second case, the quote matches Ps.-Symeon alone.[65] The third case is more puzzling, if nothing else because it concerns events actually narrated by Theophanes.

After quoting correctly several lines from AM 6211, Byzantios and Kalliadou reproduce an account of the exchange between the emperor Maurice and the circus factions concerning the choice of the name for the emperor's son: οἱ Βένετοι ἔκραζον Ἰουστινιανὸν καλεῖσθαι· οἱ δὲ Πράσινοι ἔκραζον Θεοδόσιον, διὰ τὸ Θεοδόσιον ὀρθόδοξον γενέσθαι

57. Sauerbrei, *De fontibus Zonarae* (quoted n. 29).

58. *Constantini Manassis breviarium chronicum. 1*, rec. O. Lampsidis (CFHB 36), pp. 5 f., esp. vv. 8 and 21–6, with the textual parallels indicated by the editor in the apparatus. On Manasses' dates, see now *Four Byzantine novels*, transl. with introd. and notes by E. Jeffreys (Translated texts for Byzantinists 1), Liverpool 2012, pp. 273 f.

59. Treadgold, *Middle Byzantine historians*, p. 406 and n. 86.

60. R. Tocci, Der unsichtbare Kaiser : zum Bild Iustinianos' I. bei Theodoros Skutariotes, in *Realia Byzantina*, hrsg. von S. Kotzabassi und G. Mavromatis (Byzantinisches Archiv 22), Berlin – New York 2009, pp. 283–92.

61. I wish to thank Dr. Tocci for updating me on his edition project.

62. See Εφραίμ του Αίνιου, *Χρονογραφία*. Α΄, κείμενο, μετάφραση, σχόλια Ο. Λαμψίδη, Αθήναι 1984, p. 10.

63. Σ. Δ. Βυζάντιος καὶ Σ. Καλλιάδου, *Ἡ Κωνσταντινούπολις*. Α΄-Γ΄, Ἀθήνησιν 1851–69.

64. *Ibid.*, Α΄, p. 113: [*scil.* Ῥωμανὸς ὁ Λεκαπηνὸς] ἐνέφραξε θυρίσι καὶ σανιδώμασι τὰς τῶν Ἐμβόλων στοὰς, ὥστε μὴ τὰς λεγομένας Ἄρκλας ἐν πᾶσι κατεσκεύασε τοῖς Ἐμβόλοις, ἀργύριόν τε κατὰ μῆνα τοῖς πένησιν ἔταξε κτλ. Cf. Theoph. cont., p. 418, Sym. Log., p. 330 f., and Ps.-Sym., p. 743.

65. *Ibid.*, Γ΄, p. 199: μετὰ ῥάσου καὶ ὄνου. Cf. Ps.-Sym., p. 720.

καὶ πολλὰ ἔτη ζῆσαι. Ἤρξαντο οὖν οἱ Βένετοι λέγειν· Τὰ δωρηθέντα ἔτη τῷ Ἰουστινιανῷ ὁ Κύριος παράσχοι σοι ἐν εἰρήνῃ, ὅτι εἰσὶν ϛ´ ἔτη καὶ πλείω· ἡ δὲ ζωὴ τοῦ βασιλέως Θεοδοσίου ἐγένετο ἔτη ν´.[66] In spite of the authors' claim, this passage does not come from the *Chronicle* either. It is, however, practically identical with the second part of a famous *scholion* found, with minor variants, in manuscripts *Vat. gr.* 977 and *gr.* 152, where the content is said explicitly to stem from the "book" of the monk "Isaakios."[67]

As M. Jankowiak and I, still unaware of Byzantios and Kalliadou's quotes, stumbled upon the *scholion* during the early stages of the preparation of the present volume, we were immediately tempted to associate Theophanes with the mysterious Isaakios, in spite of the obvious lack of correspondence in content that probably discouraged our predecessors. "Isaakios" was indeed the name of Theophanes' father and the name by which Theophanes himself was usually called, according to the Greek biographers and encomiasts of the confessor as well as to Anastasius the Librarian (below).[68] I now am far from suggesting on the basis of this example alone that a work of generally low scientific standards such as that of Byzantios and Kalliadou preserves the traces of a lost manuscript of Theophanes. The solution simply escapes me.

Greek hagiography

In 1896, M. I. Gedeon discovered in a twelfth-century manuscript at the Pantokrator monastery on Mount Athos a hagiographic *divertissement* purporting to narrate the life of the founder of the Constantinopolitan monastery of Chora (today's Kariye Camii), Theodore, during the reign of Justinian I (*BHG* 1743). An edition of the text was only provided, from an additional tenth-century manuscript in Genoa, by Ch. Loparev in 1903 and emended in 1906 by Th. Schmidt, who also offered a detailed commentary, fully unveiling the anonymous author's debt to the *Chronicle* of Theophanes.[69]

The hagiographer did not only draw from the *Chronicle* the historical background to his otherwise fictional story, but went as far as to extrapolate and adapt with questionable success bits of the *Chronicle*'s preface. The "genuine friendship" (ἡμῖν ὡς γνησίοις φίλοις) in the name of which George Synkellos entrusted Theophanes with the continuation

66. *Ibid.*, p. 562.

67. The text in P. Maas, Metrische Akklamationen der Byzantiner, *BZ* 21, 1912, pp. 28–51, at p. 29, n. 1: ὅτι εὗρον εἰς τὸ βιβλίον τοῦ ὁσίου Ἰσαακίου τὸν Ἰουστινιανὸν ζήσαντα ἔτη ϛ´ ὀλίγῳ πλεῖον· ἔχει γὰρ οὕτως· Κωνσταντίνα ἡ γαμετὴ Μαυρικίου ἐγέννησεν υἱὸν ὃν ὁ Μαυρίκιος ἐπωνόμασε Θεοδόσιον ὡς τριακοστὸν αὐτοῦ υἱόν. Τῶν οὖν Βενέτων κραζόντων Ἰουστινιανὸν καλεῖσθαι οἱ Πράσινοι [illegible] Θεοδόσιον αὐτὸν καλεῖσθαι διὰ τὸ Θεοδόσιον τὸν βασιλέα ὀρθόδοξον γενέσθαι καὶ πολλὰ ἔτη ζῆσαι. Ἤρξαντο οὖν οἱ Βένετοι λέγειν οὕτως· Τὰ δωρηθέντα ἔτη τῷ Ἰουστινιανῷ ὁ θεὸς παράσχῃ σοι ἐν εἰρήνῃ, ὅτι ἐστὶν ϛ´ ἔτη καὶ πλείω· ἡ γὰρ ζωὴ Θεοδοσίου ἐγένετο ἐνιαυτῶν ν´. I have omitted the variants in *Vat. gr.* 152. Cf. A. Cameron, *Circus factions*, Oxford 1976, p. 143; P. Schreiner, Die Historikerhandschrift Vaticanus Graecus 977: ein Handexemplar zur Vorbereitung des konstantinischen Exzerptenwerkes?, *JÖB* 37, 1987, pp. 1–29, at p. 2, n. 4.

68. See Mango – Scott, pp. [illegible], and Anast., p. 77: *abhinc Hisacius, qui et Theophanes*.

69. M. I. Gedeon, Θεόδωρος ὁ [illegible] κτίτωρ τῆς μονῆς τῆς Χώρας, *ΕΦΣ*, αρχ. δελτ., [illegible] 1896, pp. 19–23; *De S. Theodoro monacho hegumenoque Chorensi, cujus vita illustrata [illegible] historia a Ch. Loparev composita…*, Petropoli 1903 (supplement to *Записки Классического отделения Русского археологического общества* 1, 1904); Ф. И. Шмит, *Кахрие-Джами* I = *ИРАИК* 11, Sofia 1906, pp. 7–23 and 295–301.

of his historical work becomes thus the "genuine childship" (ἡμῖν ὡς γνησίοις τέκνοις) connecting the author of the *Life* to the unnamed μακαριώτατοι καὶ ἅγιοι πάτερες (cf. ὁ μὲν μακαριωτάτος ἀββᾶς Γεώργιος Theoph.) who began work on a biography of Theodore and whose endeavour was, like George's, interrupted by a saintly death (τὸ τέλος τοῦ βίου τούτους κατέλαβε καὶ εἰς πέρας τὸν ἑαυτῶν ἀγαγεῖν σκοπὸν μὴ ἰσχύσαντες; cf. τὸ τέλος τοῦ βίου τοῦτον κατέλαβε καὶ εἰς πέρας ἀγαγεῖν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ σκοπὸν οὐκ ἴσχυσε Theoph.).[70]

C. Mango has recently gone over the *Life* of Theodore in detail, deeply improving our understanding of its relationship to the *Life of Michael Synkellos*, with which it appears to share a source for the history of the monastery of Chora. Mango argued for a date of composition around 840, which would make the *Life* of Theodore one of the earliest attestations of the circulation of the *Chronicle*.[71] Spotting few minor differences between the *Life* and Theophanes, Mango also concluded: "it is not certain that the text of Theophanes used by the author was markedly different from ours. His departures from it may have been due to inattention or other reasons."[72] While this is largely the case, it should be noted that the author of the *Life* mistakenly dates the death of Justin and the accession of Justinian as sole emperor to AM 6021 instead of AM 6019, found in Theophanes. Mango failed to notice that this indication is paralleled in Kedrenos. This was first pointed out by V. N. Beneševič, who, however, did not know that the wrong piece of information stems from the intermediary between Theophanes and Kedrenos: the chronicle of Ps.-Symeon (above).[73]

Incidentally, there is one more substantive discrepancy between the *Life* and the *Chronicle*, which Mango overlooked. The hagiographer attributes explicitly the compilation of the first edition of Justinian's *Codex*, τὰς Νεαρὰς Διατάξεις in Theophanes (AM 6021, p. 177), to both Justin and Justinian (πρὸ τῆς αὐτοῦ αὐτοκρατορίας, ἔτι ζῶντος Ἰουστίνου), lending the work the much more glamorous title of Νέα Κέλευσις τῶν βασιλευόντων.[74] This one isolated reference, however unexplainable, is no good

70. *De S. Theodoro monacho* (quoted n. 69) § 1, p. 1, with Шмит, *Кахрие-Джами* (quoted n. 69), p. 298 and Theoph., p. 3 f. Cf. W. Beneschewitz, Codex Justineus?, *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte. Romanistische Abteilung* 24, 1903, pp. 409–13, at pp. 410 f., n. 2. The author of the *Life* plagiarized Theophanes' preface further.

71. C. Mango, The Life of St. Theodore of Chora and the Chronicle of Theophanes, in *Captain and scholar: papers in memory of Demetrios I. Polemis*, ed. by E. Chrysos and E. A. Zachariadou, Andros 2009, pp. 183–94.

72. *Ibid.*, p. 193.

73. Compare Cedr., I, p. 642 and *Paris. gr.* 1712, fol. 126ʳ: Κόσμου ἔτει ,ςκα´, τῆς θείας σαρκώσεως ἔτει φκζ´. Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς ὁ μέγας. Kedrenos gives here the length of Justinian's reign as it probably appeared in the original Ps.-Symeon postulated by Praechter. He also corrected the numeral for the year of the incarnation into κζ´ and made a puzzling addition to Ps.-Symeon between the account of Justin's funeral and that of Euphrasios' death and Ephraim's ordination at Antioch: τὸν δὲ τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης θρόνον διεῖπεν Ἰωάννης. It is hard to say whether John was mentioned in the original Ps.-Symeon and whether this mention relates to that of a "John" of Jerusalem at this point in the *Life*. Cf. Beneschewitz, Codex (quoted n. 70), p. 410 n. 1.

74. *De S. Theodoro monacho* (quoted n. 69) § 3, p. 2. Cf. Шмит, *Кахрие-Джами* (quoted n. 69), p. 12.

reason to question our firm knowledge of the chronology of Justinian's legislation, as Beneševič believed he should.[75]

Whether Mango's dating is correct or not, the agreement between the *Life* of Theodore and Ps.-Symeon on the date of Justinian's accession suggests that the process of abridgement of Theophanes' text later seen in the mid-Byzantine chronicles was already under way. That such a process could take place quite soon after the *Chronicle*'s publication is illustrated also by the *Paris. gr.* 1710, a condensed version of Theophanes' work, plainly a "Fabricat" in de Boor's words, now dated, on paleographic grounds, to the third quarter of the ninth century.[76]

The author of the *Life* of Theodore was not the only ninth-century "cut-and-paste hagiographer" (Mango) who plagiarized Theophanes. In 869 the author of the *Passio of the martyrs of the Chalke*, celebrating more than a century after the events the alleged victims of the Iconoclast persecution of Leo III, did the same.[77] The relationship between the *Passio* and the *Chronicle* was already clear to the Bollandists, who published it in the *Acta sanctorum*, and was later studied by Loparev and M.-F. Auzépy, so that only a brief comment is in order here.[78] At about the same time as Anastasius the Librarian visited Constantinople (below), the author of the *Passio* used a manuscript later than the one used by the Latin translator, as is demonstrated by at least two errors characteristic of families *x* and *z* in de Boor's classification.[79]

Finally, to the province of hagiography belong the excerpts from Theophanes' *Chronicle* found in *Sinait. gr.* 540 (*olim* 1184), fols. 2^v-4^r, under the heading ἐκ τοῦ μακαρίτου κυροῦ Θεοφάνου τοῦ μεγάλου Ἀγροῦ and are followed in the manuscript by Kedrenos' text. The excerpts were published by Beneševič in the 1911 catalogue of the manuscripts of St. Catherine at Sinai, from P. Uspensky's notes.[80] They serve as a frame to a short account of the life of John of Damascus containing what is to my knowledge unique information on the eighth-century Syrian saint, notably the names and the very notion of four brothers. The excerpts are linked to *Paris. gr.* 1710, as is illustrated by the variant *Χρυσοσυρίου*.[81]

75. Beneschewitz, Codex (quoted n. 53). Unsurprisingly perhaps, Beneševič's appeal had very little resonance: see, e.g., E. Jobbé-Duval, La nature de la *querela inofficiosi testamenti* selon les jurisconsultes byzantins, in *Mélanges Fitting, 1*, Aalen – Frankfurt am Main 1969, pp. 437–65, at p. 443 n. 1.

76. See below and n. 136.

77. *AASS*, Aug., II, pp. 434–47. The circumstances of the composition are explicitly mentioned in the text, at p. 445.

78. Х.М. Лопарев, Византийские Жития Святых VIII-IX веков. Часть 1, *VV* 17, 1910, pp. 1–224, esp. pp. 67–70; M.-F. Auzépy, La destruction de l'icône du Christ de la Chalcé par Léon III : propagande ou réalité ?, *Byz.* 60, 1990, pp. 445–92, at pp. 466–72, with no reference to Loparev.

79. Compare *AASS*, Aug., II, p. 437B, ἐκκλήσεις and λίθους, with Theoph., p. 404, apparatus.

80. В.Н. Бенешевич, *Описание греческих рукописей монастыря святой Екатерины на Синае*. 1, Санкт-Петербург 1911, pp. 448–3. The excerpts are as follows: Theoph., pp. 142.1–5, 143.17 f., 369.8 f. and 11–4, 410.24 f., 416.28–417.21.

81. Theoph., p. 412.3, and apparatus.

Anastasius the Librarian and the Latin West

Anastasius the Librarian, the secretary and Head of archives to the popes was also the author of an important corpus of translations from Greek, in which he appears to have been fluent. Anastasius' linguistic skills must have gained him the confidence of the Frankish emperor Louis II, who sent him on an embassy to Constantinople in late 869 or early 870. On 28 February 870, Anastasius was able to witness the last session of the anti-Photian council regarded as the eighth oecumenical by the Roman Catholic Church.[82] It has been suggested that it was on this occasion that Anastasius came in touch with Theophanes' *Chronicle*,[83] which he translated by 874 as part of a compilation intended to provide his friend John the Deacon with material for the composition of his (never realized) *Ecclesiastical history*.[84] The compilation, *Chronographia tripertita*, included also, as an introduction to Theophanes' text, the chronological tables of the patriarch Nicephorus I (Niceph., *Chron.*) and the chronicle of George Synkellos (Georg. Sync.), in that order.

Anastasius' translation was thoroughly studied by de Boor, who stressed its importance as the fullest, if indirect witness to the Greek archetype, owing to the lamentable state of preservation of the two Vatican manuscripts believed to contain the "better" text.[85] Anastasius' translation corpus at large is the object of growing scholarly attention.[86] I asked elsewhere whether Nikephoros' and George's works were already associated with the *Chronicle* in Anastasius' Greek model as they are in some of the extant Greek manuscripts.[87] Nonetheless, I would like to draw attention to a hitherto overlooked source for the early circulation of Theophanes' *Chronicle*.

This is the response addressed in 871 by Louis II to Basil I, preserved in the tenth-century *Chronicle of Salerno*.[88] The text examines two fundamental issues, which were visibly raised, directly or indirectly, by Basil in a lost letter to Louis: the Frankish emperor's right to the title of *basileus*; the role of the Frankish and Byzantine armies in the recapture of Bari from the Arabs. A passing reference is made to Basil's rude attitude towards the pope. The document is firmly dated between February and 18 August 871,

82. See, e.g., G. Arnaldi, Anastasio Bibliotecario, in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani. 3*, Roma 1961, pp. 25–37, esp. pp. 30 f.

83. Mango – Scott, p. xcvii.

84. Theoph. 2, p. 33 = MGH Ep. 7, p. 419.

85. Theoph. 2, pp. 401–35, with the (perhaps excessive) criticism of Успенский, Очерки (quoted n. 5), pp. 397–419, esp. pp. 413 f.

86. See, e.g., B. Neil, *Seventh-century popes and martyrs : the political hagiography of Anastasius Bibliothecarius* (Studia antiqua Australiensia 2), Turnhout 2006 ; R. Forrai, Anastasius Bibliotecarius and his textual dossiers : Greek collections and their Latin transmission in 9th-century Rome, in *L'Antiquité tardive dans les collections médiévales : textes et représentations, VIe-XIVe siècle*, études réunies par S. Gioanni et B. Grévin (Collection de l'École française de Rome 405), Rome 2008, pp. 319–37, and B. Neil's contribution to this volume.

87. Histories of Byzantium : some remarks on the early manuscripts of Theophanes' *Chronicle*, in *Semitica et classica* 8, Comparative codicology (9th and 10th centuries), ed. by M. Wissa and S. Brock, 2015, pp. 171–6.

88. MGH Ep. 7, pp. 386–394 = *Chronicon Salernitanum : a critical edition with studies on literary and historical sources and on language*, by U. Westerberg (Studia Latina Stockholmensia 3) Lund 1956, § 107, pp. 107–21, and the comments on the archival material in the *Chronicon* at pp. 218 ff.

the approximate date of the recapture of Bari and the day of Louis' kidnap by Count Adelchis during the siege of Taranto resepctively.[89]

The author opens his argumentation with the claim that he has "read much" and is "still reading tirelessly" *(apud nos multa lecta sunt, multa quidem indefesse leguntur)*.[90] He goes on:

> *Leaving aside for the moment the Latin manuscripts, if you only browse through the recently published Greek manuscripts, you shall no doubt find many that are called by this name and that not only the leaders of the Greeks, but also the leaders of the Persians, the Epirotes, the Indians, the Bithynians, the Parthians, Armenians, Saracens, Ethiopians, Vandals, Goths, and other people are honoured with the title of* basileis. […] *Nor is your assertion less surprising, that the ruler of the Arabs should be called* protosymboulos, *for no such title appears in our books and your own manuscripts call him at times* architos, *at times "king," or whatever other word. Now we prefer the Holy Scripture to all literature and the Scripture says that thanks to David the "kings" of the Arabs and Saba—and not the* protosymboloi!*—progressed. We also find that the leader of the Avars, not the leader of the Khazars or the Normans, is called* khagan, *nor is the ruler of the Bulgars called thus, but "king" or "lord" of the Bulgars. All what I am saying on this account, how it all differs from what you have written, you may find out by yourself reading the Greek books.*[91]

In 1906, A. Kleinclausz argued that Louis' letter was an ecclesiastical forgery written by Anastasius, whom he singled out as the only possible candidate mainly because of the notorious fluency in Greek.[92] The fragility of Kleinclausz' complex fraud theory was soon exposed, but the attribution to Anastasius, seen as Louis' ghost-writer, was never contested. N. Ertl proved it abundantly with a thorough comparison of the wording and the biblical quotes in the letter with those of Anastasius' other writings. Her analysis pointed unmistakably to a single author.[93]

It would be pointless to repeat here Ertl's arguments in detail. Not only do we know that Anastasius served as a Western imperial observer at the anti-Photian council, but the Librarian's presence in Naples, close to the Frankish imperial court in Benevento, is well attested in 871 (below). Further on in the letter, the author unveils his political motives:

> *And just as we, because of our faith in Christ, became the seed of Abraham while the Jews, because of their faithlessness, ceased to be the sons of Abraham, we ourselves used to acknowledge the authority of the emperors of the Romans because of their orthodoxy, that*

89. On these events, see B. M. Kreutz, *Before the Normans : Southern Italy in the ninth and tenth centuries*, Philadelphia PA 1991, pp. 36–53.
90. MGH Ep. 7, p. 386.36.
91. *Ibid.*, pp. 387.5–25 and 388.11–8.
92. See R. Poupardin, La lettre de Louis II à Basile le Macedonien : à propos d'un livre récent, *Le Moyen Âge* 16, 1903, pp. 185–202; A. Kleinclausz, La lettre de Louis II à Basile le Macédonien, *Le Moyen Âge* 17, 1904, pp. 45–53; W. Henze, Über den Brief Kaiser Ludwigs II. an den Kaiser Basilius I., *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde* 35, 1910, pp. 663–76.
93. N. Ertl, Diktatoren frühmittelalterlicher Papstbriefe, *Archiv für Urkundenforschung* 5, 1938, pp. 56–132, at pp. 128–132. The doubts expressed by M. McCormick, *Origins of the European economy : communications and commerce AD 300–900*, Cambridge 2001, p. 946, and Neil, *Seventh-century popes* (above n. 86), p. 21, are unfounded. S. Fanning, Imperial diplomacy between Francia and Byzantium : the letter of Louis II to Basil I in 871, *Cithara* 34, 1, 1994, pp. 3–17, adds little to the debate.

> *is their good dogma; but the Greeks, because of their* kakodoxy, *that is bad dogma, have ceased to be emperors of the Romans, abandoning not only the City and seat of the Empire, but also the Roman people and very language, moving to a new city, people, and language.*[94]

The idea of the cessation of the Roman Empire has its roots in early ninth-century Frankish propaganda.[95] Yet nowhere do we find it expressed in similarly clear terms before Louis' letter to Basil. In the same year as this text was written, Anastasius addressed to pope Hadrian II his translation of the acts of the anti-Photian council. In the preface one reads:

> *Since the emperors of the Romans, who are now called Greeks, having become the supporters and frontrunners of numerous misdeeds, barely hesitated over tearing apart the Holy Church of Christ by the means of manifold heresies, God tore apart their Empire and they gradually ceased to reign over the Western parts, while they tried without success to subdue with their wickedness the Roman pontiffs—for this reason they afflicted them in many ways—and thus lost completely their power in the West.*[96]

In sum, there can be no doubt as to the attribution of Louis' letter to Anastasius. Elsewhere in the text, he calls the "Greek manuscripts" more precisely "annals."[97] Anastasius is not simply affecting devotion when he prides himself on "preferring the Holy Scripture to all literature." In the age of Photios, the Byzantines themselves were just starting to copy profane works; it is unlikely that he would be able to draw upon a vast Greek library. It is therefore reasonable to suppose that the "Greek books" and "annals" in question included the *Chronicle* of Theophanes, the translation of which was almost certainly underway in 871. As a matter of fact, nearly all the cases of the application of the title *basileus* to foreign rulers listed by Anastasius with little concern for historical ethnography are found in George Synkellos and, after Diocletian, in Theophanes: Persians,[98] Epirotes, that is King Pyrrhus,[99] Indians, that is the Axumites and the Himyarites,[100] Bithynians,[101] Parthians,[102] Armenians,[103] Saracens,[104] Ethiopians,[105] Vandals,[106] and Goths.[107] The correspondence, however, does not extend to the entire list.

94. MGH Ep. 7, p. 390.9–15.
95. See, e.g., the continuation of the *Annals of Lorsch*, MGH SS 1, s.a. 801: *et quia iam tunc cessabat a parte Graecorum nomen imperatoris, et femineum imperium apud se habebant*. On this text, composed ca. 803, see R. Collins, Charlemagne's imperial coronation and the Annals of Lorsch, in *Charlemagne : empire and society*, ed. by J. Story, Manchester – New York 2005, pp. 52–70, esp. pp. 63 f.
96. MGH Ep. 7, p. 411.35–412.3, now available in a new edition: *Gesta sanctae ac universalis octavae synodi quae Constantinopoli congregate est Anastasio bilbiothecario interprete*, rec., emendavit, adnotation critica instruxit C. Leonardi, post cuius obitum recognovit, prolegomenis, notulis, indicibus exornavit A. Placanica (Edizione nazionale dei testi mediolatini d'Italia 27), Firenze 2012, p. 19.
97. *Ibid.*, p. 389.21: *si revolvas Graecorum annalium*.
98. Georg. Sync., pp. 278, 288, 300 etc. See also the index in Theoph. 2, p. 582, s.v. Βασιλεύς 2.
99. Georg. Sync., p. 320.
100. Theoph., p. 335.
101. Georg. Sync., pp. 333 and 378.
102. *Ibid.*, pp. 343 and 440.
103. Theoph., p. 24.
104. *Ibid.*, p. 64.
105. *Ibid.*, p. 244.
106. See the index in Theoph. 2, p. 684, s.v. Οὐανδῆλοι.
107. *Ibid.*, p. 593, s.v. Γότθοι.

A chronicle composed in the early ninth century could hardly have contained a mention of the Normans, and in fact Anastasius has no alternative title to draw from the *Chronicle*. Theophanes does indeed never apply the title *khagan* to the Bulgars, but it does apply it to the Khazars—and the Avars for that matter.[108] Also, contrary to Anastasius' claim, the caliphs are called *protosymboloi* in the *Chronicle*, although ἀρχηγός, certainly meant by Anastasius by *architos*, is found here and there, notably in the fuller chronological rubrics found at the beginning of several entries.[109] All these titles were transliterated into Latin by Anastasius in the *Chronographia tripertita*. Anastasius is no doubt also behind a marginal note which betrays knowledge of the debate carried on in Louis' letter: *protosymbolus graece primus consiliarius interpretatur; quia enim principem Saracenorum graeci regem vocare refugiunt hunc protosymbolum vocant quasi primum consilia dantem.*[110] How to explain Anastasius' failure to spot the titles in question?

It may or may not be a coincidence that, on one occasion when quoting from Theophanes in the *De administrando imperio*, Constantine VII produces precisely the variant ἀρχηγός for πρωτοσύμβουλος, which de Boor failed to indicate in his apparatus.[111] The most economical solution to the conundrum, however, has been suggested to me by C. Zuckerman. It consists in admitting that by August 871 Anastasius had only read Theophanes' *Chronicle* down to about two thirds of its length, that is where the traceable references to the text in Louis' letter end. Thus we gain an unhoped for insight into the *Chronicle*'s readership. There are two further points which I would like to stress: (1) Anastasius, in the letter, speaks of Greek annals that have been "recently published" (*noviter editos*), which suggests that, to his knowledge at least, the *Chronicle* had not been available for a long time; (2) the error *architos* for *archigos* points to Anastasius' Greek model being written in uncial, which is interesting, although perhaps not entirely surprising data for paleographers.

Others in Italy were at work on Theophanes' text besides Anastasius. As we shall see, the second part of the *Deeds of the Neapolitan bishops*, composed in 872 by the local deacon John, share a few lines with the *Chronicle* (below). The circulation of Theophanes' text in Naples is easily explained by the Librarian's presence there in 871, attested by the *Life* of Bishop Athanasius by the Neapolitan clerk Guarimpotus.[112] The same Guarimpotus, in the commentary to his Latin translation of the *Passio of Peter of Alexandria* (*BHG* 1052), quotes explicitly an extensive fragment on Constantine's baptism from Theophanes' AM 5814, translating it independently from Anastasius.[113] It

108. *Ibid.*, p. 722, s.v. Χαγάνοι.
109. *Ibid.*, p. 577, s.v. Ἀρχηγός, and 695, s.v. Πρωτοσύμβουλος.
110. *Ibid.*, p. 225 apparatus. Cf. P. Chiesa, "Interpretes et expositor": le traduzioni non sufficienti di Anastasio Bibliotecario, *Euphrosyne*, n.s. 28, 2001, pp. 173–84, esp. p. 183.
111. Compare *DAI* § 21.34–7, p. 86, with Theoph., p. 356.15–7, the earliest occurrence of the word in the *Chronicle*. It should be noted that the title ἀρχηγός is standard use in *DAI*, whereas only πρωτοσύμβουλος appears in *De cer.*, II, 48, p. 686.
112. MGH SS rer. Lang., p. 447, with G. Arnaldi, Anastasio Bibliotecario a Napoli nell' 871: nota sulla tradizione della "Vita Athanasii episcopi neapolitani" di Guarimpoto, *La cultura* 17, 1980, pp. [illegible].
113. The old edition in *Bibliotheca Casinensis* 3, Monte Cassino 1877, is not easily accessible. Here is a transcription of the relevant passage (pp. 189 f.), with modified orthography: *Sciendum preterea est* [illegible] *inveniuntur in patria lingua quae superius transferre conati* *sumus. sed quaedam eorum ex libello decerpere studuimus qui vitam et gesta sanctissimi refert Athanasii, quadam vero ex chronica quam Georgius reverentissimus monachus atque syncellus Tarasii patriarchae ex autenticis chronographis nobilissima serie componere studuit. Caepit enim a primo anno Iulii Caesaris et pervenit usque ad primum annum horrendae memoriae Dioclitiani. Mox autem humano preoccupatus debito vitam finivit. Postulatusque ab eo Theophanes aeque venerabilis monachus atque yguminus monasterii quod appellatur Sinagro reliqua usque ad secundum annum Michaelis et Theophilactis simili studio subrogavit. Et quoniam clementissimi imperatoris Constantini fecimus mentionem, tale quiddam de eo prefatum Theophanem inter caetera referentem audio, ut hoc latinis auribus celare sacrilegum sit. Dicit enim: Nono decimo anno imperii sui Constantinus maior post tyrannorum interfectionem scilicet Maximiani Herculei et Maximini atque Licinii baptizatus est cum Crispo filio suo sicut aiunt a papa Silvestro apud seniorem Romam. In baptisterio sancti baptistae Iohannis quod usque hodie in eius testimonio perdurat. Qui vero in Oriente sunt Arriana dolositate circumventi nolunt eum a Silvestro baptizatum. Sed erga obitum suum in Nicomedia ab Eusebio Arriano, adicientes, ideo se baptizari differebat ut Iordanis baptismate tingeretur. Sed hoc omnino falsissimum atque fabulosum est. Arriani enim suum dogma colorare cupientes, id per quaedam pape Miltiadis transmissiones affirmare nituntur. Ceterum nobis verissimum apparet, quod non ab Eusebio sed a beato Silvestro Romae sit baptizatus. O misera vesania, adeo pium imperatorem malignum ostendere desudant, ut absque baptismo fuisset quando in sancta synodo trecentorum et octo patrum communi devotione resedit. Procul hinc procul effuge daemonica simulatio. Quomodo enim consequens est ut homo ethnicus absque divini baptismatis purificatione apud eandem synodum cum sanctis patribus oraret; communionem sacrosancti corporis et sanguini Chrisiti perciperet? Hoc omnino nefas est ad audiendum, quanto minus ad consentiendum.* On the attribution to Guarimpotus, see P. Devos, L'œuvre de Guarimpotus, hagiographe napolitain, *AnBoll* 76, 1958, pp. 151–88, esp. pp. 176 f.

is noteworthy that here, as in Anastasius' translation, the yearly entry is introduced by the extended reference to the "nineteenth [*sic*] year of the reign of Constantine" rather than by the complete chronological rubric found in the Greek and the standard formula "in this year."[114] Whether this means that Anastasius' working copy, upon which Guarimpotus certainly depends, could omit the rubrics in favour of simpler chronological indications and whether this relates to the similar phenomenon observed in the Slavonic indirect tradition will perhaps remain open questions (below).

A Syriac readership?

In 1971 the late G. C. Hansen expressed the view that, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, Michael the Syrian and the anonymous compiler of the *Chronicle of 1234* depended on Theodore Lector's Church histories via the *Chronicle* of Theophanes. In support of his idea, Hansen illustrated several cases in which the late Syriac Orthodox chronicles present information found in Theodore's work with ellipses and distortions that are characteristic of Theophanes' text.[115]

Hansen's theory did not find its way into the debate around the relation between Theophanes and the Syriac historiographical tradition, which has, since L. I. Conrad's 1990 paper, almost entirely focussed on the delimitation of a hypothetical source for the seventh and eighth centuries common to all these authors. Notoriously, this source

114. Cf. Theoph., p. 17, in the eighteenth year of Constantine with, following the grid, the *incipit* τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει, and Theoph. 2, p. 81, *Octavo decimo sane imperii sui anno*.
115. Theod. Lect., pp. xxxiv f. with A. Hilkens' contribution to this volume, summarizing Hansen's arguments and partially subscribing to the latter's hypothesis. Much of what follows stems from hours of spirited dicussion with Dr. Hilkens and with Dr. M. Conterno. To them I am greatly indebted.

is identified with the lost historical work of Theophilus of Edessa († 785), to which Michael and the anonymous chronicler had only mediate access through an earlier Syriac chronicle, by Dionysius of Telmahre († 845), and with which Agapius of Manbij, writing in Arabic in the tenth century, and perhaps others still appear to have been familiar.[116] If indeed the Syriac chroniclers had access to Theophanes, as Hansen thought, be it beside another common source, any inadvertent reconstruction of this common source risks being flawed by the attribution of bits of narrative that may in fact stem from Theophanes.

Hansen's hypothesis was based on a limited sample pertaining to the fourth century. Remarkably, in the list of fourth- and fifth-century parallels between Theophanes and the late Syriac chronicles drawn by A. Hilkens in the present volume, the Syriac chronicles offer additional information in only one case. This is a detail concerning Emperor Valens' death by burning after the battle of Adrianople, which, according to Michael and the *Chronicle of 1234*, happened in a "straw-barn" ("maison de la paille" in Mich. Syr., transl. I, pp. 294 f.; simply *palea* in *Chron. 1234*, transl., p. 132).[117] This detail is paralleled in the *Church history* of Arian historian Philostorgius as preserved in Photios' epitome and is included in the last fragment of the hypothetical Arian history surmised by J. Bidez in 1913, itself believed to be among Theophanes' sources.[118] More interestingly, the same detail appears in one dependant of Theophanes, Ps.-Symeon (above).[119]

D. Afinogenov has studied thoroughly the Greek tradition about Valens' death. References to a "straw-barn" with the peculiar word ἀχυρών—a probable allusion to the Greek proverb "the donkey fled to the barn"—can be traced back to a lost five-century anti-Arian source already reflected, for example, in the sixth-century *Life of Isaakios* (*BHG* 956).[120] It seems reasonable to assume that Ps.-Symeon—and, following him, Kedrenos, who did otherwise follow Theophanes—had this detail simply from Symeon, for all these authors use the term ἀχυρών.[121] Philostorgius himself (or rather Photios) and George the Monk in the redaction of *Paris. Coisl.* 305 speak of a store building for "hay" (χόρτος), and of a χορτοβόλος respectively.[122]

Michael and the *Chronicle of 1234* could not have drawn any information on the fourth century from Theophilus. Whether Theophilus' work is pictured as a short, recent history or a world chronicle, it only reached its Syriac dependants by means of Dionysius,

116. L. I. Conrad, Theophanes and the Arabic historical tradition, *Byz. Forsch.* 15, 1990, pp. 1–44. See the contributions in the section of this volume devoted to the topic.

117. Theoph., AM 5870, p. 65, uses the words οἰκίσκος and οἰκία.

118. See Hilkens in this volume, pp. 409–10.

119. See Praechter, *Quellenkritische Studien* (quoted n. 5), pp. 64 f. (*Paris. gr.* 1712, fol. 97r), attributing the detail to the phantom *Epitome* (see above).

120. Д. Е. Афиногенов, Гибель императора Валента в греческой историографической традиции, *Индоевропейское языкознание и классическая филология* 16, 2012 (= *Материалы чтений, посвященных памяти профессора Иосифа Моисеевича Тронского, 18–20 июня 2012 г.*), pp. 34–41.

121. Cf. Sym. Log., XCIII, 2, p. 118, apparently mistaking the word for a toponym; cf. Афиногенов, Гибель императора Валента (quoted n. 120), p. 36, n. 2.

122. See Афиногенов, Гибель императора Валента (quoted n. 120), pp. 35 f., overlooking Philostorgius' testimony in this respect (IX, 17, ed. Bidez, p. 124). It is unclear to me why the short redaction of George the Monk agrees with Philostorgius if, as Afinogenov thinks, it was drastically abridged in this section.

whose own chronicle certainly began with the late sixth century.[123] It is hard to tell which branch of the Greek tradition the late Syriac chroniclers were in touch with, but much speaks for the existence of an additional source, whether Arian or not, rather than for the dependence of the Syriac sources on a more complete text of Theophanes or on the latter's dependants. Thus the Greek word ἄγρος, found in Philostorgius (in the plural) and Malalas in reference to the place where Valens sought refuge after being defeated at Adrianople, was transliterated into Syriac.[124]

One more parallel between Theophanes and the Syriac chronicles before Theophilus has been highlighted by J. van Ginkel.[125] This is the abdication speech of Justin II. Michael and the chronicler of 1234 conflate the versions of John of Ephesus and Theophylact Simocatta.[126] The latter is reproduced by Theophanes as well and it is tempting to believe that they borrowed it from Theophanes or a source close to him.[127]

Finally, I would like for my part to draw attention to the fact that Theophanes and Michael the Syrian present an almost word-for-word parallel account of Pope Leo III's flight to France leading to Charlemagne's imperial coronation at Christmas 800. This fact was duly pointed out but left unexplained by the English translators, who also overlooked a third parallel, identified by Paul Speck in the second part of the Latin *Deeds of the Neapolitan bishops*.[128] Whatever the place of the Western tradition,[129] it is useful to put the three texts side by side only in order to notice that Michael's version is extremely close to Theophanes', which it would appear to abridge and distort.

123. See Hoyland, *Theophilus*, p. 11.

124. See Philost., ed. Bidez, App. VII., p. 241, frs. 48a-b; Mal., XIII, 35, p. 265; cf. Афиногенов, Гибель императора Валента (quoted n. 120), p. 35.

125. J. van Ginkel, A man is not an island : reflections of the historiography of the early Syriac Renaissance in Michael the Great, in *The Syriac Renaissance*, ed. by H. Teule & C. Fotescu Tauwinkel (Eastern Christian studies 9), Leuven – Paris – Walpole MA 2010, pp. 113–21, at pp. 116 f., suggesting that Ignatius of Melitene, Michael's main source for Byzantine events for the period after Dionysius, might be responsible for the transmission of "several longer [Greek] texts." This hypothesis would appear to run up against Michael's very presentation of Ignatius' work, which did start with Constantine and which Michael indeed claims to have used sporadically even for the period covered by Dionysius, as, however, "passant sur les temps très brièvement et comme d'un pas rapide" (Mich. Syr., XIII, 1, transl., III, p. 112).

126. Joh. Eph., *HE* III, 5, transl., pp. 92–5; Theoph. Sym., III, 11, pp. 136 ff.; Mich. Syr., X, 15, transl., II, pp. 334 ff.; *Chron. 1234*, transl., pp. 163 ff.

127. Theoph., AM 6070, pp. 248 f. The preserved text of Theophanes and his Greek dependants presents here a faulty reading (*contra* Mango – Scott, p. 369, n. 3), mistaking "sycophants" for "soldiers," which is found in no manuscript of Theophylact and is not reflected in the Syriac chronicles.

128. Theoph., AM 6289, pp. 472 f.; Mich. Syr., XII, 5, transl., III, pp. 17 f.; MGH SS rer. Lang., p. 428, with P. Speck, *Kaiser Konstantin VI. : die Legitimation einer Fremden und der Versuch einer eigenen Herrschaft*, München 1978, pp. 372 f. Cf. Mango – Scott, p. 473.

129. See above, on Anastasius. In spite of the correct date, the event is misplaced by Theophanes, who has, however, a doublet on Charles' coronation in the entry for the correct year, AM 6293.

Theophanes (transl. Mango – Scott)	*Deeds*	Michael (transl. Chabot)
In the same year, too, the relatives of the blessed Pope Adrian in Rome roused up the people and rebelled against Pope Leo, whom they arrested and blinded. They did not manage, however, to extinguish his sight altogether because those who were blinding him were merciful and took pity on him. He sought refuge with Charles, king of the Franks, who[130] took bitter vengeance on his enemies and restored him to his throne, Rome falling from that time onwards under the authority of the Franks. Repaying his debt to Charles, Leo crowned him emperor of the Romans in the church of the holy apostle Peter after anointing him with oil from head to foot and investing him with imperial robes and a crown on 25 December, indiction 9.	At that time, some impious men conspired against Leo, the head of the Roman seat, and kidnapped him. As they tried to gouge out both his eyes, one of the eyes only was slightly injured during the fight. But Leo, taking refuge with King Charles, promised him that, if Charles would defend him from his enemies, the Pope would crown him with the imperial diadem. Charles, at hearing the promise he had hoped for, set out immediately with a large army and, capturing Rome, restored him to his seat. The pope crowned Charles straight away and took appropriate revenge on his enemies.	À cette époque, il y eut à Rome une grande sédition. Ils se coalisèrent contre le patriarche Adrianus et lui crevèrent les yeux, mais <pas> complètement ; parce que celui qui fut chargé de les lui crever usa de miséricorde ; alors il se retira chez les Francs, car à cette époque Rome était sous la domination des Francs.

Once again, the parallel lies outside the scope of Theophilus' chronicle in Dionysius and it is tempting to believe that Michael depended on Theophanes.[131] As in the case of Justin II's speech, however, we might just be faced with a popular tract, which enjoyed independent circulation.

Thus, Hansen's arguments concerning the fourth century seem hard to reject. A rejection would oblige us to postulate, on top of the epitome through which Theophanes himself knew Theodore Lector, yet another obscure intermediary, which should have reached Theophanes and the Syriac authors independently.[132] The evidence for the later centuries is, however, far from conclusive, so that my reflections are delivered to a more competent audience in the hope that they will stimulate further debate.

In short, an erratic use of Theophanes by the late Syriac chroniclers (and perhaps by Agapius as well?), via whatever intermediary, might offer a fairly economic explanation for some oddities in the commonly accepted reconstruction of Theophilus' *Chronicle*. I am thinking of the inclusion of elements of narrative in turn shared by Theophanes and the patriarch Nikephoros and thus stemming beyond reasonable doubt from their common Byzantine sources.[133] After all, speaking of the emperor Nikephoros I a few lines before the account of Pope Leo III's *entente* with Charlemagne, Michael the Syrian

130. This is de Boor's necessary correction to the manuscripts, which make Leo the subject of the following verbs. In the *Deeds*, however, it is indeed Leo who takes revenge on his own enemies. Speck's reconstruction of the "original" Greek with the help of the *Deeds* is implausible.

131. G. T. Calofonos, Dream narratives in historical writing : making sense of history in Theophanes' "Chronographia", in *History as literature in Byzantium*, ed. by R. Macrides, Farnham 2010, pp. 133–44, at pp. 140 f., made a similar suggestion for the account of Constans II's death, commonly attributed to Theophilus (Hoyland, *Theophilus*, pp. 162 ff.). Calofonos seems to overlook the evidence of Agapius.

132. On the transmission of Theodore's works, see B. Pouderon's contribution to this volume.

133. For an example of this, see Hoyland, *Theophilus*, pp. 196–9, on the account of Justinian II's return to power.

mentions "un des écrivains chalcédoniens" who "accuse ce Nicephorus de beaucoup de choses," a description that fits Theophanes' notorious account of that emperor's ten vexations under AM 6302.[134]

Conclusions

I have refrained from devoting a chapter to the Slavonic Theophanes, rediscovered in this volume by A.-M. Totomanova. All I can presently add to Prof. Totomanova's introduction is that, if she, as I believe, is right in dating the translation to Photios' times, the Slavonic compilation represents another early witness to the joint circulation of George Synkellos' and Theophanes' works; too, the Slavonic text provides additional early evidence to the existence of the chronological rubrics in Theophanes' text. Both Anastasius—and Guarimpotus for that matter—and the Slavonic text substitute the standard formula "in this year" which follows the rubric at the beginning of each yearly entry in the Greek with the formula "in the nth year" of such and such emperor. Since the formula "in this year" is found in both branches of the tradition of the *Chronicle*, including manuscripts derived from Anastasius's ultimate Greek model, one may surmise that in Photios' times a manuscript with the formula "in the nth year" was produced, which served as the model for both Anastasius and the Slavonic translator. Its place in de Boor's stemma should be sought between Anastasius' model and Anastasius (A).[135]

Recent attempts at modifying de Boor's *stemma* must be rejected in the absence of a full reappraisal of the textual variants.[136] As we have seen, however, the *Chronicle*'s indirect tradition is larger (although rarely better) than the editor suspected. Its study is promising in view of a new edition incorporating even higher philological standards. The indirect tradition is also interesting in its own right for cultural historians of early medieval Europe and the Middle East, for it offers insights in the early circulation of the *Chronicle* that could not be gained from the direct tradition and clues as to how Byzantine history was read and used, or misused, at times very far from within Byzantium itself.

134. Mich. Syr., transl., III, p. 16.

135. See, *contra*, M. Jankowiak in this volume, p. 60 and n. 30.

136. See Brandes, as in note 4, and Id., Pejorative Phantomnamen im 8. Jahrhundert : ein Beitrag zur Quellenkritik des Theophanes, in *Zwischen Polis, Provinz und Peripherie : Beiträge zur byzantinischen Geschichte und Kultur*, hrsg. von L. M. Hoffmann unter Mitarbeit von A. Monchizadeh (Mainzer Veröffentlichungen zur Byzantinistik 7), Wiesbaden 2007, pp. 93–126, at p. 94 n. 3, on recent work on *Paris. gr.* 1710 in the wake of B. Fonkič's new dating of the manuscript to the first half of the 9th century: Б. Л. Фонкич, О датировке и происхождении Парижского списка "Хронографии" Феофана (*cod. Paris. gr.* 1710), in *Византийские очерки : труды российских ученых к XIX международному конгрессу византинистов*, Москва 1996, pp. 183–6 with ill., reprinted in Id., *Греческие рукописи европейских собраний. Палеографические и кодикологические исследования 1988–1998 гг.*, Москва 1999, pp. 47 ff. See now F. Ronconi and J. Signes-Codoñer in this volume, both with different conclusions from my own.

THE *CHRONICLE* OF THEOPHANES THE CONFESSOR IN THE SLAVIC TRADITION

by Anna-Marija Totomanova

A chronological compilation preserved in five Russian manuscripts of the 15th–16th centuries contains the first pages of the *Chronicle* of Theophanes the Confessor in Old Church Slavonic. Only four of these manuscripts were known until the mid-1980s: two at the Russian State Library in Moscow, Undol'skiy 1289 and Egorov 908, and two at the National Library of Russia in St. Petersburg, Sofiyskiy 1474, and Soloveckiy 829/839.[1] The Undol'skiy has long been considered to be the earliest and lies at the basis of my edition.[2] However, another witness of the *Chronicle* has recently been discovered in Egorov's collection (Egorov 863). It is dated by a marginal note to 1452 and appears therefore to be the earliest extant witness.[3] From the textual point of view, Egorov 863 does not differ markedly from the other Moscow copies, except for a few minor omissions, word shuffles and lexical changes.[4]

The compilation was first simply identified as a Slavonic version of the *Chronicle* of George Synkellos and therefore overlooked. While preparing the edition, however, I found out that:

- its first part (about two-thirds of the work, e.g. fol. 405^r, l. 1–458^v, l. 15 in Undol'skiy 1289) contains an excerpt from the *Chronography* of Julius Africanus from the Creation of the world to the Resurrection;
- the second part is in fact a translation of the end of the *Chronicle* of George Synkellos from the Resurrection to the reign of Diocletian (458^v, l. 15–482^v, l. 19 in Undol'skiy 1289), to which the first pages of the *Chronicle* of Theophanes the Confessor were added with no solution of continuity (482^v, l. 20–488^v, l. 20).

1. Хр. Трендафилов, Наблюдения върху славянския превод на хрониката на Георги Синкел. *Palaeobulgarica/Старобългаристика* 14, 1990, pp. 100–10, at p. 102; О. В. Творогов, Хроника Георгия Синкелла в Древней Руси, in *Исследования по древней и новой литературе*, Leningrad 1987, pp. 215–9, at p. 217.
2. А.-М. Тотоманова, *Славянската версия на хрониката на Георги Синкел (Издание и коментар)*, София 2008.
3. Т. В. Анисимова, *Хроника Георгия Амартола в древнерусских списках XIV-XV вв.*, Москва 2009, pp. 89–93.
4. Н. В. Бражникова, Из наблюдений над списками славянского перевода Хроники Георгия Синкелла, in *Лингвистическое источниковедение и история русского языка*, Москва 2000, pp. 106–18.

Studies in Theophanes, ed. by M. Jankowiak & F. Montinaro (Travaux et mémoires 19), Paris 2015, pp. 207–35.

There can be little doubt that the text was first compiled in Greek in Byzantium in the 9th century. H. Gelzer already believed that an excerpt of Julius Africanus' *Chronography* on Old Testament history existed at about this time within a larger chronographic compilation later used by Greek chronographers such as George the Monk, Leo the Grammarian (in fact, Symeon Logothetes) and Cedrenus.[5] The compilation was probably meant to support the missionary expansion of Byzantium by providing a short but comprehensive account of the Christian history of the world. The short introduction to the *Chronicle* (fol. 405r, ll. 1–15) contains excerpts from *Orations* 28 and 38 of Gregory of Nazianzus, which describe the heavenly and angelic ranks.[6] I shall come back to the question of the origin of the compilation.

As for the Slavonic translation, the linguistic analysis reveals: the ancient use of the letter for *ižitsa (ypsilon)* for the back labial vowel; traces of Glagolitic letters in the numerals; errors in the division of the Greek text, which are typical of the earliest translations of the Bible; ancient forms of the second sigmatic aorist in first conjugation verbs with liquid consonant root, which are otherwise characteristic of the early Russian copies of Old Bulgarian originals; substantial differences in the adaptation of Greek borrowings in comparison to the classical Old Bulgarian texts; ancient and rare lexeis common to the classical Old Bulgarian corpus, the early Russian copies of Old Bulgarian originals and the language of John the Exarch.[7] All these features indicate that the Slavonic translation of the lost Byzantine compilation was made in the early Old Bulgarian period, probably in the early 10th century, when the literary norms of the Old Bulgarian (Old Church Slavonic) language were not well established and the Glagolitic alphabet was still in active use.[8] The Christian focus of the compilation fits the Bulgarian reality of that time, when neophytes needed a clear account of the Christian history of the world and the Bulgarian kings aspired to be recognized as equal to other Christian rulers.[9]

The first part of the compilation contains a coherent narrative of Old Testament history and part of the history of Ancient Rome, Persia and the Hellenistic world. Its backbone is formed by twenty-three chronological entries, each containing Africanus' dates and calculations, which allowed the identification[10]. The dates were calculated according to years of succession (**прѣимьнаа лѣта**), i.e. the age of the fathers at the time

5. H. Gelzer, *Sextus Julius Africanus und die byzantinische Chronographie. 2, Die Nachfolger des Julius Africanus*, Leipzig 1898 (repr. New York 1997), p. 297.

6. Тотоманова, Славянската версия (quoted n. 2), pp. 407 f.

7. *Ibid.*, pp. 591–672.

8. A.-M. Totomanova, A lost Byzantine chronicle in Slavic translation, *Studia Ceranea* 1, 2011, pp. 191–204, at 201 f.

9. Трендафилов, Наблюдения върху (quoted n. 1), p. 104.

10. Тотоманова, *Славянската версия* (quoted n. 2), pp. 574–86; Totomanova, A lost Byzantine chronicle (quoted n. 8), pp. 193–201; Ead., Giulio Africano e la tradizione storiografica slava, in *Vie per Bisanzio. VII Congresso nazionale dell'Associazione italiana di studi bizantini, Venezia, 25-28 novembre 2009*, a cura di A. Rigo, A. Babuin e M. Trizio, Venezia 2013, pp. 749–69, at pp. 750–66. Parts of Africanus' text are preserved in Greek and Latin fragments, published by Routh in the 19th century (*Reliquiae sacrae sive auctorum fere iam perditorum secundi tertiique saeculi post christum natum quae supersunt*, etc., notisque illustravit M. J. Routh, Oxonii 1814, pp. 225–309) and, more recently, by M. Wallraff, *Iulius Africanus Chronographiae: the extant fragments*, hrsg. von M. Wallraff, übers. von W. Adler (GCS Neue Folge 15), Berlin 2007. In 2008 (pp. 514–38) I listed all the extant Greek fragments that are represented in the Slavonic text.

of the birth of the first sons, and by the duration of the reign of successive Jewish rulers (**воеводами**).

This main chronological frame[11] is backed up by another chronological scheme, in which events are dated by Olympiads, the first one coinciding with the first year of the reign of Achaz, or AM 4726. The Olympian dating was introduced to organize the information about the Hellenistic and Roman worlds and weave it into the main historical account. It is worth mentioning that neither Synkellos, nor Theophanes use the Olympian dating and this supplementary chronological line stops in fact at the Resurrection.

The second part of the compilation differs from the first by the number of the chronological observations and their frequency. In the historical account from the Creation of the world to the Resurrection of Christ, such chronological digressions appear in average every two folios, whereas in the entire following part there are only two of them. The latter could be explained by the different chronological scope of the two parts—the first covering more than five and a half millennia, the second a period of about three hundred years. The limited number of such digressions also reveals a different approach to reporting events—the first part synthesizes the whole pre-Christian history of the world in 50 folios (100 pages) as evidence of the fulfillment of God's providence, whereas the second one gives a detailed account of events during the first three centuries of Christianity before it became an official religion. The chronological concept of the second part reflects the calculations of Synkellos and the dates of the main events do not correspond to Africanus'.

In addition to the date of Creation (**отъ адама**) Synkellos introduces another dating scheme: the fall of the Jewish Kingdom and the destruction of Jerusalem that took place in the second year of Vespasian. As a result, each date in his final chronological observations on Jewish history on fol. 466r is replaced within this chronological frame and the sum of the years before it (the date is calculated from Adam) and the years after it (from the fall of Jewish Kingdom) equals 5567. Such an approach to dating is totally inconsistent with that observed in the first part of the chronological compilation, where dates are calculated from the Creation and intermediate periods are sums with symbolic meanings.

The fitting together of the two parts of the compilation is rather mechanical: the chronology of the Resurrection marks the end of the Africanus' excerpt and starts with Africanus' date (year 5531), but ends with Synkellos' date for the Resurrection (5534). This is followed by Synkellos' account, in which calculations, however, follow Africanus' dating system (fol. 458v in Undol'skiy). The same applies to the date of the Flood (2262 according to Africanus), which was merely replaced with Synkellos' date (2242), but without correction of the supporting calculations. This phenomenon occurs invariably in the entire second part of the compilation. The two parts also record different versions of the story of Herod Agrippa (455r, l. 11–455v, l. 2 and 460v, l. 26–461r, l. 12).

The editorial intervention of the compiler in the first part mainly consisted in eliminating the pre-Olympic history of all ancient nations except for the Jews. The twelve references to Africanus as to the authority of some historical entries reveal a strong editorial voice. They serve as a connection between the first and the second part, in which Africanus is mentioned twice by Synkellos as a prominent historian and the author of

11. See Africanus' chronology as reconstructed in Adler – Tuffin, pp. lxxii f.

both the *Chronography* and the Κεστοί.[12] As we shall see, it is hard to say whether editorial interventions in the second part, mainly focusing on reducing redundant entries, stem from the compiler or from the Slavonic translator.[13]

Already the discoverer of the compilation, V. Undoľskiy (1816–4) identified the excerpt from Theophanes' *Chronicle* at the end of its second part.[14] The excerpt begins at AM 5777, thus continuing Synkellos' account. It covers the whole reign of Diocletian and the first twenty years of Constantine the Great, until the *vicennalia* coinciding with the foundation of Constantinople. There is no indication of the authorship of the excerpt, as there is no reference to either Africanus or Synkellos as authors of the previous parts of the compilation. The Slavonic text represents an abridged version of Theophanes' narrative as known from de Boor's edition. The editorial interventions affect both the chronology and the content. It is not always possible to attribute them with certainty to the Greek compiler or to the Slavonic translator.

There is for example an obvious effort to uniform the dating in the excerpts of Synkellos and Theophanes, which led to the following results. First, our text usually records the whole duration of the reign of both rulers and bishops. Constantine's reign is given thirty-one years and a half, which seems to indicate the use of a different Greek source. Nicephorus' *Chronographia brevis*, for example, gives Constantine thirty-one years. This short chronicle was translated in Bulgaria in the early 10th century as part of a Byzantine legal compilation, the *Kormčaja kniga*.[15] Secondly, unlike Synkellos, Theophanes usually reports this kind of chronological data not in the body of the text, but separately, in a rubric which precedes each yearly entry.[16] In the Slavonic excerpt only the years of the emperors are usually recorded in a similar fashion at the beginning of each AM entry, as, e.g., at fol. 482v, l. 24: Въ десатоі лѣто, or at 483r: Въ. аı лѣто диѡкли҄тнановѡ. Thirdly, the succession of the rulers and bishops, which was regularly recorded by Theophanes, is here left out with two exceptions: Sabores is presented as the ninth emperor of Persia under the 19th year of Diocletian and the second bishop of Byzantium is mentioned under AM 5815.

The Slavonic text does not provide enough evidence to state that the rubrication was consistently reproduced in its Greek original, yet it must have been present at some stage, as is illustrated by the line перьскы̏ цр҃ь оу҆рарѧ̀. а҃. лѣ҃. т҃д. аı҃. ı҃. ѕ҃. т҃д. ѳı. at fol. 482v, l. 24.

Here the numeral т҃д. (304) seems to be the result of the merging of the year of the Incarnation т҃. (300) with the "fourth" year of Diocletian, д҃. The numeral аı҃. (11) for the years of Varranes must again stem from the faulty merging of а҃. (1) and the following number ı҃. (10 years, for Galus), whereas the following indication of the (16) years of the bishop of Jerusalem, Hymenaios, was divided mechanically into two different numerals, ı҃. and ѕ҃. After the first four numbers that correspond to the 4 names listed before the copyist repeats the year of the Divine Incarnation 300 merged with the fourth year of the

12. See further [illegible], *Славянската версия* (quoted n. 2), pp. 588 f.
13. See my comments to the edition of Theophanes' excerpt below.
14. В. М. Истрин, Из области древне-русской литературы, *Журнал министерства народного просвещения*, август 1903, pp. 381–416, at p. 390.
15. The text was published by В. Н. Бенешевич, *Древнеславянская кормчая XIV титулов без толкований*, София 1987, pp. 218–29.
16. See de Boor, in Theoph. 2, pp. [illegible].

emperor and continues with the numbers 5 and 10, perceived as a single number ѳı. (15). It looks as if the compiler or the translator decided in advance which entries were to be preserved: the appointment of Maximianus Herculius as co-emperor in the fourth year of Diocletian, the accession of Narses in his fifth year and the appointment of Constantius and Maximianus Galerius as caesars in the tenth. The changes in the numerals, however, could have occurred only on Slavic soil, and for two reasons. First, this rubrication does not appear any further in the excerpt, which suggests that it appeared meaningless to the Slavonic translator or copyist. Secondly, the numerals for 11–19 in both the Glagolitic and the Cyrillic alphabets are written with one letter for the units followed by the letter for "10," which probably led to the interpretation of the Greek numerals α΄. ι΄. as one number, аı҃., and, viceversa, of the Greek ις΄. as two separate numbers, ı҃. ѕ҃.

A number of episodes and passages of the Greek Theophanes are not found in the Slavonic text. Omissions are also frequent in the Synkellos section. The Slavonic version does not include: the triumph of Diocletian and Maximian Galerius before their abdication (Theoph., p. 10.14–7); Constantine's order to report the water level of Nile in the church instead of the temple of Serapis (p. 16.24 ff.); the second part of the narrative about Arius, which Theophanes placed under the 17th year of Constantine (p. 17.14–22); the mention of the heretics who doubted Constantine's baptism (p. 18.2–5); the complete genealogy of Constantine (pp. 18.8–19.24) followed by the entry about Licinius (pp. 19.25–21.19). The lists of bishops are also substantially reduced. Only three Roman bishops are mentioned (Marke[linus] under AM 5786, Miltiades under AM 5789, and Silvester under AM 5797 and 5804), three bishops of Alexandria (Theonas under AM 5777, Peter under 5786, and Alexander under 5802 and 5804), two of Antioch (Tyrannos under AM 5777 and "Eusebius," corrupted from "Eustathius" under AM 5807). A bishop of Jerusalem is mentioned without name under the same year. Starting with AM 5810, only the bishops of Byzantium are listed. Ironically, the name of the first bishop, Metrophanes, is corrupted, whereas a further one is referred to only as the *second bishop of Byzantium*.

The errors and omissions in chronology and content are interdependent, i.e. the omission of regnal or episcopal years caused the omission of some names and viceversa, and the expunction of some episodes caused shifts in dating. This resulted in the following discrepancies:[17]

	Compilation	Theophanes
1	10th year of Diocletian	9th and 10th years of Diocletian
2	12th year of Diocletian (AM 5789)	12th (AM 5788) and 13th (AM 5789) years of Diocletian
3	16th year of Diocletian	17th year of Diocletian
4	17th year of Constantine the Great	18th year of Constantine the Great
5	20th year of Constantine the Great (AM 5815)	19th (AM 5815) and 20th (AM 5816) years of Constantine the Great

As a consequence, even important events such as the baptism of Constantine or his *vicennalia* are listed under different years. The merging of Constantine's 19th and 20th years produced another important difference: Constantine's *vicennalia* and the Council of

17. The table does not record the deviations caused by scribal errors or stemming from the hypothetical Glagolitic protograph, commented upon below.

Nicaea occur in AM 5815 in the compilation, whereas according to Theophanes both events took place in AM 5816.

All in all, it seems that the author of the compilation was just looking for a suitable text to complement Africanus' excerpt. A statement of Patriarch Photius, one of the most brilliant intellectual and spiritual leaders of the 9th century, might explain why the work of Africanus was chosen to become the basis of a compilation and why Africanus' final section was instead replaced with a more detailed account of Christian history. In his *Bibliotheca*, Photius says: "The *History* of Africanus was read. […] Although he is concise, he overlooks nothing in need of historical record. He begins with the Mosaic cosmogony and continues down to the *parousia* of Christ. He also gives a cursory account of events from Christ up to the reign of the Roman emperor Macrinus, at which date, as he tells us, the work concludes, consisting of 5723 years […]."[18] It was no doubt the authority of Photius that led to the translation of the chronological compilation in Bulgaria during the reign of Tsar Simeon, himself a spiritual and intellectual pupil of the patriarch.[19]

To conclude, although the Slavonic excerpt is too short to invite far-reaching conclusions about the textual history of Theophanes' *Chronicle*, my observations hopefully shed more light on the working methods of Greek and early Bulgarian compilers and editors.

Text

The text follows my 2008 edition and is roughly a diplomatic transcription of Undol'skiy 1289 (Und.). A few readings are restored from the other manuscripts. The English translation of the Slavonic text is adapted from that of the original Greek in MANGO – SCOTT. The smaller font in the Greek text marks the passages that are missing in the Slavonic translation.

18. Quoted in *Julius Africanus Chronographiae* (quoted n. 10), p. 19, T11 (translation).
19. See further TOTOMANOVA, A lost Byzantine chronicle (quoted n. 8), pp. 202 f.

SLAVONIC	ENGLISH	GREEK
[482r] мирьскы лѣ҃. ͵е҃. ѱ҃. сͦо҃з. рїмскый цр҃ь диѡклитїа лѣ҃. к҃д. александрьскы феѡна лѣ҃. ѳ҃і. антїохиискїи еппъ тиранъ ѳ҃і летъ.[(1)]	AM 57[77]. Year of the world 5700 and 277. Diocletian, emperor of the Romans 24 years. Theonas of Alexandria 19 years. Tyrannos, bishop of Antioch 19 years.	Κόσμου ἔτη ͵εψοζʹ. Τῆς θείας σαρκώσεως ἔτη σοζʹ. Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς Διοκλητιανὸς ἔτη κʹ. αʹ. Περσῶν βασιλεὺς Οὐαρράχης ἔτη ιζʹ. ιεʹ. Ῥώμης ἐπίσκοπος κθʹ Γάϊος ἔτη ιεʹ. ζʹ. Ἱεροσολύμων ἐπίσκοπος κηʹ Ὑμέναιος ἔτη κδʹ. ιγʹ. Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐπίσκοπος ιςʹ Θεωνᾶς ἔτη ιθʹ. ιαʹ. Ἀντιοχείας ἐπίσκοπος ιθʹ Τύραννος ἔτη ιγʹ. βʹ. βʹ. ιςʹ. ηʹ. ιδʹ. ιβʹ. γʹ. γʹ. ιζʹ. θʹ. ιεʹ. ιγʹ. δʹ.
пeрьскы цр҃ь оурара. а҃. лѣ҃. т҃д. а҃і. і҃. ѕ҃. т҃д. еі. въ четвертоі лѣто максиана ерокулїа ѡбѣщника црьтвоу своемꙋ.	[AM 5780]. Vararanes, emperor of the Persians 1 year. [Diocletian] 304. [Vararanes] 11. [Gaius] 10. [Hymenaios] 6. [Theonas] 304. [Tyrannos] 15. In the fourth year, [Diocletian appointed] Maximianus Herculius as partner in his rule.	Περσῶν βασιλεὺς Οὐαραράνης ἔτος αʹ. δʹ. αʹ. ιʹ. ιςʹ. ιδʹ. εʹ. Τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει Διοκλητιανὸς Μαξιμιανὸν τὸν Ἑρκούλιον κοινωνὸν ἀνέδειξε τῆς αὐτοῦ βασιλείας τῷ τετάρτῳ αὐτοῦ χρόνῳ.
прьскы цр҃ь нарсн. лѣ҃. к҃.	[AM 5781]. Persian emperor Narses 20 years.	Περσῶν βασιλεὺς ζʹ Ναρσῆς ἔτη ηʹ. εʹ. αʹ. ιαʹ. ιζʹ. ιεʹ. ςʹ. ςʹ. βʹ. ιβʹ. ιηʹ. ιςʹ. ζʹ. Τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει Διοκλητιανὸς καὶ Μαξιμιανὸς ὁ Ἑρκούλιος Ὀβούσιριν καὶ Κόπτον, πόλεις ἐν Θήβαις τῆς Αἰγύπτου, εἰς ἔδαφος κατέσκαψαν ἀποστατησάσας τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς. ζʹ. γʹ. ιγʹ. ιθʹ. ιζʹ. ηʹ. ηʹ. δʹ. ιδʹ. κʹ. ιηʹ. θʹ. θʹ. εʹ. ιεʹ. καʹ. ιθʹ. ιʹ.
Въ десятоі лѣто диѡклитїа с максимьано еркоулїемь. кеса постависта два. констатїа и максиана. галерїа. и дасть диѡклитїанъ. дщерь своѭ женѣ галерїю. а еркоулїи максимїанъ. съпрѧ [483r] дщерь своѭ феѡдроу къ костантїю. тѣмь и ѡба имѣста женѣ. но ѿстоуписта и.	[AM 5785]. In the tenth year, Diocletian with Maximianus Herculius appointed Constantius and Maximianus Galerius as the two Caesars. And Diocletian gave his daughter to Galerius in marriage and Maximianus Herculius joined his daughter, Theodora, to Constantius, though both already had wives whom they divorced.	Τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει Διοκλητιανὸς καὶ Μαξιμιανὸς ὁ Ἑρκούλιος καίσαρας ἐποίησαν Κωνστάντιον καὶ Μαξιμιανὸν Γαλλέριον. καὶ ὁ μὲν Διοκλητιανὸς δέδωκε τὴν ἑαυτοῦ θυγατέρα πρὸς γάμον τῷ Γαλλερίῳ, ὁ δὲ Ἑρκούλιος Μαξιμιανὸς Θεοδώραν, τὴν ἑαυτοῦ θυγατέρα, τῷ Κωνσταντίῳ συνέζευξεν, καίτοι γε ἑκατέρων γαμετὰς

(1) A later hand added the sign **V** in the margin, to indicate an omission.

ἐχόντων, ἃς ἀπώσαντο διὰ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς βασιλεῖς στοργήν.

[illegible] ѥп҃ъ марꙗ лѣтъ. ѳ҃і. [illegible] ѥп҃ъ петръ [illegible] лѣ. а҃і.

[AM 5786]. Marke [sic], bishop of Rome 15 years. Peter the Martyr, bishop of Alexandria 11 years.

Ῥώμης ἐπίσκοπος Μαρκελλῖνος ἔτη β´. Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐπίσκοπος Πέτρος ὁ μάρτυς ἔτη ια´.
ι´. ϛ´. α´. κβ´. α´. ια´.

Въ то лѣто александ[illegible] [illegible]

In this year Alexandria along with Egypt was led into revolt against the Romans by Achilleus but did not hold out against them. Many Egyptians fell in this revolt.

Τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει Ἀλεξάνδρεια σὺν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ εἰς ἀποστασίαν ὑπὸ Ἀχιλλέως ἀχθεῖσαι οὐκ ἀντέσχον τῇ Ῥωμαίων προσβολῇ, καθ' ἣν πλεῖστοι ἀνῃρέθησαν, δίκην δεδωκότων τῶν τῆς ἀποστασίας αἰτίων.
ια´. ζ´. β´. κγ´. β´. ιβ´.

Въ. а҃і. лѣто [illegible] [illegible]

[AM 5787]. In the eleventh year of Diocletian, Diocletian and Maximianus Herculius caused a great and terrible persecution of the Christians and martyred many myriads, torturing them in all possible ways and working much harm, as Eusebios Pamphilou says.

Τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει Διοκλητιανὸς καὶ Μαξιμιανὸς ὁ Ἑρκούλιος διωγμὸν μέγαν καὶ φρικωδέστατον κατὰ Χριστιανῶν ἤγειραν καὶ πολλὰς μυριάδας μάρτυρας ἐποίησαν, παντοίας βασάνους ἐπινοοῦντες καὶ πολλὰ κακὰ ἐργαζόμενοι, περὶ ὧν τις ἐπερχόμενος τὴν η´ βίβλον τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἱστορίας Εὐσεβίου τοῦ Παμφίλου εἴσεται.

[illegible]

[AM 5788]. Year of the world 5789. Year of the divine Incarnation 289. Emperor of the Romans 12.

Κόσμου ἔτη ,εψπη´.
Τῆς θείας σαρκώσεως ἔτη σπη´.
Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς Διοκλητιανὸς ἔτη κ´. ιβ´.
Περσῶν βασιλεὺς ζ´ Ναρσῆς ἔτη η´. η´.
Ῥώμης ἐπίσκοπος λ´ Εὐσέβιος ἔτος α´. α´.
Ἱεροσολύμων ἐπίσκοπος κη´ Ὑμέναιος ἔτη κδ´. κδ´.
Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐπίσκοπος ιζ´ Πέτρος ἔτη ια´. γ´.
Ἀντιοχείας ἐπίσκοπος ιθ´ Τύραννος ἔτη ιγ´. ιγ´.

Въ. в҃і. лѣто [illegible] [illegible] державша [illegible][a] [illegible]

In the twelfth year of Diocletian, after Amandus and Aelianus had led a revolution, Maximianus Herculius went out and crushed [them]. Krasos, too, rose up and gained control of Britain while the Quinquegentians took Africa and Achilleus Egypt. But after Krasos had ruled for three

Τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει νεωτερισμοῦ γεγονότος ἐν Γαλλίαις ὑπὸ Ἀμάνδου καὶ Αἰλιανοῦ Μαξιμιανὸς ὁ Ἑρκούλιος διαβὰς καθεῖλεν αὐτούς· ἀλλὰ καὶ Κράσος ἀντῆρε καὶ Βρεττανίαν κατέσχεν, καὶ οἱ πέντε Γεντιανοὶ τὴν Ἀφρικήν, καὶ Ἀχιλλεὺς τὴν Αἴγυπτον. ἀλλὰ Κράσον μὲν

вꙑ преѵидъ побѣда. кесарю константиѥви. въ. ѕ҃. чс҃. ѥдино дн҃и. и побѣдиша и. и сѧ пакꙑ съдолѣть. тогда бо ѿлани. вои костантиѥвꙑ въꙁгнаша. и къ градꙋ пригнаша. а сеи въ слѣ градаши. въ<жа>щи имоу вої. ꙁаключеномь соущемь гранѣ врато. и не бꙑ лꙁѣ внити костантиѥви. да тоу и ратьници ѩти. но гражане оуже свѣсивше въꙁвлѣкоша и к себѣ. да въ градѣ сꙑ оукрѣпивъ моужа своѧ. иꙁꙑде на ѿланꙑ и славнѣ побѣди ѧ. ѩко до ш<ес>ти тꙑсащь моу. исѣче и. а максимиѣанъ иркѹлїи. пѧть гентиѣанъ въ афрїкии потоми. диѡклитиѣанъ въ алексанрїи ахилеа погоуби. баше с ни и костатин. снъ костантиновъ, [483'] ѕѣло дѣтескъ сꙑ. ти доблесть свою ѿвоуча в рати. и гда вида диѡклитиѣанъ. и ꙁавида имꙋ ѿтаи погоубити и хотѧше. бъ же сего чюднѣ доведе и ѿцю предасть своѥмꙋ.

years, the prefect Asklepiodotos destroyed [him]. In Gaul, Constantius the Caesar met with an unexpected reversal of fortune, for in a period of six hours of the same day he was both defeated and victorious. Indeed, the Alaans slaughtered Constantius' army and pursued it right up to the walls. He followed his fleeing army. And since the gates were closed, Constantius could not enter inside the walls in order not to be captured by the enemy. But then the citizens let down a rope from the wall and dragged him up. Once inside he exhorted his men, led them out, and gained a brilliant victory over the Alans, of whom he slaughtered almost six thousand. Maximianus Herculius overcame the Quinquegentians in Africa. Diocletian destroyed Achilleus in Alexandria. Constantius' son Constantine was with him and was distinguishing himself in the battles. When Diocletian saw [that] he became jealous of him and wanted to destroy him treacherously. But God led him miraculously and restored him to his father.

ἐπὶ τρισὶν ἔτεσι τὴν Βρεττανίαν κατασχόντα Ἀσκληπιόδοτος ὁ ἔπαρχος ἀνεῖλεν. ἐν δὲ ταῖς Γαλλίαις ἀγχίστροφος ἐκ παραδόξου γέγονε Κωνσταντίῳ τῷ καίσαρι τύχη· ἐν ὥραις γὰρ ἓξ τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρας καὶ ἡττώμενος ὤφθη καὶ νικῶν ἀπεδείχθη. ἄρτι μὲν γὰρ ἐπικλύσαντες οἱ Ἀλαμάνοι τῷ Κωνσταντίου στρατῷ ἄχρι καὶ εἰς τὰ τείχη κατεδίωξαν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἠκολούθει τελευταῖος φεύγοντι τῷ στρατῷ. ἐπειδὴ δὲ κεκλεισμένων τῶν πυλῶν οὐδὲ ἔσω τοῦ τείχους ἠδυνήθη εἰσελθεῖν, χεῖρας ἐξέτεινον οἱ πολέμιοι πρὸς τὸ συλλαβεῖν αὐτόν· σχοίνους δὲ καθέντες ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους ἀνείλκυσαν αὐτόν. ἔσω δὲ γενόμενος καὶ τὸν στρατὸν παραθαρσύνας, ἐπεξελθὼν τοῖς Ἀλαμάνοις νίκην ἔσχε λαμπράν, ὥστε ἑξακισχιλίους πεσεῖν. Μαξιμιανὸς δὲ ὁ Ἑρκούλιος τῶν πέντε Γεντιανῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀφρικῇ ἐκράτησεν. Διοκλητιανὸς δὲ ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ τὸν Ἀχιλλέα καθεῖλεν. συνῆν δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ Κωνσταντῖνος, ὁ υἱὸς Κωνσταντίου, κομιδῆ νέος ὑπάρχων, ἀριστεύων ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις. ὃν ὁρῶν Διοκλητιανὸς φθόνῳ κινηθεὶς δόλῳ ἀνελεῖν ἐσπούδαζεν. θεὸς δὲ τοῦτον παραδόξως διέσωσε καὶ τῷ πατρὶ ἀπέδωκεν.

Перьскꙑ црь ѡрмисда лѣ. ѕ҃. римскꙑ ѥпъ молтїадъ лѣта д҃.

[AM 5789]. Hormisdas, emperor of the Persians 6 years. Miltiades, bishop of Rome 4 years.

Περσῶν βασιλεὺς Ὁρμίσδας ἔτη ϛ´.
Ῥώμης ἐπίσκοπος Μιλτιάδης ἔτη δ´.
Ἱεροσολύμων ἐπίσκοπος κθ´ Ζάβδας ἔτη ι´.
ιγ´. α´. α´. α´. γ´. ιδ´.

Въ третьи на десать лѣ. оуїтирїи воевода сановвитꙑ хртїанꙑ. хоудꙑ вѣдꙑ

In the thirteenth year the army commander Veterius harassed the Christians in the army,

Τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει Οὐετήριος στρατοπεδάρχης τοὺς ἐν στρατείᾳ Χριστιανοὺς ἤλαυνε

[a] The Slavonic text may be corrupted here. The expected object of державша, красии, is placed at the beginning of the sentence, in the nominative.

[illegible] after which the persecution began to smoulder against all.

μετρίως. ἔκποτε τοῦ κατὰ πάντων ὑποτύφοντος διωγμοῦ. Ἀντιοχείας ἐπίσκοπος κ´ Βιτάλιος ἔτη ς´.
ιδ´. β´. β. β´. δ´. α´.
ιε´. γ´. γ´. γ´. ε´. β´.
ις´. δ´. δ´. δ´. ς´. γ´.
Ῥώμης ἐπίσκοπος λβ´ Σίλβεστρος ἔτη κη´.
ιζ´. ε´. α´. ε´. ζ´. δ´.

[illegible]

[AM 5793]. In the sixteenth [sic] year Maximianus Galerius was sent out by Diocletian against the Persian emperor Narses who was fighting in Syria and plundering it. And after he first met him near Kallinikon and Karrhai, Maximianus showed himself weak in the battle. While he was fleeing from the battle, he met Diocletian travelling in a carriage. However, Diocletian did not take the Caesar on, but made him run in front of himself.

Τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει Μαξιμιανὸς Γαλλέριος κατὰ Νάρσεως, τοῦ τῶν Περσῶν βασιλέως, τὸ τηνικαῦτα τὴν Συρίαν καταδραμόντος καὶ ληϊζομένου, ἀπεστάλη ὑπὸ Διοκλητιανοῦ. καὶ συμβαλὼν αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν πρώτην μάχην ἡττᾶται περὶ Καλλίνικον καὶ Κάρρας. ἐπανιὼν δὲ ἐκ τῆς φυγῆς ὑπήντησε Διοκλητιανῷ ἐπ᾽ ὀχήματος φερομένῳ. ὁ δὲ τὸν καίσαρα μετὰ τοῦ ἰδίου σχήματος οὐ προσδεξάμενος ἀφῆκεν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον τρέχειν καὶ προηγεῖσθαι τοῦ ὀχήματος.

[illegible]

Later, after a large force had been collected, Maximianus Galerius was again sent out to do battle with the emperor Narses and this time it went well, since he attempted and achieved what no one else had managed. For he chased Narses into inner Persia, slaughtered [sic] his entire army, his wives, children, and sisters, and captured everything he had with him.

μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα συναχθείσης δυνάμεως πολλῆς πάλιν Μαξιμιανὸς ὁ Γαλλέριος καῖσαρ ἐπὶ τὸν Νάρσεως πόλεμον ἐκπέμπεται χρησάμενος δεξιᾷ τύχῃ, τολμήσας καὶ πράξας ἃ μηδεὶς ἕτερος. τόν τε γὰρ Νάρσεα μέχρι τῆς ἐνδοτέρας Περσίδος ἐδίωξε καὶ κατέσφαξε πᾶν τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ τὰς τούτου γυναῖκας καὶ παῖδας καὶ ἀδελφὰς παρέλαβε καὶ πάντα ὅσα ἐκεῖνος ἐπεφέρετο, χρημάτων θησαυροὺς καὶ τοὺς ἐν Πέρσαις λαμπρούς, μεθ᾽ ὧν

[illegible]

Returning with this, he was welcomed and honoured by Diocletian who was then based in Mesopotamia. They all waged campaigns against many nations and defeated them all. And feeling superior due to these successes Diocletian

ἐπανελθόντα Διοκλητιανὸς ἐν Μεσοποταμίᾳ διάγων ἀσμένως ἐδέξατο τιμήσας. καὶ ἰδίᾳ ἕκαστος καὶ κοινῇ πάντες οὗτοι πρὸς πολλοὺς τῶν βαρβάρων πολεμήσαντες πάντα κατώρθωσαν. ἀρθεὶς δὲ

[illegible]

покланѧти сѧ и не цѣловати. ꙗко ... и обоуще си бисеры и златомь и каменїи чтныи. костантиноу сноу костантїевоу на востоцѣ и палестинѣ ходѧщоу. и христїаньскы живоущоу. видѧ сего галерїи максимїанъ. моудра оумомь и силна тѣломь. и на оученїе остроу памѧти.

demanded that the Senate and nobility make obeisance to him and not merely salute him as protocol had previously required. He adorned even his footwear with pearls and gold and precious stones. While Constantius' son Constantine was in the East and in Palestine living as a Christian, Galerius Maximianus saw his intelligence of mind, strength of body, and aptitude in education,

ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν πραγμάτων εὐροίας Διοκλητιανὸς προσκυνεῖσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν συγκλητικῶν, καὶ οὐ προσαγορεύεσθαι κατὰ τὸ πρότερον σχῆμα ἀπῄτησεν, ἐκαλλώπισε δὲ καὶ τὰς βασιλικὰς ἐσθῆτας καὶ τὸ ὑπόδημα χρυσίῳ καὶ μαργαρίταις καὶ λίθοις τιμίοις. Κωνσταντίνου δέ, τοῦ υἱοῦ Κωνσταντίου, ἐν τῇ ἀνατολῇ καὶ Παλαιστίνῃ διάγοντος καὶ τὰ Χριστιανῶν φρονοῦντος, ὁρῶν τοῦτον ὁ Γαλλέριος Μαξιμιανὸς συνέσει ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος ῥώμῃ καὶ τῇ περὶ τὴν παίδευσιν εὐφυΐᾳ προκόπτοντα μαντευσάμενός τε τοῦτον καταλυτὴν ἔσεσθαι τῆς τυραννίδος καὶ τῶν δογμάτων αὐτοῦ, δόλῳ θανατῶσαι τοῦτον ἐσκέψατο.

[484r] имоуща завистью мышлѧаше оуморити и. бжїемь промысломь. лесть емоу разоумѣвшоу. ꙗкы двдъ главоу свою оунесе. и прииде къ своемоу отцоу. и с нимь многа хвалы добрѣ дарьствова. и и добрѣ доправи[5].

and full of jealousy [sic] planned to murder him. But through divine providence Constantine, like David, learned of the plot, escaped and went to his own father, and with him gave many [gifts] to Christ who had showed him the way.

θείᾳ δὲ προμηθείᾳ τὸν δόλον μαθών, ὡς Δαβίδ, φυγῇ τὴν σωτηρίαν πορίζεται καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἴδιον πατέρα διασώζεται, πολλὰ σὺν αὐτῷ τῷ Χριστῷ εὐχαριστῶν τῷ σώσαντι αὐτόν.
ιη´. ς´. β´. ς´. η´. ε´.

въ. ні. лѣто диѡклитиѡнѣ. фиѡтекна послоушаѧ. вълхва галерїи максимїа трѣбоу твора бѣсомъ. вълѣзе въ вертепъ. фиѡтекнъ вѣсть изнесе семоу. хрїаны гонити. а памѧти[6] ѿ себѣ сътвори[7] хвы. и всюдоу а расла на обрѫганиѥ[8]. и оучителѣ повелѣ дѣти изоучити из оусть.

[AM 5794]. In the eighteenth year of Diocletian's rule, persuaded by the magician Theoteknos, Galerius Maximianus was sacrificing to demons. Having crept into his cave, Theoteknos gave him an oracle to raise a persecution of Christians. He invented the Memoirs of Christ and sent these everywhere as an insult and ordered school-teachers to teach them to their pupils.

Τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει Θεοτέκνῳ γόητι πειθόμενος ὁ Γαλλέριος Μαξιμιανὸς ἐν τῷ θύειν τοῖς δαίμοσι καὶ λαμβάνειν χρησμούς, ὑποδὺς τῷ ἄντρῳ ὁ Θεότεκνος χρησμόν, κατὰ Χριστιανῶν ἐγεῖραι διωγμόν, τούτῳ δέδωκεν. τὰ δὲ ὑπομνήματα τοῦ σωτῆρος ἐπλάσατο καὶ πανταχόσε ἐφ᾽ ὕβρει ἀπέστειλε καὶ τοῖς γραμματοδιδασκάλοις τοὺς παῖδας διδάσκειν προσέταξεν, ὡς διαγελᾶσθαι τὸ καθ᾽ ἡμᾶς μυστήριον παρασκευάζων.

[illegible]

(5) The Slavic translator replaced the Greek participle σώσαντι with a subordinate clause. The verb доправи, however, rather means "show the way" or "bring to a happy end."
(6) ὑπομνήματα.
(7) ѿ себѣ сътвори is a clumsy translation of the Greek mediopassive aorist ἐπλάσατο.
(8) на обрѫгание Und.

саворъ цр҃ь. ѳ҃. лѣ ѳі. Въ
се лѣто запоѣда. цр҃кви
хр҃тиꙗньскы раздрити. да
[illegible] и книгы [illegible] иерѣ
и вса хр҃тиꙗны на моукꙋ
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

[AM 5795]. Emperor Sabores 9. [Diocletian] 19 years.

In this year [the emperor] ordered to destroy the Christian churches, burn the sacred books and hand over the clergy and all Christians for torture. This was the most terrifying persecution of all, producing countless martyrs because of their love for Christ.

Περσῶν βασιλεὺς θ΄ Σαβώρης ἔτη ο΄.
ιθ΄. α΄. γ΄. ζ΄. θ΄. ς΄.
Τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει προστάγματα βασιλικὰ ἐδόθη, τὰς ἐκκλησίας τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐδαφίζεσθαι καὶ τὰς θείας βίβλους κατακαίεσθαι, ἱερεῖς δὲ καὶ πάντας Χριστιανοὺς βασάνοις παραδίδοσθαι καὶ θύειν εἰδώλοις ἀναγκάζεσθαι. καὶ ἦν οὗτος ὁ διωγμὸς πάντων φρικωδέστατος ἀναριθμήτους μάρτυρας ἀποτελέσας.
κ΄. β΄. δ΄. η΄. ι΄.

Въ. к҃. лѣто дїоклитїанова. дїоклитїанъ. и максимїанъ ирькоулїи [illegible] цр҃тва са [illegible]. и [illegible] [illegible]. и дїоклитїанъ въ салинѣ далматїистѣмь своѥ градѣ [illegible]. а иркоулїи максимїанъ в лукаонїи.

[AM 5796]. In the twentieth year of Diocletian, Diocletian and Maximianus Herculius in their madness gave up their rule and assumed private status. Diocletian lived privately in his own city at Salon in Dalmatia while Maximianus Herculius lived in Lykaonia.

Τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει Διοκλητιανὸς καὶ Μαξιμιανὸς ὁ Ἑρκούλιος ἐξ ἀπονοίας τὴν βασιλείαν ἀπέθεντο ἰδιωτικὸν ἀναλαβόμενοι σχῆμα. καὶ Διοκλητιανὸς μὲν κατὰ Σάλωνα τῆς Δελματίας τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πόλιν ἰδιωτεύων βιοῖ, Ἑρκούλιος δὲ Μαξιμιανὸς ἐν Λυκαονίᾳ. πρότερον τὴν ἐπινίκιον ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἐπιτελέσαντες πομπήν, ἐν ᾗ προεπόμπευον μὲν Ναρσέου τῶν ὀχημάτων τὸ πλῆθος καὶ αἱ τούτου γυναῖκες καὶ παῖδες καὶ ἀδελφαί· μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ ἀναχωρήσαντες διῆγον ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν,

а въ [illegible] мѣсто ѥю постависта цр҃твоста. на въстоцѣ максимїана галерїа. а западомь страни костантїа око[?] а мало [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] печалаше са.

And in their place they appointed Galerius Maximianus to rule the East and Constantius the West. Since the latter was satisfied with a small share [of the Empire], he was very gentle and kindly in manner and did not concern himself with filling the palace with riches. Rather he took care of his subjects.

καταστήσαντες ἀντ' αὐτῶν βασιλεύειν τῆς μὲν ἑῴας Γαλλέριον Μαξιμιανόν, τῶν δὲ ἑσπερίων μερῶν Κωνστάντιον, ὃς ὀλίγῳ μέρει τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀρκούμενος λίαν ἦν ἥμερος καὶ ἀγαθὸς τὸν τρόπον, καὶ οὐδὲν αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸ ταμιεῖον ἐσπουδάζετο· μᾶλλον γὰρ τοὺς ὑπηκόους θησαυροὺς ἔχειν ἐβούλετο. καὶ τοσοῦτον ἦν ἐγκρατὴς περὶ χρημάτων κτῆσιν, ὥστε καὶ πανδήμους ἐπιτελεῖν ἑορτὰς καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν φίλων

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

He often provided public banquets and honoured his men with gifts and the Gauls loved him very much, because they remembered the

συμποσίοις τιμῶν ἠγαπᾶτο πάνυ παρὰ τῶν Γάλλων τῷ πικρῷ Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ τῷ φονικῷ Μαξιμιανοῦ τοῦ

[?] [illegible]

дїоклитїана. и гоуленїа максимїана. прилагаюци сего доброты. к сихъ злобамъ. иже гонизоша сїи костатїемъ. съ же добрѣ живъ тꙋ оумрѣ въ британїи. цр҃твовавъ [484ᵛ] лѣ. аі. постави въ себе мѣсто сна своего прьвѣнца костатина. живъ сы прї всѣми людми своими. соущи тоу и дрꙋгы сего сномъ. и ѥмоу брата соуть ѿцемъ. рекше костантїнꙋ костатїи бо и анавалланꙋ иже дламатїи ѥ. ѿ ѳеѡры роженыма. иркоулїевы дщери. костатїи бо ѿ ѥлены са р҃о прьвыа ѥмоу жены. а ѿць сїи костатїи дщери клавдїа цр҃а снъ бѣаше. а галерїи зать дїоклитїанꙋ бѣаше дщерїю. тогда галерїи максимїа въ италїю пришед постави. в҃. цр҃а. да максима свое постави на востоцѣ. сиврѣ въ италїи. а римстїи вои максентїа поставиша цр҃а в римѣ сна иркоулїева. максимїана цр҃а. да сего ра҃ и иркоулїи въсхотѣ пакы цр҃твоу. и съвлачити нача сноу своѥмꙋ максентїю ѿдежоу цр҃коую. нача мыслити. и зати костатина ѿтаи оуморити. да ѿ сна ѿгнаша и дроугеи. а на зать мысла ѩщоу смрть прїа злоѥ дѣла дщери ѥмоу ѳавоустѣ проповѣдавши на нь.

Ѥѵсевїи пакы памфиловъ. глеть рекы дїоклитїа оумъ погꙋбивъ. и съ иркоулїемь цр҃тва са ѿврьгша. раничьское житїи прїаста. да иркꙋлїи са оудави. а дїоклитїа

severity of Diocletian and the persecutions of Maximianus and contrasted his kindness with the evil deed of those [men], from which they had escaped because of this Constantius. He had a good life there and died in Britain after ruling eleven years. Still in life he appointed his own first-born son Constantine to succeed him as emperor in the presence of the entire army, though he had other sons, that were brothers to Constantine, namely Constantius and Anaballianos, also called Dalmatius, who were born to Herculius' daughter Theodora. For Constantine was born by his first wife Helena. Their father Constantius was the son of the emperor Claudius' daughter, while Galerius was Diocletian's son-in-law, being married to his daughter. Next Galerius Maximianus went to Italy and appointed two Caesars. He placed his own son Maximianus in charge of the East and Severus in charge of Italy. But the troops in Rome proclaimed Maxentius, son of Maximianus Herculius as emperor in Rome. As a result Herculius, eager for the throne once again, attempted to strip his own son Maxentius of the royal garments and to kill his son-in-law Constantius [read Constantine] by treachery. But he was hindered in the attempt against his son by the troops, and after his daughter Fausta testified against him he was killed for his evil acts. Eusebios Pamphilou states that Diocletian, having taken leave of his senses, retired from the throne along with Herculius and took up a private life. And

Ἑρκουλίου συγκρινόντων, ὧν ἀπηλλάγησαν δι' αὐτοῦ. οὗτος τελευτᾷ ἐν Βρεττανίαις βασιλεύσας ἔτη ια΄, ἀναγορεύσας ἀντ' αὐτοῦ βασιλέα Κωνσταντῖνον τὸν πρωτότοκον υἱὸν αὐτοῦ ζῶν ἔτι ἐπ' ὄψεσι παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ, περιόντων καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν αὐτοῦ παίδων τῶν ὁμοπατρίων Κωνσταντίνου, Κωνσταντίου, φημί, καὶ Ἀναβαλλιανοῦ, τοῦ καὶ Δαλματίου, γεννηθέντων ἐκ Θεοδώρας, θυγατρὸς Ἑρκουλίου. ὁ γὰρ Κωνσταντῖνος ἐξ Ἑλένης ἦν, τῆς προτέρας γυναικὸς Κωνσταντίου. ὁ δὲ Κωνστάντιος, ὁ τούτων πατήρ, θυγατρίδης ἦν Κλαυδίου τοῦ βασιλέως, Γαλλέριος δὲ γαμβρὸς Διοκλητιανοῦ ἐπὶ θυγατρὶ Βαλερίᾳ. τότε Γαλλέριος Μαξιμιανὸς ἐπὶ Ἰταλίαν ἐλθὼν ἐχειροτόνησε καίσαρας δύο· καὶ ἐπέστησε Μαξιμιανὸν μέν, τὸν ἴδιον υἱόν, κατὰ τὴν ἑῴαν, Σευῆρον δὲ κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν. οἱ δὲ ἐν Ῥώμῃ στρατιῶται ἀνηγόρευσαν Μαξέντιον, τὸν υἱὸν Μαξιμιανοῦ τοῦ Ἑρκουλίου, βασιλέα. ὅθεν ὁ Ἑρκούλιος εἰς ἐπιθυμίαν πάλιν τῆς βασιλείας ἀρθεὶς ἐπεχείρησε μὲν ἀποδῦσαι τὸν ἴδιον υἱὸν Μαξέντιον, ἐπεχείρησε δὲ δόλῳ τὸν γαμβρὸν Κωνστάντιον ἀνελεῖν. ἀλλὰ τῆς μὲν πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν ἐπιχειρήσεως ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀπηλλάγη, ἐν δὲ τῇ κατὰ τὸν γαμβρὸν ὑπὸ Φαύστης τῆς θυγατρὸς καταμηνυθεὶς ἀναιρεῖται κακῶς πράξας. Εὐσέβιος δὲ ὁ Καισαρεύς φησιν, ὅτι Διοκλητιανὸς παράφρων γενόμενος καὶ σὺν τῷ Ἑρκουλίῳ τὴν βασιλείαν ἀποθέμενος ἰδιωτικὸν βίον ἀνέλαβεν. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἀγχόνῃ

въ аꙁа[10] доле виа. истаск ноуѣ оумрѣ. гелаcїи же тоѥ мѣста ѥппъ бывъ г͠лть. тии ѡко престиевша ц͠рства. ти паки сьхотѣвьша въ ц͠рство. съвѣтомь боларскомь погоублена бысте. ѡкꙋ сїа са сътроста. и костантїю добромоу оумрьшꙋ. ц͠рство ѡко г͠лахъ прїаста костатинъ ц͠рь. и галерїи максимиꙗнъ.

Herculius ended his life by hanging, whereas Diocletian, exhausted by a chronic illness, withered away. On the other hand, Gelasios, who was bishop of the same place, states that the two were killed by the common decision of the Senate, having once given up the rule and longing for the throne again. So when these two were out of the picture and after the good Constantius died, the Empire, as I have said, fell to Constantine Augustus and Maximianus Galerius.

τὸν βίον μετήλλαξεν, Διοκλητιανὸς δὲ νόσῳ μακρᾷ δαπανώμενος ἐμαράνθη. Γελάσιος δὲ ὁ Καισαρείας τῆς αὐτῆς ἐπίσκοπός φησιν, ὅτι μεταμεληθέντες καὶ πάλιν βασιλεῦσαι θελήσαντες ψήφῳ κοινῇ τῆς συγκλήτου ἀναιροῦνται. τούτων οὖν ἐκ μέσου γενομένων, καὶ τοῦ χριστιανόφρονος Κωνσταντίου τελευτήσαντος, τὴν βασιλείαν, ὡς προέφην, κατέσχον Κωνσταντῖνος Σεβαστὸς καὶ Μαξιμιανὸς ὁ Γαλλέριος.

[illegible] лѣ. ꙃ. ѱ. ѵꙁ. [illegible] лѣ. с. ѵꙁ. [illegible] ц͠рь костатинъ лѣтъ. л. сапоръ [illegible] ц͠рь лѣ. ѻд[11]. [illegible] силвестръ лѣ. ки.

AM 5797. Year of the world 5797. Year of the divine Incarnation 297.
Constantine, emperor of the Romans 30 years [sic].
Sabores, emperor of the Persians 74 years [sic].
Silvester, bishop of Rome 28 years.

Κόσμου ἔτη ,εψϟζ'.
Τῆς θείας σαρκώσεως ἔτη σϟζ'.
Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς Κωνσταντῖνος ἔτη λβ'. α'.
Περσῶν βασιλεὺς θ' Σαβώρης ἔτη ο' γ'.
Ῥώμης ἐπίσκοπος λβ' Σίλβεστρος ἔτη κη' ε'.
Ἱεροσολύμων ἐπίσκοπος λ' Ζάβδας ἔτη ι' θ'.
Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐπίσκοπος ιζ' Πέτρος ὁ μάρτυς ἔτη ια' ια'.
Ἀντιοχείας ἐπίσκοπος Φιλόγονος ἔτη ε' α'.

[illegible] [485r] [illegible]

About the pious Emperor Constantine

In this year the pious Christian Constantine became emperor of the Romans in Gaul and Britain. At the same time the following four emperors ruled with him, Maximianus Galerius with the two Caesars, Severus and Galerius' son Maximinus, and Herculius' son Maxentius in Rome. The latter was eager to outdo the others in the persecution of the Christians. The persecutor

Τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ θειότατος καὶ χριστιανικώτατος Ῥωμαίων ἐβασίλευσεν ἐν Γαλλίαις καὶ Βρεττανίᾳ. κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν οὖν χρόνον τέσσαρες οὗτοι συνεβασίλευον αὐτῷ, Μαξιμιανὸς ὁ Γαλλέριος σὺν δυσὶ καίσαρσι Σευήρῳ καὶ Μαξιμίνῳ, τῷ Γαλλερίου υἱῷ, καὶ Μαξεντίῳ, τῷ υἱῷ τοῦ Ἑρκουλίου, ἐν Ῥώμῃ ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀναγορευθέντι

(10) [illegible] God.
(11) The [illegible] Glagolitic [illegible], corresponding, unlike the Greek letter, [illegible] numeric value of the Glagolitic letter with Cyrillic д.

прѣлюбодѣꙗ. с боларьскамы женами. и погоубла и ѿємла уюжа домы. и ино много подобно к семꙋ. а на въстоцѣ максиꙗнъ горе то творꙗше. ꙗко дъвѣ ꙁли ѿбьдержаашета ꙁло. въстокъ и ꙁапа. и хр͠тїано многы бѣды творꙗшета. Тог͠а и ликинїа кесарꙗ поставиша. въгодїа творꙗщꙋ костатинꙋ ꙁати ємоу соущꙋ костатинꙋ сес'трою. и творꙗщоу хр͠тїаноу, а по истинѣ не соущꙋ. севирю кесарю оумршꙋ. в се лѣто и петръ єппъ ꙗликсанрїнскы въ темници сы. повелѣнїи максимїанѣ галерїє. и максимїано с͠на єго оусѣченїе прїа. и слав'нѣ кровь свою пролїа. сь же бѣ и арїа дїака ѿлоучи ѿ ц͠ркве. иже ꙁлѣи єреси оучитель бывъ. многы ѿ правовѣрьст'ва ѿведе. мноꙁи и инни при си мч͠тлє х͠а ради моукꙋ прїаша. ѿ нихже соуть. филеа єппъ. тмꙋїа єгѵпьтьскын. пидеи и нн. єппа єгѵпетьс'каа[12]. анти. єппъ никомидскы. тѵра єппъ тѵрьскы. силоуа єппъ гаꙁьскы. ꙁиновїи є прѣꙁвит[13] сидньскы. и силоуа єппъ ємисьскы. памфилъ проꙁвѵтеръ кесарьскы. инни бес чисмене. Сь галерїи максиа. тако скверниникъ бꙗше. ꙗко и болꙗро єго своа жены скрывати ѿ него блоуда ра ти претрьже бꙗше на вѣсовьскоє оугожениє. не бо в'коушааше ничьсо. аще не повражи [485v] тиꙁъ. се погоубити повелѣ хр͠тїаны всꙗ. не тол'ма своєго ра беꙁаконїа. єльма домовъꙁꙗтна. семꙋ ѿ бга соу приде лихаго ра блоудства.

Maxentius, while ruling Rome illegally and unrighteously, did a lot of harm, fornicating with the wives of dignitaries, murdering people and taking away their homes, and the like. In the East Maximianus [sic] was doing even worse harm, so that the two evils ruled over the East and West and tormented the Christians. At that time Licinius was also proclaimed as Caesar after Severus had died. And he wished to gratify Constantine whose brother-in-law he was through his sister and was pretending to be a Christian while in fact he was not. In this same year Peter, bishop of Alexandria, who had been imprisoned by order of Maximianus Galerius and his son Maximianus [sic], was beheaded and shed his blood gloriously. It was he who excommunicated Arius, who was a deacon of his church and who later, as leader of an erroneous heresy, diverted many from the right faith. And many others in the service of Christ were tortured during the rule of these tyrants. Among them are Phileas, bishop of Tmou [sic] in Egypt; Pedeus and Neilos, bishops of Egypt; Anthimos, bishop of Nicomedia; Tyrannion, bishop of Tyre; and Silvanus, bishop of Gaza; Zenobios, presbyter of Sidon; and Silvanus, bishop of Emesa; Pamphilos, presbyter of Caesarea; and countless others. This Galerius Maximianus was such a fornicator that even his diginitaries were hiding their

βασιλεῖ. οὗτοι ἀλλήλους ὑπερβαλεῖν ἔσπευδον εἰς τὸν κατὰ Χριστιανῶν διωγμόν. Μαξέντιος δὲ ὁ τύραννος τὴν Ῥώμην ἀνόμως βασιλεύων πάνδεινα εἰργάσατο κακά, μοιχείας τῶν ἐν τέλει γυναικῶν, φόνους καὶ ἁρπαγὰς καὶ ὅσα τούτοις ὅμοια. κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἀνατολὴν Μαξιμῖνος χείρονα διεπράττετο κακά, δύο κακῶν μεγίστων ἀνατολὴν καὶ δύσιν κληρωσαμένων καὶ τὸν κατὰ Χριστιανῶν πόλεμον ἀναρριπιζόντων. τότε καὶ Λικίνιον καίσαρα Ῥωμαῖοι ἀνηγόρευσαν χαριζόμενοι Κωνσταντίνῳ γαμβρὸν αὐτοῦ ὄντα εἰς ἀδελφὴν Κωνσταντίαν καὶ ὑποκρινόμενον ψευδῶς τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς εὐσέβειαν, Σευήρου δηλαδὴ τελευτήσαντος.
Τῷ δ' αὐτῷ ἔτει Πέτρος, ὁ ἐπίσκοπος Ἀλεξανδρείας, ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ ὑπάρχων προστάγματι Μαξιμιανοῦ τοῦ Γαλλερίου καὶ Μαξιμίνου, τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ, τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτμηθεὶς ἐνδόξως ἐμαρτύρησεν· ὅστις τὸν Ἄρειον διάκονον ὄντα τῆς αὐτοῦ ἐκκλησίας ἀκοινώνητον ἐποίησεν· ὅστις μετὰ ταῦτα κακοδόξου αἱρέσεως προστάτης γεγονὼς πολλοὺς τῆς εὐσεβείας ἀπέστησεν. πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι ἐπὶ τούτων τῶν τυράννων τὸν ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ μαρτυρικὸν στέφανον ἀνεδήσαντο, ὧν εἰσι Φιλέας ἐπίσκοπος Θμούεως τῆς Αἰγύπτου, Πηλεὺς καὶ Νεῖλος ἐπίσκοποι τῆς Αἰγύπτου, Ἄνθιμος ἐπίσκοπος Νικομηδείας, Τυραννίων ἐπίσκοπος Τύρου, Σιλουανὸς ἐπίσκοπος Ἐμέσης, καὶ

(12) фаилеѣ єппъ. тмꙋ єгѵпта прнде и нн. єппа єгѵпетьскаа Und.
(13) The copyist started writing єппъ, but later corrected it into прѣꙁвит, forgetting to strike through the initial є.

а нетрудаага ради христіанолъ женъ. могте са ѥже шца лонѣ примыслна. и гнѣвъ без мѣры на ихъ не поиде. болше ѥмоу вѣзрѣше шца врачебныи хытрости. быть бо са шврзе и ѹрвѣнїе бѣсоу бо тогли дѣлѣ. съ вселешь бывше бо тогли зѣло. съ на помысливъ ѥко безаконїа на сїю шцю и принѧ. повелѣнїи ѡвиса на вса мѣста христїа ради. да шко хощеть кежо и лювить тако да живе. за на вса вѣра. семоу бывшоу. лють шца гонзе. мольбою христїаньскою ѥго са и не видѣвши. ѥдина<ко> врадоу не зацѣлевши зѣло. ти бъзбѣси зла дѣла твора. та бывы лѣнѣ рати и крамолы. и гла и шца изанца. ѥко не можахоу живы мртвець погребати. и бездожїе и шгнева и страси из ранни бывша. ѥко бывшоу могоуще себе са пече люди. да многи строенїа неспроными бывша.

wives from him. He was so exhausted trying to satisfy the demons that he refrained from tasting anything without the support of divination. He ordered total destruction of the Christians not so much because of his own impiety as to plunder their property. Divine retribution followed him because of his immense licentiousness and the intolerable harm he did to the Christians. For his organ developed a grievous ulcer and a lot of matter went out of it. And his illness was greater than the art of physicians, because the urinary tract opened and worms were born; for he was very obese. He, realizing that he had have this ulcer because of his injustice, wrote ordinances to all places on behalf of the Christians, bidding them all live as they wished and liked and to pray on his behalf. When this had happened, his worst suffering was immediately relieved beyond his hopes by the Christians' prayer, but with the wound not yet healed entirely, he began to rage all the more, continuing with his lawless deeds. Immediately once again there ensued wars and revolts, famine and plagues, so that the living were insufficient to bury the dead, and incessant droughts, thunderbolts and terrors were sent forth so that each person thought only about himself and many of the ordinances remained in abeyance.

Σιλουανὸς ἐπίσκοπος Γάζης.
Λουκιανὸς πρεσβύτερος Ἀντιοχείας.
Ζηνόβιος πρεσβύτερος Σιδῶνος. Πάμφιλος πρεσβύτερος Καισαρείας, καὶ ἄλλοι ἀναρίθμητοι. οὗτος ὁ Γαλλέριος Μαξιμιανὸς γυναικομανέστατος ἦν τοσοῦτον, ὥστε τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτὸν τελοῦντας μελετᾶν, ποῦ κρύψωσι τὰς ἰδίας γαμετάς, ἐκτετηκὼς καὶ τῇ τῶν πλάνων δαιμόνων ἀπάτῃ, ὡς μὴ ἀνέχεσθαί τινος γεύσασθαι ἄνευ μαντείας. οὗτος πανωλεθρίαν Χριστιανῶν γενέσθαι προσέταξεν, οὐ τοσοῦτον διὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἀσέβειαν, ὅσον διὰ τὴν ἁρπαγὴν τῶν ὑπαρχόντων αὐτῶν. τοῦτον οὖν θεία δίκη μετῆλθε διὰ τὴν ἄμετρον ἀκολασίαν καὶ τὴν περὶ τοὺς Χριστιανοὺς ἀνύποιστον κάκωσιν. χαλεπὸν γὰρ ἕλκος κατὰ τὸ τῆς ἀκολασίας αὐτοῦ μόριον ἐκφυὲν κρεῖττον πάσης ἀνθρωπίνης βοηθείας ἐτύγχανεν, νομῆς καταλαβούσης καὶ σκωλήκων φθορᾶς τοὺς τόπους. ἦν γὰρ καὶ πολύσαρκος. οὗτος ὑπολαβών, ὡς ἄρα διὰ τοὺς ἀδίκους φόνους πέπληκται, προστάγματα κατὰ παντὸς τόπου ὑπὲρ Χριστιανῶν ἔγραψε πᾶν κελεύων καταθυμίως πράττειν καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ εὔχεσθαι. οὗ γεγονότος, εὐθέως τοῦ χαλεπωτάτου πάθους τῇ εὐχῇ τῶν Χριστιανῶν θεραπευθέντος παρ' ἐλπίδα, μήπω δὲ τοῦ τραύματος καλῶς συνουλώσαντος, μειζόνως ἐμαίνετο τῶν ἀθεμίτων ἐχόμενος πράξεων. ἀλλ' εὐθὺς πάλιν πόλεμοι καὶ ἐπαναστάσεις, λιμοί τε καὶ λοιμοὶ καὶ αὐχμοὶ ἀθρόοι ἐπέσκηπτον, ὡς μὴ ἀρκεῖν θάψαι τοὺς ζῶντας

τοὺς τεθνεῶτας· κεραυνοί τε καὶ φόβητρα ἐξαπεστέλλετο, ὡς ἕκαστον ἑαυτοῦ μόνου φροντίζειν, καὶ τὰ πολλὰ τῶν προσταγμάτων ἄπρακτα διαμένειν.
Ἱεροσολύμων ἐπίσκοπος Ἑρμῶν ἔτη θ'.
Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐπίσκοπος Ἀχιλλᾶς ἔτος α'.
β'. δ'. ς'. α'. α'. β'.

алексаньдрїи еппъ александръ. лѣ. кг.

[AM 5799]. Alexander, bishop of Alexandria 23 years.

Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐπίσκοπος ιθ' Ἀλέξανδρος ἔτη κγ'.
γ'. ε'. ζ'. β'. α'. γ'.
δ'. ς'. η'. γ'. β'. δ'.
ε'. ζ'. θ'. δ'. γ'. ε'.
Ἀντιοχείας ἐπίσκοπος Παυλῖνος ἔτη ε'.
ς'. η'. ι'. ε'. δ'. α'.

Въ шестоѥ лѣто костантинъ великый на мѹчитела ты въста. максентїи злоутьвы. лодїами премостивъ ю сквозѣ рим идеть рѣка. ѡполчи на великаго костантина. великои костантинъ боıаше максентїевъ волшествъ. младенца бо живы пропарала вражадаше. въ велицѣ страсѣ сѹщѹ ѥмѹ въ шесты ча дне ıави ѥмоу чтный кртъ свѣтѡ сътворѥ. имыи написанїе о семъ ѡдолѣвай. ıавивже са ѥмѹ во снѣ гь рече к немѹ. сътворю показаноѥ ти знамениѥ и ѡдолѣи. тогда кртъ сътворивъ златъ и до сего дне ѥсть. повелѣ прѣ собою носити и в рати. и снидоста са на сѣчю и падоша мнози максентїеви моужи. а максентїи на мостъ възбѣжавъ с прочими. разраваша са лодамъ истопоша вси, [486[r]] акы прежѥ бъ погрѹзи фараѡна съ всѣми вои. ıако наполъни са рѣка вса. моу и конь. а гражане римьстїи акы въстати на нь позвавше на помощь и. избывше злаго максентїа моукы. гра оутвердивше вѣнци. въвѣша с радостїю побѣдившаго и костантина. съѡдолѣвша и крто спсителѧ и хвалѧще.

[AM 5802]. In the sixth year Constantine the Great set about the dissolution of the tyrants. The impious Maxentius, having built a bridge of ships over the river, which flows through Rome, drew up his forces against Constantine the Great. The great Constantine feared the sorcery of Maxentius, who cut up new-born babies for his divination. While he was in great distress, there appeared to him at the sixth hour of the day the sacred Cross made of light, with the inscription "In this conquer." And the Lord appeared to him in a vision when he was asleep, saying, "Use what has been shown to you and conquer." Then, having devised a golden cross, which exists to this day, he ordered it to be carried forward into battle. When the battle was joined, many of those with Maxentius perished. Maxentius fled with the survivors but the ships broke apart and all got drowned, just as long ago the Lord had sent to the bottom

Τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ θειότατος εἰς τὴν κατὰ τῶν τυράννων διανέστη κατάλυσιν. Μαξέντιος δὲ ὁ δυσσεβὴς ναυσὶ γεφυρώσας τὸν παραρρέοντα τῇ Ῥώμῃ ποταμὸν παρετάξατο κατὰ τοῦ μεγάλου Κωνσταντίνου. ὁ δὲ μέγας Κωνσταντῖνος ἐδεδίει τὰς Μαξεντίου γοητείας βρέφη ἀνατεμόντος διὰ μαντείας ἀθεμίτους. ἐν πολλῇ δὲ ἀγωνίᾳ ὄντι ὤφθη αὐτῷ ἐν ὥρᾳ ἕκτῃ τῆς ἡμέρας ὁ τίμιος σταυρὸς ἐκ φωτὸς κατεσκευασμένος, ἔχων ἐπιγραφήν· "ἐν τούτῳ νίκα." ἐπιστὰς δὲ αὐτῷ ὁ κύριος εἶπεν αὐτῷ ἐν ὁράματι τῆς νυκτός· "χρῆσαι τῷ δειχθέντι σοι, καὶ νίκα." τότε σταυρὸν σχεδιάσας χρυσοῦν, ὅς ἔστι μέχρι τῆς σήμερον, ἐκέλευσε προάγειν αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ. καὶ συμβολῆς γενομένης ἡττήθησαν οἱ περὶ τὸν Μαξέντιον, ὧν οἱ πλείους ἀνῃροῦντο. Μαξέντιος δὲ σὺν τοῖς λοιποῖς φεύγων, τῆς γεφύρας θείᾳ δυνάμει διαρραγείσης, ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ καταποντίζεται, ὡς πάλαι Φαραὼ πανστρατί, ὥστε

Pharaoh with his all army, so that the river was filled with men and horses. The citizens of Rome, who had begged him to come to their aid and were now released from the tyranny of the wicked Maxentius, garlanded the city, received with joy Constantine who defeated and overcame him with the Cross, proclaiming him as their saviour.

τὸν ποταμὸν πληρωθῆναι ἵππων σὺν ἀναβάταις πεπνιγμένοις. οἱ δὲ πολῖται τῆς Ῥώμης, ὡς αἰτησάμενοι αὐτὸν διαναστῆναι εἰς τὴν βοήθειαν αὐτῶν, λυτρωθέντες τῆς τοῦ πονηροῦ Μαξεντίου τυραννίδος, τὴν πόλιν στεφανώσαντες εἰσεδέξαντο μετὰ χαρᾶς τὸν νικητὴν Κωνσταντῖνον σὺν τῷ νικοποιῷ σταυρῷ σωτῆρα αὐτὸν ἀνευφημοῦντες.

мирьскы лѣтъ. ͵ѕ҃. ѿ҃д҃. сѫтвенаго въплощенїї лѣ҃. т҃. д҃. [..] перьскы црь саворъ лѣ҃. ѳ҃. римскы еппъ силвестръ лѣ҃. а҃і. александрьскый еппъ. е҃. александръ.

AM 580[3]. Year of the word 5804. Year of the divine Incarnation 304 [sic].

Κόσμου ἔτη ͵εωγ´.
Τῆς θείας σαρκώσεως ἔτη τγ´.
Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς Κωνσταντῖνος ἔτη λβ´. ζ´.

Sabores, emperor of the Persians 9 years.

Περσῶν βασιλεὺς θ´ Σαβώρης ἔτη ο´. θ´.

Silvester, bishop of Rome 11 years.

Ῥώμης ἐπίσκ. λβ´ Σίλβεστρος ἔτη κη´. ια´.

Ἱεροσολύμων ἐπίσκ. λα´ Ἑρμὼν ἔτη θ´. ς´.

Alexander, bishop of Alexandria 5 years.

Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐπίσκ. ιθ´ Ἀλέξανδρος ἔτη κγ´. ε´.

Ἀντιοχείας ἐπίσκ. κβ´ Παυλῖνος ἔτη ε´. β´.

Въ. ѕ҃. лѣто прии҃ гра҃ римъ костатинъ бж҃їи оугодникъ. прежде всего мощеи ст҃ы мч҃нкъ. повелѣвъ съвираюци съ чтью покланяти имъ. и ѕ҃. дни ни празникъ творяще радахоу сѧ. славяще бг҃а и хваляще костатина докла.

In his seventh year, having gained control of the city of Rome, Constantine, God's accomplice, ordered before all else that the relics of the holy martyrs be collected and revered with the respect that is owed. And [the Romans] celebrated a festival for seven days and rejoiced, honouring the Lord and exalting the victorious Constantine.

Τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει κρατήσας τὴν Ῥώμην Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ θεοσυνέργητος πρὸ πάντων τὰ λείψανα τῶν ἁγίων μαρτύρων ἐκέλευσε συλλεγέντα ὁσίᾳ ταφῇ παραδοθῆναι. καὶ ἦσαν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἄγοντες ἐπινίκιον ἑορτήν, γεραίροντες τὸν κύριον καὶ τὸν ζωοποιὸν σταυρὸν ἐπὶ ἑπτὰ ἡμέρας καὶ Κωνσταντῖνον τὸν νικητὴν μεγαλύνοντες.
η´. ι´. ιβ´. ζ´. ς´. γ´.
θ´. ια´. ιγ´. η´. ζ´. δ´.

Въ. і҃. лѣто[..] цртва костатина. максимии сн҃ъ галерїевъ [illegible] [illegible] максимиа галерїевъ сего црь. иако максентїи сн҃ъ ерколїевъ в римѣ ѿ костатина погыбе.

[AM 5805]. In the tenth year [sic] of Constantine, Maximinus, Galerius' son, who had given the Empire to himself, ended his life in Cilicia in disgrace. When his father, Galerius Maximianus, heard that Maxentius, the son

Τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει Μαξιμῖνος, ὁ υἱὸς Γαλλερίου, ἐπιπηδήσας καὶ ἑαυτῷ τὴν βασιλείαν ἐπιτρέψας αἰσχρῶς καταλύει τὸν βίον ἐν Κιλικίᾳ. ἀκούσας δὲ Μαξιμιανὸς ὁ Γαλλέριος, ὁ τούτου πατήρ, ὅτι Μαξέντιος, ὁ υἱὸς Ἑρκουλίου, ἐν Ῥώμῃ ὑπὸ

[..] For the possible mechanism of the corruption, see above, note [11].
[..] [illegible] a scribal error due to the similarity between мѣвтоі and мєсатоі.

силою кр҃тною оубол҃в сѧ ѿста сѧ не моуча хрт҃їа.

of Herculius, had fallen in Rome to Constantine through the power of the Cross, he took fright and lifted the persecution of the Christians.

Κωνσταντίνου τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ σταυροῦ κατεπτώθη, φοβηθεὶς τὸν κατὰ τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἀνῆκε διωγμόν.
ι´. ιβ´. ιδ´. θ´. η´. ε´.

Въ. і҃. лѣто костанти҃ великы. съ ликїемь кесарї ѿ бж҃ѣ хавнсть имы. иде с вои на максиана галерїа на востоцѣ властъ имоуща. и сь же изра въпол҃чь сѧ множѣми вои приде противоу на҃. и съвокоупи сѧ с ни҃ на сѣчю. повага вол҃шьвами. кр҃тоу же несомоу пре҃ великы҃ костатинѡ҃. кде сѧ и снїста на сѣчю. тоу и побѣже мѫтль тъ с вои своими сѣкѡ҃ тѣло. свержже и ризоу црковую. ѿблече оу ѿмина въї. приазниві моу пои мало. сквозѣ веси крыахоу сѧ оуиде и чародѣица идольскыа и волхвы славныа акы лестьца исѣче.

[AM 5806]. In the tenth year Constantine the Great, driven by God's zeal, together with the Caesar Licinius campaigned against Maximianus Galerius who governed the East. The latter responded by gathering an enormous force against us and joined battle with him relying on magic tricks. With the cross being carried before Constantine the Great, as soon as battle was joined the tyrant fled and his army was slaughtered; he shed his imperial regalia and, disguised himself as a common soldier, taking with a few of his closest supporters. Sneaking from village to village, he escaped and slaughtered as cheats the priests of the idols, and those famed for magic.

Τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ θειότατος σὺν Λικινίῳ καίσαρι ζήλῳ θεοῦ φερόμενος ἐπεστράτευσε κατὰ Μαξιμιανοῦ τοῦ Γαλλερίου τὴν ἑῴαν διέποντος· κἀκεῖνος ἀντιστρατευσάμενος ἀμέτρῳ πλήθει συνέβαλεν αὐτοῖς, πεποιθὼς ὡς ὁ Μαξέντιος μαντεύμασι δαιμόνων καὶ γοητικαῖς μαγγανείαις. τοῦ δὲ ζωοποιοῦ σταυροῦ προάγοντος τῷ μεγάλῳ Κωνσταντίνῳ, ἅμα τῇ προσβολῇ τραπεὶς ὁ τύραννος σὺν τῷ πλήθει κατασφαττομένῳ, τὴν βασιλικὴν ἐσθῆτα ἀπέθετο καὶ στρατιωτικὸν περιθέμενος σχῆμα μετ' ὀλίγων εὐνουστάτων τε διαδρὰς ἀπὸ κώμης εἰς κώμην ᾤχετο, καὶ τοὺς ἱερεῖς τῶν εἰδώλων καὶ μάντεις ἀθροίσας καὶ τοὺς διαβεβοημένους ἐπὶ μαγείᾳ καὶ προφήτας αὐτοῦ ὡς ἀπατεῶνας κατέσφαξεν.

ѥрусалимскыи еппъ. к҃. лѣ҃. антиѡхїискы еппъ евсевїи лѣ҃. иі҃. [486v] Въ. аі҃. лѣто добровтнікомѹ црю костатиноу. хотѧщѹ живаго ѧти. галерїа максиана. варивъ бж҃їи гнѣвъ погѹбї и. пламы во изо оутробы и из мозгъ емѹ изыде. и на землн ниць лежа. пламене дш҃а его великѹ болѣзнь навѣдаше. иако и ѡвѣ емѹ ѡчи искоучиста. и ѡслепе скверненїкъ тъ а плоть емоу гнѣющи ѿпаде. ти тако гнїа извержє дшоу соупоста бж҃їи.

[AM 5807]. Bishop of Jerusalem 20 years.

Ἱεροσολύμων ἐπίσκοπος λβ´ Μακάριος ἔτη κ´.

Eusebios [sic], bishop of Antioch 18 years.

Ἀντιοχείας ἐπίσκοπος κγ´ Εὐστάθιος ἔτη ιη´.
ια´. ιγ´. ιε´. α´. θ´. α´.

In the eleventh year, when the most pious emperor Constantine was on the point to take Galerius Maximianus alive, divine anger intervened first and destroyed him. For a flame went out from his innards and his marrow and left him prostrate on the ground in a great pain because of the inflammation, so that both his eyes popped out and left the sinner blind, his flesh became putrid and fell from his bones. So, having rotted

Τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει μέλλοντα τὸν εὐσεβέστατον Κωνσταντῖνον ζῶντα χειροῦσθαι τὸν Γαλλέριον Μαξιμιανὸν προλαβοῦσα θεία ὀργὴ κατέλαβε τοῦτον. φλὸξ γὰρ ἐκ βάθους τῶν σπλάγχνων καὶ μυελῶν αὐτῷ ἀναφθεῖσα μετ' ὀδύνης ἀνυποίστου πρηνῆ κατὰ τοῦ ἐδάφους διέθετο, ὡς ἀσθμαίνοντα διέθετο, ὡς ἀμφότερα τὰ ὄμματα αὐτοῦ ἐκπηδῆσαι καὶ τυφλὸν καταλιπεῖν τὸν ἀνόσιον, αἱ δὲ σάρκες αὐτοῦ συσσαπεῖσαι τῇ ἀμέτρῳ ἐκκαύσει τῶν ὀστῶν

away, he vomited up his god-opposing soul.

ἀπέπιπτον. οὕτω κατασαπεὶς ἀπέρρηξε τὴν θεομάχον ψυχήν.

[illegible]

[AM 5808]. In the twelfth year, since Licinius had helped the pious Constantine, the latter allotted him a portion of the Roman territory, and proclaimed him emperor, having demanded from him pledges that he would do no harm to the Christians. Thereupon through the grace of God the persecution of us by the tyrants ceased.

ιβʹ. ιδʹ. ιϛʹ. βʹ. ιʹ. βʹ.
Τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει Λικινίῳ συμμαχήσαντι τῷ θείῳ Κωνσταντίνῳ καὶ ὑποκρινομένῳ δολερῶς τὸν Χριστιανισμὸν ἀφορίσας μοῖραν τῆς Ῥωμαίων γῆς ἀπένειμεν, ἀναγορεύσας αὐτὸν βασιλέα, ἀπαιτήσας αὐτὸν συνθήκας μηδὲν κατὰ Χριστιανῶν πράττειν. ἐντεῦθεν ὁ τῶν τυράννων καθ' ἡμῶν χάριτι Χριστοῦ πέπαυται διωγμός.

[illegible]

AM 5810. Year of the world 5810. Year of the divine Incarnation 310.
Constantine, emperor of the Romans 14 years.

Mir'th [sic], [bishop] of Byzantium 10.

ιγʹ. ιεʹ. ιζʹ. γʹ. ιαʹ. γʹ.
Κόσμου ἔτη ,εωιʹ.
Τῆς θείας σαρκώσεως ἔτη τιʹ.
Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς Κωνσταντῖνος ἔτη λβʹ. ιδʹ.
Περσῶν βασιλεὺς θʹ Σαβώρης ἔτη οʹ. ιϛʹ.
Ῥώμης ἐπίσκ. λβʹ Σίλβεστρος ἔτη κηʹ. ιηʹ.
Βυζαντίου ἐπίσκ. αʹ Μητροφάνης ἔτη ιʹ. θʹ.
Ἱεροσολύμων ἐπίσκ. λβʹ Μακάριος ἔτη κʹ. δʹ.
Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐπίσκ. ιθʹ Ἀλέξανδρος ἔτη κγʹ. ιβʹ.
Ἀντιοχείας ἐπίσκ. κγʹ Εὐστάθιος ἔτη ιηʹ. δʹ.

In this year Constantine the Great, having become sole ruler of all the Roman lands and having settled all matters, started taking care of holy matters by building churches and enriching them. First he signed a *namos* i.e. law that the temples used for idols were *to* be handed over to persons consecrated to Christ and turned into churches (his son Crispus signed this law as well); he enacted a second one, too, to the effect that only converted Christians were to serve in the army and to command foreign races and armies, while those who refused

Τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει ὁ μέγας Κωνσταντῖνος πάσης Ῥωμαίων γῆς μονοκράτωρ γενόμενος πᾶσαν εἰς τὰ θεῖα μετήγαγε τὴν φροντίδα, ἐκκλησίας ἀνεγείρων καὶ φιλοτίμως ταύτας πλουτῶν ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου λόγου. οὗτος πρῶτον νόμον ἔγραψε τοὺς τῶν εἰδώλων ναοὺς ἀποδίδοσθαι τοῖς τῷ Χριστῷ ἀφιερωμένοις (συνενομοθέτει δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ Κρίσπος ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ)· δεύτερον δὲ Χριστιανοὺς μόνους στρατεύεσθαι ἐθνῶν τε καὶ στρατοπέδων ἄρχειν, τοὺς δὲ ἐπιμένοντας τῇ εἰδωλολατρείᾳ κεφαλικῶς τιμωρεῖσθαι· τρίτον τὰς

to convert were to suffer capital punishment; third, that Easter should be celebrated for two weeks (i.e. the week before the day of Resurrection and the following week). Under these circumstances a deep and calm peace prevailed among all people and an immense joy among the faithful who saw whole nations come over daily to faith in Christ, accept baptism, and break up the idols i.e. statues.

πασχαλίους δύο ἑβδομάδας ἀπράκτους τελεῖν, τήν τε πρὸ τῆς ἀναστάσεως καὶ τὴν μετ' αὐτήν. τούτων οὕτως ἐχόντων, εἰρήνη βαθεῖα καὶ γαλήνη κατέσχε τὴν οἰκουμένην καὶ ἀγαλλίασις τοὺς πιστούς, προστρεχόντων ὁσημέραι πάντων τῶν ἐθνῶν τῇ πίστει Χριστοῦ καὶ βαπτιζομένων καὶ τὰ πατρῷα εἴδωλα συνθλαττόντων. τὸν δὲ πῆχυν τῆς ἀναβάσεως τοῦ κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον ποταμοῦ Νείλου ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐνομοθέτησεν ἀναφέρεσθαι, καὶ οὐκ ἐν τῷ Σαραπίῳ, ὡς εἴθιστο τοῖς Ἕλλησιν.

лікиниі доньдє нє бѣ сѧ ꙁѣло вьꙁбѣсил. въ антиѡхїю пришє ѳеѡтєкна вохва. и с проүнми многѡ моүчєнъ погоүби.

Licinius, before he finally went mad, went to Antioch and there killed the magician Theoteknos and his associates after subjecting them to many tortures.

Λικίνιος δὲ πρὸ τοῦ τελείως μανῆναι εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν ἐλθὼν Θεότεκνον γόητα καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ μετὰ πολλὰς βασάνους ἀνεῖλεν.

въ. ѯі. лѣто костатинє. [487r] ликинїи нача хртїано моукы творити. и прьвоє ижє въ полат бѧхоу хртїани ты ѿгна ꙁабывъ и бѣша прѣ нимъ мүтли. чсо доиша. нє сє бѣ ѿвроүчи костатиноу. но в блоүды вьнїдє многы и бєсправдїа. и оүбиваше хртїаны и нє преставаше. семоу костатї книгы написавъ. повєлѣ ѿстати сѧ ꙁла дѣла. но нє мо єго ѿстати. сє єппа амєиското васлїа. ꙗко нѣцїи глють стыа мүникы. м. и ины многы моүчѧ погоуби.

[AM 5811]. In the fifteenth year of Constantine, Licinius began a persecution of Christians. First he chased away the Christians in the palace, forgetful of the fate of the tyrants before him and of his agreements with Constantine. He also did not cease fornicating, behaving unjustly and slaughtering Christians. Constantine ordered him in rescripts to cease this villainy but could not stop him. Licinius brought about the death through torture of Basileus, bishop of Amaseia and, according to some sources, of the Forty holy Martyrs and many others.

ιεʹ. ιζʹ. ιθʹ. ιʹ. εʹ. ιγʹ. εʹ.
Τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει Λικίνιος ἤρξατο κατὰ Χριστιανῶν διωγμὸν κινεῖν. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τοὺς ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ Χριστιανοὺς ἐδίωξε λήθην λαβὼν τῆς τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ τυράννων καθαιρέσεως καὶ τῶν πρὸς τὸν μέγαν Κωνσταντῖνον συνθηκῶν. γυναικομανῶν δὲ καὶ ἀδικῶν καὶ φονεύων Χριστιανοὺς οὐκ ἐπαύετο· τούτῳ διὰ γραμμάτων ὁ θεῖος Κωνσταντῖνος κελεύσας ἀποστῆναι τῆς μανίας οὐκ ἔπεισεν. οὗτος καὶ Βασιλέα, τὸν ἐπίσκοπον Ἀμασείας, καί, ὥς τινές φασιν, καὶ τοὺς ἁγίους τεσσαράκοντα μάρτυρας καὶ ἄλλους πολλοὺς διὰ βασάνων τελειωθῆναι ἐποίησεν.
Βυζαντίου ἐπίσκοπος Ἀλέξανδρος ἔτη κγʹ.

въ. ѕі. лѣ. арїи проныривыи[16]. въ алєѯаидрїи єрє свою въ црькви покаꙁа. и раско сьтвори. помагаюшоү єм инирїаꙁии. нє можаашє вндѣти црьковны

[AM 5812]. In the sixteenth year in Alexandria the mean [sic] Arius disclosed his own heresy before the congregation and brought about a schism,

ιϛʹ. ιηʹ. κʹ. αʹ. ϛʹ. ιδʹ. ϛʹ.
Τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει Ἄρειος, ὁ τῆς μανίας ἐπώνυμος, ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ αἵρεσιν ἐπ' ἐκκλησίας ἐφανέρωσε καὶ σχίσμα εἰργάσατο,

[16] проныривыи, "mean," stands here for τῆς μανίας ἐπώνυμος.

оустатель. стражѣ живоуща. и ... и троу ... въ александрии. и ... люди сѧ ... и многы ...

with the collusion of the Devil, because he was unable to understand the Church teachers who lived in peace. A violent earthquake shook Alexandria so that many houses collapsed and killed many people.

συνεργοῦντος αὐτῷ τοῦ πονηροῦ μὴ φέροντος βλέπειν τὴν εἰρήνην τῆς ἐκκλησίας. ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ σεισμὸς ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ λαβρότατος, ὥστε πεσεῖν οἰκίας πολλὰς καὶ λαὸν πολὺν ὀλέσαι.

ιζʹ. ιθʹ. καʹ. βʹ. ζʹ. ιεʹ. ζʹ.

Τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει μαθὼν ὁ μέγας Κωνσταντῖνος τὴν τοῦ Ἀρείου κίνησιν σφόδρα λυπηθεὶς ἔγραψεν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ Ἀρείῳ κοινὴν ἐπιστολήν, συμβουλεύων καταλῦσαι τὴν πονηρὰν κίνησιν καὶ εἰρηνεῦσαι εἰς ἀλλήλους. ἀπέστειλε δὲ καὶ Ὅσιον, τὸν ἐπίσκοπον Κουδρούβης, ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ περὶ Ἀρείου καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀνατολῇ διορθωσόμενον τοὺς ἀνατολικοὺς ἐκ παλαιᾶς συνηθείας Ἰουδαϊκώτερον ἑορτάζοντας τὸ πάσχα. ὑπέστρεψε δὲ ἄπρακτος πρὸς ἀμφότερα.

Τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει καὶ Κώνσταν, τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ, Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ μέγας προεβάλετο καίσαρα καὶ ἀπέστειλεν εἰς Γαλλίας.

ιηʹ. κʹ. κβʹ. γʹ. ηʹ. ιςʹ. ηʹ.

Въ зı[illegible] лѣто ıако глють костѧнтинъ великıи. съ криспо(м) сномь своимь в римѣ крти ѿ силивестра. ıако глють римлѧне рекоуще. потоужеже ... и тогда сѧ крти. а иже на въстоцѣ живоуть. то ти глють в никомидии. ѿ евсевиıа крти сѧ. оумрети хотѧ ... и оумре. мысль бо имѣ баше кртити въ ıорданѣ рѣцѣ. но азъ мню. ıако и силивестрѡ ıесть крщенъ.

[AM 5814]. In the seventeenth year [sic], as some say, Constantine the Great together with his son Crispus was baptized in Rome by Silvester. The inhabitants of Rome state that he was baptized only after the removal of the tyrants. The easterners, on the other hand, claim that he was baptized on his death-bed by Eusebios in Nicomedia, where he happened to die. For he hoped to be baptized in the river Jordan. In my view, he was baptized by Silvester.

Τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει, ὥς φασί τινες, Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ μέγας σὺν Κρίσπῳ, τῷ υἱῷ αὐτοῦ, ἐν Ῥώμῃ ὑπὸ Σιλβέστρου ἐβαπτίσθη. ὡς οἱ κατὰ τὴν πρεσβυτέραν Ῥώμην μέχρι σήμερον τὸν βαπτιστῆρα ἔχουσιν εἰς μαρτυρίαν, ὅτι ὑπὸ Σιλβέστρου ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἐβαπτίσθη μετὰ τὴν ἀναίρεσιν τῶν τυράννων. οἱ δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἀνατολὴν ἐν Νικομηδείᾳ φασὶν αὐτὸν περὶ τὸν θάνατον ὑπὸ Εὐσεβίου τοῦ Νικομηδέως Ἀρειανοῦ βεβαπτίσθαι· ἔνθα καὶ ἔτυχεν αὐτὸν κοιμηθῆναι. ἀναβαλλόμενος γὰρ ἦν, φασίν, τὸ βάπτισμα, ἐλπίζων ἐν τῷ Ἰορδάνῃ βαπτισθῆναι ποταμῷ. ἐμοὶ δὲ ἀληθέστερον φαίνεται τὸ ὑπὸ Σιλβέστρου ἐν Ῥώμῃ βεβαπτίσθαι αὐτόν, καὶ τὰς ἐπ'

[illegible] The compiler or the translator merged this chronological indication from the AM 5812 rubric with the entry for AM 5813.

аще бо бы не крщенъ. то како бы на сборѣ никеıстѣ. съ стыми ѿци сѣдѣлъ. колико бы баıка. или до коца на слоужбѣ с ними стоıа.

For if he had not been baptized at the Council of Nicaea he could not have sat with the holy Fathers and taken the holy sacraments nor joined them in the prayers.

ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ φερομένας διατάξεις πρὸς Μιλτιάδην πεπλασμένας εἶναι τοῖς Ἀρειανοῖς, δόξαν ἐντεῦθεν περιποιεῖσθαι σπουδάζουσιν ἑαυτοῖς, ἢ καὶ τὸν πανευσεβῆ βασιλέα κακίζειν ἐθέλουσιν, ἀβάπτιστον δεικνύντες ἐντεῦθεν, ὅπερ ἄτοπόν ἐστι καὶ ψευδές. εἰ γὰρ οὐκ ἦν βεβαπτισμένος ἐν τῇ κατὰ Νίκαιαν συνόδῳ, λοιπὸν οὐδὲ μετελάμβανε τῶν θείων μυστηρίων, οὐδὲ συνηύχετο τοῖς ἁγίοις πατράσιν, ὅπερ ἀτοπώτατόν ἐστι καὶ λέγειν καὶ φρονεῖν. ἄλλοι δὲ Ἀρειανοὶ καὶ Ἕλληνες ὡς νόθον διαβάλλουσι τὸν μέγαν Κωνσταντῖνον· ψεύδονται δὲ καὶ οὗτοι. ἡ γὰρ γενεαλογία αὐτοῦ βασιλικὴ ὑπῆρχε καὶ πρὸ Διοκλητιανοῦ. ὁ γὰρ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ Κωνστάντιος θυγατριδῆς ἦν Κλαυδίου τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ ἐξ Ἑλένης τῆς πρώτης αὐτοῦ γυναικὸς ἔσχε τὸν μέγαν Κωνσταντῖνον. εἶχε δὲ καὶ ἄλλους υἱοὺς ἐκ Θεοδώρας, τῆς θυγατρὸς Μαξιμιανοῦ τοῦ Ἑρκουλίου, ἀδελφῆς δὲ Μαξεντίου τοῦ κατὰ τὴν Ῥώμην τυραννήσαντος καὶ ἀναιρεθέντος ὑπὸ Κωνσταντίνου περὶ Μουλυίαν τὴν γέφυραν (ὅτε καὶ τὸ τοῦ σταυροῦ σημεῖον ἐθεάσατο ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ), καὶ Φαύστας, τῆς γαμετῆς τοῦ μεγάλου Κωνσταντίνου. καὶ μηδεὶς θαυμαζέτω, εἰ πρὸ τοῦ βαπτίσματος ἑλληνίζοντες δύο ἀδελφὰς ἔγημαν ὁ πατὴρ καὶ ὁ υἱός. εἰσὶ δὲ αἱ γενέσεις αὐτῶν οὕτως, ὡς ὑποτέτακται.

Κωνστάντιος [ὁ μέγας] ἐκ Θεοδώρας, θυγατρὸς Ἑρκουλίου, γεννᾷ Κωνστάντιον, πατέρα Γάλλου καὶ Ἰουλιανοῦ τοῦ παραβάτου, Ἀναβαλλιανόν, τὸν καὶ Γάλλον Δαλμάτιον, ἐξ οὗ Δαλμάτιος ὁ νέος. Ἐκ δὲ Ἑλένης γεννᾷ Κωνσταντῖνον τὸν μέγαν καὶ μόνον. Ὁ δὲ μέγας Κωνσταντῖνος ἐκ Φαύστας, θυγατρὸς Ἑρκουλίου, γεννᾷ Κρίσπον, Κωνσταντῖνον, Κωνστάντιον, Κώνσταντα, καὶ Ἑλένην, γαμετὴν Ἰουλιανοῦ τοῦ παραβάτου, Κωνσταντίαν, γαμετὴν Λικινίου.

[illegible] лѣ. [illegible] <константинъ лѣтъ [illegible] Персьскїи царь>[illegible] [illegible] савор лѣ. [illegible][illegible]

AM **5815**. Year of the world 5815. Year of the divine Incarnation 315.
Constantine, emperor of the Romans 31 and a half years.
Sabores, emperor of the Persians 75 years.

The second bishop of Byzantium 24 years [sic].

Κόσμου ἔτη ,εωιε΄.
Τῆς θείας σαρκώσεως ἔτη τιε΄.
Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς Κωνσταντῖνος ἔτη λβ΄. ιθ΄.
Περσῶν βασιλεὺς Σαβώρης ἔτη ο΄. κα΄.
Ῥώμης ἐπίσκ. λβ΄ Σίλβεστρος ἔτη κη΄. κγ΄.
Βυζαντίου ἐπίσκ. β΄ Ἀλέξανδρος ἔτη κγ΄. δ΄. Ἱεροσολύμων ἐπίσκ. λβ΄ Μακάριος ἔτη κ΄. θ΄.
Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐπίσκ. ιθ΄ Ἀλέξανδρος ἔτη κγ΄. ιζ΄.
Ἀντιοχείας ἐπίσκ. κγ΄ Εὐστάθιος ἔτη ιη΄. θ΄.
Τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει ἰδὼν Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ εὐσεβὴς Λικίνιον μανικώτερον τῷ διωγμῷ χρώμενον καὶ ἐπιβουλὴν κατὰ τοῦ εὐεργέτου μελετῶντα ὁπλίζεται κατ᾽ αὐτοῦ διά τε ξηρᾶς καὶ θαλάσσης· καὶ δὴ πολέμου δημοσίου κροτηθέντος κατὰ τὴν Βιθυνίαν, ζῶν συλλαμβάνεται ἐν Χρυσοπόλει καὶ εἰς τὰς χεῖρας Κωνσταντίνου παραδίδοται. ὁ δὲ τῇ συνήθει φιλανθρωπίᾳ χρησάμενος χαρίζεται αὐτῷ τὴν ζωὴν καὶ εἰς Θεσσαλονίκην τοῦτον ἐκπέμπει φρουρεῖσθαι. μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺ δὲ βαρβάρους μισθωσάμενος νεωτερίζειν ἤμελλεν, εἰ μὴ προγνοὺς τοῦτο ὁ πρᾳότατος Κωνσταντῖνος διὰ ξίφους τοῦτον ἀποτμηθῆναι ἐκέλευσεν· καὶ οὕτω λοιπὸν τελείας ἀπήλαυσε γαλήνης τὰ πράγματα τῆς Χριστιανῶν πολιτείας, τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ ζωοποιοῦ σταυροῦ γεγονότων ἐκποδὼν τῶν τυράννων, καὶ μόνου κρατήσαντος τοῦ θεοσυνεργήτου Κωνσταντίνου τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς. καταστήσαντος οὖν τοὺς ἰδίους παῖδας καίσαρας ἀπήλαυσεν εἰρήνης. ἦν δὲ ἀνὴρ τὰ πάντα λαμπρός, δι᾽ ἀνδρείαν ψυχῆς, δι᾽ ὀξύτητα νοός, δι᾽ εὐπαιδευσίαν λόγων, διὰ δικαιοσύνης ὀρθότητα, δι᾽ εὐεργεσίας ἑτοιμότητα, διὰ ἀξιοπρέπειαν ὄψεως, διὰ τὴν ἐν πολέμοις ἀνδρείαν καὶ εὐτυχίαν, ἐν τοῖς βαρβαρικοῖς μέγας, ἐν τοῖς

[illegible] The text was added in the bottom margin.
[illegible] Once again the numeral 3 is mistaken for 4 (see above, notes [illegible] and [illegible]).

ἐμφυλίοις ἀήττητος, ἐν τῇ πίστει στερρὸς καὶ ἀσάλευτος. ὅθεν καὶ κατὰ πάντων τῶν πολεμίων ἐπηγάγετο τῇ εὐχῇ τὴν νίκην. διὸ καὶ κυριακὰ πρὸς ἐπιστροφὴν τῶν ἐθνῶν κατὰ τόπους εἰς τιμὴν τοῦ θεοῦ πεποίηκεν. Τῷ δ᾽ αὐτῷ ἔτει καὶ Μαρτῖνος ἐσφάγη τυραννήσας μῆνας τρεῖς, καὶ Λικινιανός, ὁ υἱὸς Λικινίου, καῖσαρ ἀπεδείχθη ὑπὸ Κωνσταντίνου. Τῷ δ᾽ αὐτῷ ἔτει Ναρσῆς, ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ τῶν Περσῶν βασιλέως, κατέδραμε τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν καὶ λαμβάνει πόλιν Ἄμιδαν. τούτῳ Κωνστάντιος ὁ καῖσαρ, Κωνσταντίνου παῖς, πολεμεῖ καὶ πταίσας ὀλίγα τέλος οὕτω τῆς μάχης ἐκράτησεν, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸν ἀνελεῖν τὸν Ναρσῆν.
Κόσμου ἔτη ,εωις΄.
Τῆς θείας σαρκώσεως ἔτη τις΄.
Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς Κωνσταντῖνος ἔτη λβ΄. κ΄.
Περσῶν βασιλεὺς Σαβώρης ἔτη ο΄. κβ΄.
Ῥώμης ἐπίσκοπος Σίλβεστρος ἔτη κη΄. κδ΄.
Βυζαντίου ἐπίσκοπος Ἀλέξανδρος ἔτη κγ΄. ε΄.
Ἱεροσολύμων ἐπίσκοπος Μακάριος ἔτη κ΄. ι΄.
Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐπίσκοπος Ἀλέξανδρος ἔτη κγ΄. ιη΄.
Ἀντιοχείας ἐπίσκοπος Εὐστάθιος ἔτη ιη΄. ι΄.

Въ сѐ лѣто. к҃. лѣ҃. конста҃тинꙋ. авгоустꙋ <царство> скоу҃ва сѧ. и бы҃ съ с҃тыми раве҃. и. а҃. соборъ. т҃. и и҃і. с҃ты ѿц҃ь. ѿ нѝже чю҃творци. и ӑкы аг҃гли бахоу ѐпп҃и. знаменїа х҃ва на своѥи выи носѧще. ѿ прьвы моукъ. в нѝже баше пафнотїи. и спиридо҃. и макарїи. и нисиби҃. иѧковъ чю҃творець. и м҃ртвыа въ [487ᵛ] въскр҃ше. и ина многа чю҃са створ҃ше. да с҃тмоу соборꙋ въ никеи вѷфиньстѣи бывшоу. старѣишїи бахꙋ. макарїи ѥрл҃мкыи. и алеѯа҃дръ алеѯа҃дрїискыи.

[AM **5816**]. In this year, twenty years have passed since Constantine Augustus assumed the imperial power. And there took place the First holy Synod of the three hundred and eighteen holy fathers, of whom many, bishops, were miracle-workers and equal to the angels, carrying the stigmata of Christ from previous persecutions around their necks. Among them were Paphnoutios, Spyridon, Makarios and Jacob of Nisibis, miracle-workers who had raised the dead and done many

Τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει εἰκοσαετηρὶς τῆς Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ Αὐγούστου βασιλείας ἐτελέσθη. καὶ ἐγένετο ἡ ἁγία καὶ οἰκουμενικὴ πρώτη σύνοδος τῶν τιη΄ πατέρων, ὧν οἱ πολλοὶ θαυματουργοί τε καὶ ἰσάγγελοι ὑπῆρχον, τὰ στίγματα τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐν τῷ σώματι φέροντες ἐκ τῶν προλαβόντων διωγμῶν. ἐν οἷς καὶ Παφνούτιος καὶ Σπυρίδων καὶ Μακάριος καὶ ὁ Νισιβηνὸς Ἰάκωβος, θαυματουργοὶ καὶ νεκροὺς ἀναστήσαντες καὶ πολλὰ παράδοξα ποιήσαντες. τῆς δὲ ἁγίας συνόδου ἐν Νικαίᾳ

[illegible]

wondrous things. The holy synod was held at Nicaea in Bithynia and was presided over by Makarios of Jerusalem and Alexander of Alexandria, and Viton and Vincent represented the bishop of Rome. As the Church of Antioch at that time had no bishop, the synod appointed over it Eustathios, bishop of Beroia in Syria. Alexander of Byzantium did not arrive for the synod because of his extreme old age and ill-health. Presbyters took his place. Paul of Neocaesarea was present and other holy men distinguished by their culture and lives, of whom Eusebios Pamphilou has recorded much praise in the third book of his treatise addressed to the emperor. The most Christian and pious emperor liberally provided for everybody's needs. This holy and ecumenical synod, with the cooperation of the holy Trinity, deposed Arius and his sympathizers, Eusebios of Nicomedia, and those with him (except for Eusebios Pamphilou, who accepted the term *homoousios* i.e. "consubstantial"). The synod together with the good and faithful emperor, who took part in all its actions that were agreeable to God, sent them away and appointed others in their place. It ordered to write an exposition of the faith (Creed) that is today recited in every orthodox church. As the impious Arius was at that time present at the synod and being condemned, Eusebios of Nicomedia, Theognis, Markinos [sic], Narkissos,

τῆς Βιθυνίας γενομένης. ἐξῆρχον αὐτῆς Μακάριος ὁ Ἱεροσολύμων καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος Ἀλεξανδρείας, ὑπὲρ δὲ τοῦ Ῥώμης Βίτων καὶ Βικέντιος παρῆσαν. τῆς δὲ Ἀντιοχέων ἐκκλησίας χηρευούσης, ἡ σύνοδος Εὐστάθιον ἐκύρωσεν, τὸν ἐπίσκοπον Βεροίας τῆς Συρίας. Ἀλέξανδρος δέ, ὁ τοῦ Βυζαντίου, οὐ παρῆν ἐν τῇ συνόδῳ διὰ γῆρας βαθύτατον καὶ ἀσθένειαν σώματος· πρεσβύτεροι δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸν τόπον ἀνεπλήρωσαν. τότε καὶ Παῦλος ὁ Νεοκαισαρείας παρῆν τῇ συνόδῳ καὶ ἄλλο πλῆθος ἁγίων ἀνδρῶν βίῳ καὶ λόγῳ διαπρεπόντων, περὶ ὧν μεγάλους ἐπαίνους ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ λόγῳ τῶν εἰς τὸν βασιλέα Εὐσέβιος ὁ Παμφίλου ἔγραψεν. πᾶσι δὲ τὰ πρὸς χρείαν δαψιλῶς ὁ χριστιανικώτατος βασιλεὺς ἐχορήγει. αὕτη ἡ ἁγία καὶ οἰκουμενικὴ σύνοδος συνεργίᾳ τῆς ἁγίας καὶ ὁμοουσίου τριάδος Ἄρειον καθεῖλε καὶ τοὺς ὁμόφρονας αὐτοῦ, Εὐσέβιον τὸν Νικομηδείας καὶ Θεόγνιν τὸν Νικαίας καὶ τοὺς περὶ αὐτούς, χωρὶς Εὐσεβίου τοῦ Παμφίλου συνθεμένου τῇ φωνῇ τοῦ ὁμοουσίου πρὸς τὸ παρόν, καὶ τούτους ἐξορίαις παρέπεμψεν, συμπαρόντος αὐτοῖς καὶ τοῦ πανευφήμου βασιλέως Κωνσταντίνου καὶ συνεργοῦντος ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς κατὰ θεόν. ἄλλους τε ἀντ᾽ αὐτῶν χειροτονηθῆναι ἐκέλευσε πίστεώς τε ἔκθεσιν ἔγγραφον ἐξήνεγκε τὴν κατὰ πᾶσαν ἐκκλησίαν ὀρθοδόξων νῦν ἀπαγγελλομένην. τότε Ἀρείου τοῦ δυσσεβοῦς παρόντος ἐν τῇ συνόδῳ καὶ

[illegible]

имена своꙗ въписаша. и съ цр҃емь блгоутньі. и похвальше и разъıша сѧ.

Theophantos and Patrophilos contended on behalf of Arius and, having put together a blasphemous creed, presented it to the synod. When the synod tore this statement up, those, who had written it, condemned Arius, except for Secundus of Ptolemais in Egypt and Theonas of Marmarike, who were expelled and anathematized with Arius. Then after having written the holy creed all subscribed to it, including the all-pious emperor, acclaimed [it], and dispersed.

κρινομένου, Εὐσέβιος ὁ Νικομηδείας καὶ Θεόγνις καὶ Μάρις καὶ Νάρκισσος καὶ Θεόφαντος καὶ Πατρόφιλος ἀντεποιοῦντο Ἀρείου, οἱ συντάξαντες πίστεως λόγον βλάσφημον ἐπέδωκαν τῇ συνόδῳ. τοῦ δὲ διαρρηχθέντος, οἱ πεποιηκότες τοῦτον ἀντιστραφέντες κατεδίκασαν Ἄρειον χωρὶς Σεκούνδου Πτολεμαΐδος τῆς Αἰγύπτου καὶ Θεωνᾶ τοῦ Μαρμαρικῆς, ὧν ἐκβληθέντων σὺν Ἀρείῳ καὶ ἀναθεματισθέντων, τὸ ἅγιον σύμβολον τῆς πίστεως ὑπηγόρευσαν ὑπογράψαντες ἅπαντες σὺν τῷ πανευσεβεῖ βασιλεῖ, καὶ εὐφήμησαν, καὶ οὕτω διελύθη ὁ σύλλογος.

[488[c]] и събора того въ то лѣто. криспъ снъ црвъ хртїанъ сьі оумрѣ. и візантїю гра начаша. съним створиша. к҃ лѣ. костатина зѣло хрстїанаго црѧ. маиа мца въ. ка. днь.[22] написа соборъ епистолїю къ гражаномъ въ александрїю и ливїю. и пентаполъ. въ ней епистолїи баше написано. изверженїе арїево, и секоун дово. и феѡнине.

In the year of that synod Crispus, the emperor's son, a Christian, died. Also the city of Byzantium began to be built. The Synod was held in the twentieth year of the most Christian emperor Constantine on 21[st] [sic] of May. The synod wrote a letter to the citizens of Alexandria, Libya, and Pentapolis, in which letter the expulsion of Arius, Secundus and Theonas was announced.

Τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει Κρίσπος, ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ βασιλέως, Χριστιανὸς ἐκοιμήθη· καὶ τὸ Βυζάντιον ἤρξατο κτίζεσθαι. Συνέστη οὖν ἡ ἁγία καὶ οἰκουμενικὴ πρώτη σύνοδος τῇ δωδεκάτῃ ἰνδικτιῶνι, ἔτει εἰκοστῷ τοῦ μεγάλου Κωνσταντίνου, μηνὶ Μαΐῳ κʹ. ἔγραψε δὲ ἐπιστολὴν ἐγκύκλιον ἡ σύνοδος ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ καὶ Λιβύῃ καὶ Πενταπόλει, δι᾽ ἧς ἐδήλωσε τὴν ἐκβολὴν Ἀρείου καὶ Σεκούνδου καὶ Θεωνᾶ· ἐσήμανε δὲ καὶ περὶ Μελετίου, ὥστε ἰδιάζειν ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ πόλει ἡσυχάζοντα, τοὺς δὲ ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ χειροτονηθέντας μυστικωτέρᾳ χειροτονίᾳ βεβαιοῦσθαι. ἔγραψε δὲ καὶ περὶ τοῦ πάσχα μηκέτι μετὰ Ἰουδαίων αὐτὸ ποιεῖν, ἀλλὰ τῷ κατὰ Ἰταλίαν τύπῳ κατὰ τὴν κυριακὴν μᾶλλον ἡμέραν ἑορτάζοντας. ὁμοίως καὶ ὁ πανευσεβὴς βασιλεὺς ἐπιστολὰς ἔγραψε πανταχοῦ τὰ αὐτὰ κελευούσας καὶ βεβαιούσας τὰ παρὰ τῆς ἁγίας συνόδου

Написа и ѿ велицѣ дне въстанѣмъ. ꙗко к томоу не творити съ жидьі пасхьі. нъ въ ѡбразъ итальскьі. въ нелньій днь празновати. тако и доброутньіи црь епистолїю вписа всѣ тожє гла и вела дрьжати і єсть съборъ соуднвъ оустави. и томоу непосоужєнѹ бьіти. и арїа. и

[The synod] took also a decision that Easter was no longer to be celebrated with the Jews, but rather on Sunday as in the Italian rite. Likewise the all-pious emperor sent out a rescript that said the same and ordained to observe all the decisions of the synod, and not contradict it, and to

[22] The mistake may be intentional, for 21[st] May is Constantine's day in the Orthodox calendar.

ѧко тожьмысленіи соуть. не тыѧ ѥзерзкины имѣти. и ѩдѣ и порфиріаны звати. и идѣ и сьсыпроуть писаніа ть сѧ и ѩже такс не створі. нєзнаю ѩко таке не створі. тожѣ и ть казнью оумрѣть. тожѣ и законъ положи ѿ то тако быти. и праздникоу бывшоу вѧщ глаго. къ. к. црю вси и оци на обѣдъ тъ съзвати. и с ними сѣ. иѣдѧ имь велико и чть сътвори. пафнотіа и максіма. и дроугыѧ такы. по ѡчима изсѣдинима вѣры дѣлма. и по статиеныи жилѣ прѣзаны. припадаѧ ѡбыблаша и глаше. блажена си ѡчеса и жилы ѩже соу ха да великоу болѣзнь прїали. ѡбѣть ѥпископомъ реше. миръ имѣти в себѣ. а дроугъ съ дроуго ересм не имѣти. а книгы ѡ сѣмъ ...

[illegible]

consider Arius along with his supporters excommunicated, and to call them Porphyrians; their writings were to be burned, and the penalty for non-compliance was death. He published also a law enforcing these provisions. As the festival of the *vicennalia* of his rule came, as we said, he invited all the Fathers to the feast, reclined at dinner with them and honoured them gloriously. He kneeled and kissed Paphnoutios and Maximus and other confessors on their eyes that had been gouged out and their limbs that had been mutilated for their faith, saying "Blessed be these eyes and limbs which have accepted an enormous pain in the name of Christ." He exhorted the bishops, saying "Keep the peace between one another and refrain from heresies." The petitions against the others, which the heretics had sent to the church, he burned in a fire, confirming under oath "If I were to see a bishop committing adultery, I would readily shelter him in my purple cloak, because it is God who has determined the day when all this should be repaired." The emperor bestowed many gifts on all the churches, exhorted the commanders to honour the clergymen, and sent them all on their way rejoicing. As the emperor was rebuked by a philosopher on the grounds that he had acted improperly and contrary to the customs of the Roman emperors by changing the religion, the emperor decided to send the philosopher to bishop Alexander to debate with him. Bishop Alexander was a holy man, but lacking in education. To the philosopher, who was talking nonsense, he said "I order you in the name of Jesus Christ our God to be quiet and not to talk," and as soon as he had said that the philosopher's speech stopped and he became silent.

ἐκφωνηθέντα, καὶ Ἄρειον ἅμα τοῖς ὁμόφροσιν αὐτοῦ ἀποκηρύττων, Πορφυριανούς τε αὐτοὺς ὀνομάζεσθαι, καὶ τὰ συγγράμματα αὐτῶν κατακαίεσθαι, καὶ τοὺς μὴ τοῦτο ποιοῦντας θανατοῦσθαι· ἐξέθετο δὲ καὶ νόμον βασιλικὸν οὕτω ταῦτα γενέσθαι. τῆς δὲ ἑορτῆς ἐνστάσης κατ' αὐτὸ τῆς εἰκοσαετηρίδος τῆς αὐτοῦ βασιλείας, πάντας τοὺς πατέρας εἰς ἑστίασιν προετρέψατο, συγκατακλιθεὶς αὐτοῖς καὶ λαμπρῶς τιμήσας αὐτούς· Παφνουτίου δὲ καὶ τῶν ὁμοίων ὁμολογητῶν τοὺς ἐξορυχθέντας ὀφθαλμοὺς καὶ τὰ πηρωθέντα μέλη ἐν τῷ διωγμῷ κατεφίλει, ἁγιασμὸν ἐξ αὐτῶν πορίζόμενος. παρῄνει δὲ πᾶσι τοῖς ἐπισκόποις εἰρήνην ἄγειν καὶ τῶν κατὰ τοῦ πλησίον λοιδοριῶν ἀπέχεσθαι. τοὺς δὲ λιβέλλους, οὓς κατ' ἀλλήλων τινὲς ἐπιδεδώκασιν, πυρὶ κατέκαυσεν ὅρκῳ βεβαιῶν, ὡς, εἰ ἴδοι ἐπίσκοπον μοιχεύοντα, τῇ πορφυρίδι σκέπειν τοῦτον προθύμως. πολλὰ δὲ πάσαις ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις δωρησάμενος καὶ τοῖς ἄρχουσι τῶν ἐθνῶν τιμᾶν τοὺς ἱερεῖς παρακελευσάμενος χαίροντας ἅπαντας ἐξαπέστειλεν. τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως ὑπὸ φιλοσόφων Ἑλλήνων ὀνειδισθέντος [ἐν Βυζαντίῳ, ὡς οὐ πράττει καλῶς παρὰ τὰ ἔθη τῶν βασιλέων Ῥωμαίων νεωτερίζων τὴν θρησκείαν, ἔδοξε τῷ βασιλεῖ ἕνα τῶν φιλοσόφων Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ τοῦτον πρὸς τὸ διαλεχθῆναι μετ' αὐτοῦ παραπέμψαι. ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος θεῖος μὲν ἦν ἀνήρ, λόγων δὲ ἄπειρος. εἶπε δὲ τῷ διαλεκτικῷ φιλοσόφῳ γλωσσαλγοῦντι· "ἐπιτάττω σοι ἐν ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ θεοῦ σιωπᾶν καὶ μὴ φθέγγεσθαι." ἅμα δὲ τῷ λόγῳ ἐφιμώθη καὶ γέγονεν ἄλαλος.

а єппоу иєрлмкоу макароу соущоу на соборѣ. гла црь єгда сѧ въспѧтиши рікы. то да поищи мѣста доліѡвн. то да поищи мѣста въстанаго. и главнааго голгооы. и животворнаго древа.
Въ то лѣто и стѣи єлене мтри своіи. вѣнець дасть црскыи. и ѡбразъ на цѧтѣ ѩки црци писати. си въ снѣ видѣ повелѣніє вела въ иєрлмъ ити. и ѡ соуть мѣста стаа. безаконникы тѣми посыпана. то та ѿкрывша ѿвавити. си оу сна сѧ прошьши. є ѿ бга и бѣ повелѣно тожє скоуати хотѧщи. црь жє сътвори ѩко ємоу мти въсхотѣ. црь жє великыи хотѧ гра сътворити. на равьнинѣ[23] же [выше вузантіа] на въстокъ зрѧщє[24] вышє єасова гроба. идє мѣнѧть станищє корабленоє бывшє пришєшє.[25]

The emperor ordered Makarios, bishop of Jerusalem, who was present at the synod, to search out on his return the site of the holy Resurrection and that of Golgotha of the skull and the life-giving wood.
In the same year he crowned Helena, his god-minded mother, and assigned to her as empress the privilege of coinage. She had a vision which ordered her to go to Jerusalem and to bring to light the sacred sites which had been buried by the impious. She begged her son to fulfil these commands sent to her from God. And the emperor acted as his mother wanted.
The great emperor wanted to build a city on the plain looking to the East [sic] above the tomb of Ajax where, so they say, the Greeks had established their anchorage.

τῷ δὲ ἐπισκόπῳ Ἱεροσολύμων Μακαρίῳ παρόντι ἐν τῇ συνόδῳ προσέταξεν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπανιόντι ἐρευνῆσαι τὸν τόπον τῆς ἁγίας ἀναστάσεως καὶ τὸν τοῦ κρανίου Γολγοθὰ καὶ τὸ ζωοποιὸν ξύλον. τῷ δ' αὐτῷ ἔτει Ἑλένην, τὴν θεόφρονα αὐτοῦ μητέρα, ἔστεψε καὶ μονήταν ὡς βασιλίδι ἀπένειμεν. αὕτη δὲ ὀπτασίαν ἑώρακε κελεύουσαν αὐτῇ καταλαβεῖν τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ τοὺς ὑπὸ ἀνόμων καταχωσθέντας θείους τόπους εἰς φῶς ἀγαγεῖν. ἡ δὲ τὸν παῖδα Κωνσταντῖνον ᾐτήσατο τὰ θεόθεν αὐτῇ κελευσθέντα πληρῶσαι. ὁ δὲ τὴν ὑπακοὴν πεποίηκεν. θείῳ δὲ νεύματι κινούμενος ὁ εὐσεβὴς Κωνσταντῖνος πόλιν εἰς ἴδιον ὄνομα κτίσαι βουληθεὶς ἐν τῷ πρὸ τοῦ Ἰλίου πεδίῳ ὑπὲρ τὸν Αἴαντος τάφον, οὗ δή φασι τὸν ναύσταθμον ἐσχηκέναι τοὺς ἐπὶ Τροίαν στρατεύσαντας Ἕλληνας, θεὸς κατ' ὄναρ αὐτῷ ἐκέλευσεν ἐν τῷ Βυζαντίῳ κτίσαι τὴν νῦν Κωνσταντινούπολιν·

—

(23) наравноваваши Und.; cf. 454': на людии полѣ.
(24) The Slavonic translator was visibly not familiar with the toponym Ἰλιός and perceived it as a form of ἥλιος, "sun," but also "place where the sun rises," i.e. the East.
(25) Symbol for the end of the chronicle in Und.

THEOPHANES

AND EARLY BYZANTINE HISTORY

THE FIRST HALF OF THEOPHANES' *CHRONICLE*

by Roger Scott

Theophanes' chronicle[1] covers the period 284–813 and was put together only shortly after 813 since Theophanes was dead by 818 at the latest and probably by March 817.[2] The main interest in it arises from its being our main narrative source for the seventh and eighth centuries. My interest is, however, in the early part up to 602 for much of which we have Theophanes' sources. Since we do have these sources, we obviously do not turn to Theophanes as a source and so the questions we ask about the chronicle are necessarily different from those asked about the second part. For since we do possess Theophanes' sources, we can observe how he uses them. Though for the most part Theophanes simply repeats his sources almost verbatim (Cyril Mango's "dossier"), he also manipulates these sources in various ways to produce his own interpretation of history. That interpretation can be summed up as showing (not surprisingly) that God rewards pious orthodoxy and punishes heresy. The paper will examine how Theophanes achieves this while still remaining loyal to the wording of his sources that at times imply something rather different from what Theophanes' narrative suggests. So the paper will also look at problems Theophanes confronted in dealing with (and exploiting) his sources, particularly in his account of Justinian.

1. The paper contains nothing that is not included somewhere in my previous publications, especially my joint translation with Cyril Mango and in two articles: Writing the reign of Justinian : Malalas *versus* Theophanes, in *The sixth century : end or beginning?*, ed. by P. Allen and E. Jeffreys (Byzantina Australiensia 10), Brisbane 1996, pp. 20–34, and "The events of every year, arranged without confusion" : Justinian and others in the *Chronicle* of Theophanes Confessor, in *L'écriture de la mémoire : la littérarité de l'historiographie : actes du III[e] colloque international philologique EPMHNEIA, Nicosie, 6-7-8 mai 2004, organisé par l'EHESS et l'université de Chypre*, sous la dir. de P. Odorico, P. A. Agapitos, M. Hinterberger (Dossiers byzantins 6), Paris 2006, pp. 49–65. My only excuse for publishing it here is that it may, with editorial support, be considered convenient to have this material available among a series of papers devoted to Theophanes. Since I am repeating material published elsewhere, I have not hesitated to copy and paste that material verbatim, arguably imitating Theophanes' technique. References to Theophanes are by "AM" to *Chronographia*, ed. C. de Boor, and to Mango – Scott. Where the "AM" entry exceeds a page in length I include a page reference to de Boor.

2. C. Van der Vorst, En quelle année mourut S. Théophane le Chronographe?, *AnBoll* 31, 1912, pp. 148–56; Mango – Scott, pp. l–li.

Studies in Theophanes, ed. by M. Jankowiak & F. Montinaro (Travaux et mémoires 19), Paris 2015, pp. 239–60.

It is, however, still worth pointing out that the early part of Theophanes does have some historical value. There are places where we do not have Theophanes' source. In those places Theophanes is valuable partly for the information he preserves and partly as a way of reconstructing earlier writers whom we know Theophanes has used. For instance quite a few fragments attributed to the fifth-century historian Priscus in fact come from Theophanes, and the same is true for Eustathios of Epiphaneia,[3] and most particularly for reconstructing the chronicle of Malalas. But these and other instances where Theophanes provides valuable information are outside the scope of this paper.[4]

On Theophanes' use of sources there are two general views. Cyril Mango maintains that the chronicle is essentially a dossier or file of a large number of passages from earlier writers which he (or George Synkellos) had copied almost word-for-word and which he arranged in a suitable order—and perhaps just changed a few words here and there as he joined these passages together.[5] By this view Theophanes really wrote very little but simply put together this collection of other writers' words, and consequently made little or no attempt at interpretation. On the other hand the Russian scholar Chichurov has argued that Theophanes not only adapted material but did so in a way that shows him being influenced by classical writers of history, especially in his preface where he shows his personality, and thus he was able to rewrite material like any educated classical writer.[6]

My own position is a sort of compromise (a dossier with adaptations) but I am very much closer to Professor Mango's position. I would like to stress this closeness because here I mainly want to discuss Theophanes' adaptations and his ability to manipulate the material in his sources, despite usually copying it verbatim. Certainly in my view Theophanes' adaptations are quite different from the kind Chichurov finds and owe absolutely nothing to the classical tradition of historiography. What I shall be arguing is that Theophanes, although in essence he simply compiles a collection of other writers' passages, still manipulates these passages enough to impress on them his own interpretation of the past. Thus I shall argue that Theophanes, despite providing a file of earlier writers' work, nevertheless still interferes with his sources in such a way that he presents a quite different interpretation of the past from that given by his sources.

3. For Priscus see the notes in Mango – Scott for AM 5936, 5937, 5942, 5945, 5946, 5954, 5961–4; for Eustathius of Epiphaneia see 5954, 5961–3, 5971, 5977, 5983–4, 5996. In several cases the so-called accepted fragmentary texts of Priscus are simply passages preserved only by Theophanes. From the concentration of passages in this period (AD 443–504), it is quite likely that other passages of Theophanes for this period, where a precise source has not been identified, are also drawn from Priscus, probably via Eustathius of Epiphaneia. For a valuable discussion, see F. M. Clover, Timekeeping and dyarchy in Vandal Africa. Appendix B. A hint from Theophanes, *AnTard* 11, 2003, pp. 59–61.

4. Most notably on *Alexandria*, e.g. at AM 5914, 5928, 5935. Among the more significant other items Theophanes is the only source for the presidents at the first ecumenical synod at Nicaea at 5816; provides unique additional information on Kalokairos' revolt at 5825; provides the most detailed version of the circus dialogue in the Nika riot at 6024; is the sole source for Maurice's triumph at 6078.

5. Mango, Who wrote the Chronicle, p. 17. Cf. Mango – Scott, p. lxxiv.

6. И. С. Чичуров, Феофан, компилятор Феофилакта Симокатты, *ADSV* 10, 1973, pp. 203–6; Id., Феофан Исповедник, компилятор Прокопия, *VV* 37, 1976, pp. 62–73. I acknowledge that I only know these works indirectly. Cf. A. Karpozilos, Monastic world chronicle: Theophanes the confessor, in his *A history of Byzantine historians 650–850* (The National Hellenic Research Foundation, Institute for Byzantine Research: Research series 1), Athens 1999, pp. 203–34, at 219–20.

Theophanes' approach is rigorously annalistic, i.e. it consists of year-by-year notices of what the author considered important or at least of what he could find for any given year. This remains true whether or not the complex chronographic information listed at the opening of each year in all except the earliest manuscripts was Theophanes' own contribution or was a later addition, perhaps at the instigation of his descendant, the empress Zoe Carbonopsina.[7] Once such a rigorous system is adopted, the chronicler is forced to assign to a specific year any information he wants to include in his chronicle. A vague "during the reign of the emperor Constantine" for example will no longer do. The chronicler must decide on a specific year for every item he includes. Various questions arise from this. First, since Theophanes' sources usually do not provide specific dates for their information, how did Theophanes decide to allocate specific dates (and is he reliable)? Second, how well equipped was Theophanes to understand the sources he used, often written some centuries before him in various levels of Greek? Could he understand classicising and earlier Greek? Third, what degree of historical acumen did he bring to his task?

But before going on to discuss these questions, I want to emphasise, as Cyril Mango has also done, the enormity of the task faced by Theophanes and George Synkellos and the greatness of their achievement. Professor Mango does not often give praise to Byzantine writers so his emphasis on Theophanes' achievement needs noting. "The *Chronicle* of Synkellos, combined with 'Theophanes', represents the greatest achievement of Byzantine historical scholarship and presupposes the utilisation of a vast body of material, much of which would have been otherwise unknown to us."[8] I also particularly want to emphasise that achievement and the difficulties the chroniclers faced, since much of the rest of this paper will be drawing attention to Theophanes' shortcomings, which are also manifold.

Ability to cope with language of his sources

I want to look first at levels of language as evidence of his education and ability to cope with his sources. What can this tell us about him as an historian? Two of his sources, Procopius and Theophylact Simocatta, wrote in a classicising Greek style which was complicated and presumably far removed from contemporary ninth-century spoken Greek. In general Theophanes seems aware that the language of these writers needs some simplification for his readers though for the most part he copies verbatim. When these authors, particularly Theophylact Simocatta, are forced into using a non-literary term for which they apologize, Theophanes will accept the term without apology. For instance he refers to κόστος (AM 6092), an aromatic herb used in the preparation of unguents, and τοῦλδον, "baggage" (AM 6078). In both cases, Theophanes' source is Theophylact and in each case Theophylact in a way apologizes to his readers for using an unclassical word[9]

7. As discussed elsewhere in this volume by F. Ronconi (chronographic information) and J. Signes Codoñer (Zoe Carbonopsina).

8. Mango, Who wrote the Chronicle, p. 17.

9. Theoph. Sim., II, 4.1, "the Persian baggage, which the Romans in their native tongue are accustomed to call *touldon* (τοῦλδον)" transl. : *The History of Theophylact Simocatta*, an English transl. with introd. and notes by M. and M. Whitby, Oxford 1986, p. 47; VII, 13, ὁ λεγόμενος κόστος.

since he is writing "History," but Theophanes, who is writing a chronicle, has no need to apologize for his vocabulary. That is the difference in the genres.

Likewise there are examples from the Psalms. So at AM 6094 (p. 286), Theophanes makes a simple and more biblical substitution for Theophylact Simocatta's high-flown language. Faced with Simocatta's "an avaricious manner brings forth nothing good: avarice is a citadel of evils,"[10] which evidently impressed Constantine Porphyrogennetos who also preserves this for his encyclopaedic collection on sayings (περὶ γνώμων), Theophanes produces "avarice gives birth to nothing good but is the mother of all evils." This is presumably based on 1Timothy 6, "The love of money is the root of all evil." The point is that the complex, difficult and, in my view and probably also in Theophanes' view, obscure language of Theophylact has been replaced by a phrase based closely on a passage in the New Testament with which his readers would have been familiar—and so could understand. Likewise, also at AM 6094 (p. 290), when Phokas makes Maurice watch the execution of his children, Theophanes recognizes that his source, again Theophylact Simocatta,[11] had attributed to Maurice a paraphrase of Psalm 118 (119), 137, so Theophanes restores the actual words of the psalm.

In these examples, Theophanes' object has been to simplify the difficult language of his source. There are, however, some technical terms he simply does not understand. For instance, *parasang* is beyond him. Technically a *parasang* is a Persian unit of time rather than of distance but Greeks had traditionally used it for distance, estimating it at thirty stades which is about five to six kilometres or three to four miles. And that seems to be how his source, again Theophylact Simocatta, uses it. But it is an obscure word and Theophanes clearly does not know what it means. So first he "translates" thirty parasangs at AM 6085 as thirty miles, but then at AM 6092 twenty parasangs become thirty miles. He clearly had no idea what this obscure word *parasang* was. So he just guessed, though what is a little worrying is not that he guessed wrongly but that he guessed differently as well as wrongly each time.

He had similar difficulties with strange names and also with some Greek particles which were not in frequent use. There is a nice example where Procopius refers to a Goth called Hoamer and follows the name with the particle γοῦν.[12] This is too difficult for Theophanes who (at AM 6026, p. 187.23) seems to have taken the ὁ at the beginning of "Hoamer" to be the definite article and has joined the rest of the name "Amer" with the particle γοῦν to create a new name with a nominative case of Ἀμεργοῦς "Amergous" (with presumably an accusative of "Amergoun"), though elsewhere (pp. 188.4 and 188.10) he calls him "Amer" without apparently realizing this is the same man, the Hoamer of Procopius. He does the same thing in reverse at AM 5782 where he creates a new name of Hobousiris out of ὁ Βούσιρις. Likewise Malalas' Βώα ῥήγισσα (XVIII, 13) ("queen Boa" which in the Slavonic version of Malalas appears as *Boa rex* or King Boa), becomes in Theophanes Βοαρήξ, "a woman named Boarex joined the Romans" (AM 6020, p. 175.13). He sometimes spells people's names differently within a few lines, but he usually seems to know it is the same person and perhaps he is simply the victim of later scribal error.

10. Theoph. Sim., VIII, 7.1, transl. Whitby p. 219.
11. Theoph. Sim., VIII, 11.5.
12. Proc., BV I 9.2.

But in his account of the Vandal war at AM 6026, which he takes from Procopius, after summarizing a difficult section of Procopius very accurately, he forgets that a character named "Goddas" is already dead and gives an account of a military campaign in which the same Goddas is very much alive on the same page (p. 189). But these are problems of forgetfulness and incompetence as an historian—they are not problems of having misunderstood the Greek. He does, admittedly, have problems with Persian titles, but then most Greek writers did, whether they were writing in the Byzantine, Roman or classical times. There are some minor problems of understanding. At AM 6089 he does not recognize a town in Bulgaria called Asemos which becomes ἐπίσημοι, meaning "distinguished" or "leading," which leads to his conflating a Byzantine general's arrival at two different places into a single arrival. He may also have invented an earthquake at AM 5812 where his source probably said that the heretic Arius shook [ἐτάραξε] the Church. Since God sends earthquakes to show His displeasure, when Arius shook the Church, this is turned by Theophanes into God shaking the earth, hence an earthquake.

These are relatively minor errors for determining the level of his knowledge of Greek or his level of education. More worrying are the places where he does not understand his sources and gets it wrong. There are several examples from Theophylact Simocatta whose Greek can be very difficult (some are discussed below), and fewer from Procopius whose Greek is generally more straightforward. But even for Malalas, whose Greek is usually so simple, he sometimes gets it wrong. For instance Theophanes adds to modern scholarship's problem in understanding the meaning of *limes*, where he simply does not understand Malalas' use of *limes*, which he adapts with his own terminology which unfortunately sometimes appears in the modern literature.[13]

At AM 6020 Theophanes takes over Malalas' account of Justinian's inheritance laws for clergy and monks.[14] This is one of the few places where Malalas' Greek is complicated and so Theophanes appears to have attempted to simplify it and in doing so reveals that he simply has not understood Malalas. Likewise at AM 6088 in his account of Maurice's new deal for soldiers' service conditions, Theophanes simply omits from Theophylact the vital factor which makes sense of the reform. And at AM 6078 he becomes so thoroughly confused by Theophylact's Greek that he turns a single battle into two separate clashes. At AM 6064 (p. 245) he again has made little sense of Theophylact, resulting in his giving a misleading version of events. In all these examples Theophanes appears not to be able to cope with Theophylact's complicated syntax and vocabulary.

There are other occasions where he varies Theophylact though he clearly understands Theophylact's version. So at AM 6092 he omits Theophylact's support for the Avar Khagan's accusations against Maurice. Theophylact notes that the Khagan "accused the emperor of rocking the peace, and his words were not wide of the mark: for in fact the Romans, as counterfeiters of peace and artificers of war, fell into the previously recounted misfortunes."[15] Maurice is for the most part a good emperor in Theophanes, so Theophanes does not let his readers hear Theophylact's agreement with the accusations made against Maurice. More interestingly at AM 6081, after the Persian king Chosroes

13. E.g. at AM 6021 with discussion of the passage at MANGO – SCOTT p. 272–3.
14. Mal., XVIII, 11.
15. Theoph. Sim., VII, 15.13, transl. Whitby p. 201.

had regained his throne with Byzantine help. Theophylact describes this as a glorious conclusion to the campaign.[16] This is too much for Theophanes' patriotism, so he substitutes for this a reference to Maurice's "great love for the barbarians," a love which fairly obviously Theophanes does not share.

Generally Theophanes' level of Greek writing is quite pedestrian. Just occasionally we get signs of literary inventiveness, which probably is not welcome in a chronicler. We prefer our chroniclers just to copy what is in front of them rather than have imagination. But Theophanes' rare attempts at literary inventiveness actually do not affect his reliability. Thus at AM 6080 where Theophylact had described Hormisdas' character rather viciously, Theophanes turns the description into a speech which he attributes to Hormisdas' enemy Baram. He does the same thing a little later at AM 6094 where he transfers two sentences of narrative into a speech. In both cases this is effective. The only other example I have noticed is about two hundred pages earlier at AM 5867, where he does the same thing for Valentinian, turning into direct speech Valentinian's final outburst of temper which led to his fatal heart attack. For the historian the fact that there is a gap of 200 pages between examples of literary inspiration is probably reassuring. More reassuring is that in these examples Theophanes is still faithful to the wording of his source and the information it provides.

There are, however, a very few places where Theophanes appears to have changed a word in his source for no apparent reason. This has sometimes tempted scholars to show faith in Theophanes' conservatism and accuracy and so ascribe the supposed error to a scribe. But when all the manuscripts and the early Latin translation by Anastasius, the papal librarian, are in total agreement, it is more likely that Theophanes made the change and did so quite deliberately. Let me give two examples of what I see as deliberate alteration (though the first one does not involve Anastasius). Theophanes gives the cause of the Nika riots as follows at AM 6024 (p. 184.3): "A pretext for a faction riot was offered by some officials." For officials he uses μαίστορες.[17] His source, Malalas has ἀλάστορες, "avenging spirits" or perhaps "wretches," and both J. B. Bury and Alan Cameron want to restore this to Theophanes' text.[18] But "officials" provides a better link between the circus dialogue and the following narrative than does ἀλάστορες, and is typical of Theophanes' method of compensation, in this case for his complete omission of the sacking of Eudaimon (the city prefect), John of Cappadocia (the praetorian prefect) and Tribonian (the quaestor), which is recorded in all the main versions of the riot. That is, Theophanes omits an important detail from his source, the sacking of officials, but compensates for this by altering another part of his source so that his narrative is still consistent with his source. In this case we admittedly do not have any evidence from Anastasius, either "for" or "against," as Anastasius omits the Nika riots, but we do simply have a unanimous manuscript tradition.

A slightly different kind of alteration occurs in Theophanes' version of Justin II's speech appointing Tiberius as his successor at AM 6070. Justin warns Tiberius to pay

16. Theoph. Sim., V, 15.2.

17. μαίστωρ not listed in LSJ or Lampe but for its use as equivalent of *magister* or μάγιστρος see C. Du Cange, *Glossarium ad scriptores mediae et infimae Graecitatis*, Lugduni 1688, pp. 844–5.

18. J. B. Bury, Zu einer Stelle der Chronik des Theophanes, *BZ* 6, 1897, p. 508; Al. Cameron, *Circus factions: Blues and Greens at Rome and Byzantium*, Oxford 1976, p. 326 note 3.

attention to the army but shun "soldiers," μὴ στρατιώτας δεξῇ. His source, Theophylact, has συκοφάντας "sycophants" instead of "soldiers." So de Boor restored "sycophants" to the text here in his excellent edition. But all the manuscripts and Anastasius read "soldiers," so given the unanimity of the manuscript tradition supported by Anastasius' translation, it must surely have been what Theophanes wrote. I can only hazard a guess about his reason. Perhaps Theophanes is stressing the importance of maintaining a strong army while resisting the influence of military men—which I think would also suit his concerns about the Iconoclast emperors and the influence soldiers held over them. There are very few places where I would disagree with de Boor's text and almost always it is where de Boor has given credit to Theophanes for following his source when the manuscripts suggest Theophanes has changed his source.[19]

Date calculations

It is also worth looking briefly at some of the places where we can perhaps see how he works out dates when his source does not provide a date. For this I have to admit I may be trying to read Theophanes' mind, which is always a risky process. But I think it is worth trying to see how his mind works (or at least how I think his mind worked). At AM 6014 (AD 521/2) we have accounts of earthquakes in Dyrrachium and Corinth and at AM 6017 (AD 524/5) at Edessa and elsewhere. For the first ones, Theophanes has deduced the date sensibly from Malalas but not necessarily accurately. I have discussed the difficulties elsewhere[20] but the main point is that Malalas does not provide precise dates so Theophanes appears to have tried to work them out from the order of events and his assumptions about hints given in the text. So Theophanes' date does not have independent value. But more intriguing is the earthquake at Edessa, not so much for the date of the earthquake but rather for Theophanes' ability to find a precise date for the following strange incident.

> *In the same year there appeared a giant-like woman from Cilicia, who surpassed in stature every full-grown man by a cubit and was extremely broad. She travelled round the cities and received one* follis *from each shop.* (AM 6017)

Malalas (XVII, 7) places this early in his account of Justin, seemingly in Justin's first year, but the preceding sentence runs: "During his reign hippodromes were provided for the Seleukeians and Isaurians," and the giant from Cilicia is placed in the same year. Since Malalas mentions a little later (XVII, 15) that Edessa was founded by Seleukos and that Justin provided it with many beautiful works, Theophanes appears to have guessed that one of these may have been the hippodrome and this may have been built immediately following the earthquake there. Since Malalas' following sentence (XVII, 16) refers precisely to Justin's seventh year, Theophanes uses this to find a precise date for the female giant instead of Malalas' vague "during his reign." This daring methodology

19. Cf AM 5833, 6044, 6059 with discussion in Mango – Scott *ad loc.*

20. Mango – Scott, p. 256. Malalas places the two earthquakes after his account of Justin's closing of the Antiochene Olympic games "after the 14th indiction" (i.e. 520/1) in the year 568 (i.e. of Antioch = 519/20). In between Malalas refers to Anatolius being *comes Orientis* which was probably in 525 (*PLRE*, II, p. 84).

consequently produced for Theophanes a date of Justin's seventh year (AD 524/5) rather than Malalas' account of early in the reign. That also shows the need for caution in accepting Theophanes' dates. If I am right about Theophanes' methodology another point also needs noting. It is that Theophanes actually conceals the evidence that he uses. Here he is very clearly using Malalas, but he carefully omits from his own account the sentence from Malalas that Seleukos founded Edessa and that Justin built a hippodrome there. But he nevertheless uses this material to date the appearance of the giant woman.

What I need to stress again here is that Theophanes was writing an annalistic chronicle. That is, he was committed to finding a precise date for everything he included. So I think it is reasonable for us, when we know his date for an event and we know his source, to try and see if we can work out how he managed to deduce a date for something where his source clearly has no reliable indication of a date.[21] There are two other points which follow from this: first that we need to be very cautious about accepting Theophanes' dates; but second, even where we reject his dates, we should note that we have an author who is doing more than merely copying his source. He is thinking about his source and trying to tease out of his source all that he can. And that means we should not be surprised if he adapts his source and makes use of it to support his own ideas about both the past and the present.

Helping readers to understand the past correctly

So let us now turn to some examples of the ways Theophanes helps his readers to understand history correctly, that is, in the way Theophanes thought we should understand the past.

Liberal attitudes towards pagans and Jews are not one of the features of Byzantine literature, so one may feel some surprise to hear that a sixth-century Christian could write the following:

The emperor Valens granted immunity to the pagans to hold their sacrifices and festivals. Likewise he cherished and honoured the Jews.[22]

This rather unlikely statement comes not from Theophanes but from the ecclesiastical history of Theodore Lector, writing at the beginning of the sixth century, though Theodore's actual view is revealed in the continuation of the sentence which I discuss below. From the statement as it stands, however, one might reasonably argue that Valens maintained a policy of religious toleration that would do him credit in any period,

21. For some other examples see MANGO – SCOTT at AM 5796 note 4 (concealing evidence for date); 5834 note 3; 5950 note 4; 6013 notes 1 and 5; 6016 notes 5, 9, and 10; 6026 notes 68 and 76; 6033 note 1; 6043 note 1; 6063 note 3; 6091 note 4; 6058 note 4 (dating rearrangement possibly to support a political interpretation); 6071 note 1 (omission of the key to dating); 6079 note 1 (accurate deduction of a date). Among the more intriguing later examples is his rearrangement of the chronology of Heraclius' reign to fit a schematic pattern linking success with piety and failure with impiety. See J. FERBER, Theophanes' account of the reign of Heraclius, *Byzantine papers : proceedings of the first Australian Byzantine studies conference, Canberra, 17-19 May 1978*, ed. by E. and M. Jeffreys and A. Moffatt (*Byzantina Australiensia* 1), Canberra 1981, pp. 32–42.

22. Theod. Lect., fr. 160, p. 67. 22-4.



and indeed there are modern writers who do give Valens credit for the fairness of his religious policies, though they are usually referring to other matters and making use of better sources than Theodore Lector.[23] In actual fact at this time (AD 371–2), Valens was probably cracking down on paganism, with executions, confiscations and a prohibition of blood sacrifices, his aim being to prevent divination.[24] But it is not the historical accuracy or otherwise of Theodore's statement that concerns me here, and Theodore would presumably have been horrified to think that any later reader would have given Valens at least some good points for this apparent liberalism and toleration. Theodore's own view is made clear in the continuation of his sentence. "[Valens] persecuted only the champions of apostolic teaching," which also reflects accurately enough the view in Theodore's fifth-century source, which here is Theodoret (Theodoret, *HE* IV, 24). Being nice to pagans and Jews was not a good thing in the eyes of our Byzantine sources. So far as both writers were concerned, Valens was a supporter of the number one heresy, Arianism, and consequently was to be portrayed as a bad emperor in their simple judgmental interpretation of history. But despite this Theodore's language is usually very restrained in expressing his judgments and evidently too restrained for Theophanes' taste.

Theodore Lector's ecclesiastical history is in fact a compilation from three fifth-century writers, Socrates, Sozomen and Theodoret whose three separate accounts of Church history he turned into a single narrative. My interest in Theodore is simply that his account is demonstrably the major source used by Theophanes for most of the fourth and fifth centuries. It is clear enough that for the period down to the end of the sixth century, for which we have many of his sources, Theophanes copied his sources more or less verbatim. It is this that gives us confidence in relying on his material for the seventh and eighth centuries for much of which he is our main and often our sole source. Our confidence in his reliability for the later periods depends considerably on the assumption that Theophanes does simply copy his sources rather than use his own powers of interpretation, so that his material can be treated as an excellent witness of source material that is either contemporaneous with the events described or at least much closer to being contemporaneous than the ninth century. He is a kind of source book rather than a historian. But what I want to show now is that Theophanes does interfere with his sources and is prepared to adapt them to make sure that his readers interpreted the events correctly and could not possibly make the mistake of giving any credit to villains in the past, that is to heretics, pagans or anyone who was not both Christian and orthodox. That fact ought to be remembered when we read Theophanes for the seventh and eighth centuries.

To return to our quote from Theodore Lector. Theophanes takes it over verbatim at AM 5863 apart from adding one word: the epithet "accursed" (ὁ μιαρός) to Valens. So the sentence now begins "The accursed Valens granted immunity to the pagans to hold their sacrifices and festivals. Likewise he cherished and honoured the Jews." The epithet "accursed" thus ensures that there is no chance of his readers thinking that Valens' measures were a good thing. This is Theophanes' basic technique, namely to add adjectives or adverbs to colour what had been in his source a plain statement of

23. E.g. A. H. M. JONES, *The later Roman Empire 284–602*, Oxford 1964, pp. 149–52 (though with greater credit given to Valens' brother Valentinian).

24. E. STEIN, *Histoire du Bas-Empire*, Paris 1949–59, I, p. 177.

fact. His usual epithet for Valens is impious (δυσσεβής) which he uses of Valens five times[25] and which he also applies to Valens' Arian patriarch Eudoxios twice. In all of these cases Theophanes has added the epithet to what he found in his source, a source which he has otherwise followed word for word apart from the addition of the colouring adjective. In all but one of these cases the source is Theodore Lector and since we also have Theodore's sources, we have an added check that the addition of the epithet is due to Theophanes and it is not a case of faulty transmission of the text. Historians are of course entitled to interpret their sources and there is little doubt that in these cases Theophanes' interpretation is consistent with the view of the source that Valens was an Arian and hence that his religious views were impious. But by adding the colouring epithets Theophanes has made it easier for his readers to be sure they are interpreting history accurately. Otherwise Theophanes remains true to his source, usually copying it verbatim or almost so. This happens frequently enough to provide confidence that we are not dealing with the accident of survival.

Sometimes Theophanes does rather more than simply add colour. So at AM 5860, not only does Theophanes add παρανόμως "illegally," παράνομος "illegal," δυσσεβής "impious" and ἀνόσιοι "unholy" to Theodore Lector's material, but he also appears to change the subject of the sentence, replacing what he has assumed to be "the orthodox" (though in fact Macedonian heretics) with Valens and the Arian patriarch Eudoxios, here described as "the unholy pair," while at the same time carefully omitting a sentence from Theodore that gave Valens credit for also persecuting the Macedonians. The effect is to change an attempt by the Macedonians to gain support from Rome into a devious trick by the Arian pair to deceive the pope.

> *Others relate that after he became emperor, when he was baptized by Eudoxios, he confirmed on oath at his baptism that his views were Arian and that he would not accept the consubstantial, and thus the unholy pair launched numberless persecutions against the orthodox. They sent the Armenian Eustathios, Silvanus of Tarsos and Theophilos of Kastabala to Liberius of Rome, promising through them that they would accept the consubstantial.*

Remarkably Anastasius the papal librarian also accepts the Macedonians as being the orthodox, providing here a word for word Latin translation of Theophanes (Anast., p. 91.17–23), so there can be no doubt about Theophanes' text or its meaning. So the way both Theophanes and Anastasius represent this, it is the unholy pair who deceptively assure the pope of their acceptance of the consubstantial. Yet it is perfectly clear from both Theodore Lector and Theodore's sources that the subject of "sent" is not the unholy pair but the Macedonians. It is clear that Theophanes has deliberately misapplied his source to give a misleading impression. Here his source, Theodore Lector, gives Valens the credit for persecuting a heretical group, the Macedonians. Theophanes, not wanting to give Valens any credit, simply omits that sentence, which results in his identifying the Macedonians as the orthodox which in turn virtually compels him to distort his source by turning it into his claim that Valens and Eudoxios attempted to deceive the pope into thinking that they were orthodox.

25. At AM 5857, 5860, 5861, 5862, 5870.

For the reign of Valens, then, Theophanes' basic technique is to add a hostile epithet to Valens or to any of his supporters, and occasionally restructure sentences in his source which were favourable to Valens in such a way that the favourable element is either neutralised or turned to Valens' detriment. For Valentinian and Valens Theophanes may well have felt a particular need to add colour or to neutralise problems in his sources since in addition to his main source, the thoroughly orthodox Theodore Lector, his supplementary source may well have been an Arian chronicle which does not survive but for which Theophanes is by far the major provider in attempts at its reconstruction.[26]

It is one thing to show that Theophanes has coloured his portrayal of Valens in a hostile way. It is another to show that Valens' reign is seen as a failure and that the reason for the failure is Valens' impiety. Although this could be demonstrated, it should be obvious enough to anyone who reads the section on Valens. One example will suffice.

> *Worse things happened to the orthodox during the period of the impious Valens and Eudoxios than during the pagan persecution.* (AM 5861)

Theophanes is, however, rather more explicit in the cases of Zeno and Anastasios to whom he is similarly hostile for their opposition to the Council of Chalcedon. In their two cases he avoids epithets for the most part. Rather we get a generalised statement about their reigns. Twice we are told for Anastasios that he was the one who ruled badly, and Theophanes does this even before his narrative has reached Anastasios' reign. Here in fact it seems that Theophanes uses the expression apparently simply as a way of identifying which Anastasios he is talking about. It is as if he can rely on his audience already having sufficient historical knowledge to be aware that Anastasios was a bad emperor. So at AM 5982 (two years before the reign begins) we are told:

> *The most orthodox Euphemios drove out of church the* silentiarius *Anastasios, the one who subsequently ruled wickedly as emperor, for being a heretic and of the same persuasion as Eutyches.*

Again in the following year (AM 5983), in discussing the election to the patriarchate of Antioch, Theophanes reports that

> *The other candidates were John the son of Constantine and Anastasios the* silentiarius *who <later> ruled wickedly as emperor.*

And at his death at AM 6010 there is at least a suggestion of divine intervention.

> *In the same year on the 9th of April of the 11th indiction, Anastasios the impious emperor died after ruling for 27 years and 7 months, in the year 234 after Diocletian. In his place the pious Justin became emperor, an old and experienced man who, beginning as a soldier, had advanced to the senate, an Illyrian by race. Some say that Anastasios, after being struck by a divine thunderbolt, went mad.*

26. MANGO – SCOTT, pp. lxxx–lxxxi. Theophanes is represented in 45 of the 48 fragments in J. Bidez's attempted reconstruction in his edition of Philostorgios, far more than any other author. Theophanes was obviously successful in eliminating the Arian aspects of the source which can only be recognised in parallel passages. This again is a reminder that Theophanes did not just copy unthinkingly.

In between these opening and closing comments this picture of Anastasios' failure is continued throughout:

> *Anastasios, the law-breaking emperor, and Timothy, the impious bishop of Constantinople, performed many evil acts against the monks, clergy and laity who supported Makedonios and the synod, so that many were banished to Oasis in the Thebaid. They sent Timothy's synodical letter and Makedonios' notice of deposition to the bishops in each city to sign. Of these the braver resisted both, but those of unstable character subscribed to both out of fear of the emperor.* (AM 6005, AD 512/3, p. 157)

> *All the people and the senate reviled Anastasios openly as a perjurer. But that lawless man shamelessly stated that there was a law commanding the emperor to commit perjury and to lie when necessary. Such were the acts of this utterly lawless follower of Manes.* (AM 6006, AD 513/4, p. 161)

But for a summary interpretation of a reign before it is described there is Theophanes' description of Zeno at the outset of his reign.

> *Zeno ruled alone for seventeen years and two months, including the twenty months of Basiliskos' usurpation. Zeno administered the empire harmfully; in the beginning the Saracens overran Mesopotamia and the Huns Thrace, causing severe damage to the State, while the emperor spent his time on wicked pleasures and unjust deeds.* (AM 5966, AD 473/4, p. 120)

Here we get the combination of (a) Zeno's rule being described as harmful; (b) the harm being defined as military failure and (c) the explanation of the failure being the emperor's wicked pleasures and unjust deeds, which the following narrative makes abundantly clear consist largely of his improper religious beliefs.

Since Anastasios' badness as a ruler appears to stem entirely from his opposition to Chalcedon, we get here an example of Theophanes' identification of heresy with failure. Likewise there is naturally an opposite version by which orthodoxy is linked with success. The most intriguing case is Theophanes' account of Constantine the Great, which I have discussed elsewhere.[27] It is too complex to go into details here, though perhaps the most intriguing aspect is Theophanes' determination to demonstrate (quite wrongly) that Constantine was baptized early in his reign by pope Silvester in Rome rather than in Nicomedia on his deathbed by the Arian bishop, Eusebius of Nicomedia.[28] It is one of the very few occasions where Theophanes resorts to argument to back up what is in fact a totally erroneous narrative. But his accounts of Theodosios I and Justin I provide more straightforward examples of linking orthodoxy with [military] success.

> *In this year Justin became emperor and proved excellent in all respects, being an ardent champion of the orthodox faith and successful in battle.* (AM 6011, AD 518/9, p. 164)

27. 'The image of Constantine in Malalas and Theophanes', in *New Constantines: the rhythm of imperial renewal in Byzantium, 4th–13th centuries*, ed. by P. Magdalino, Aldershot 1994, pp. 57–71.
28. AM 5819, reinforced by Theophanes at AM 5828 with a specific rejection of the (accurate) Arian claim.

and

> *In this year the emperor Gratian took Theodosios as partner in the empire. He (Theodosios) was a western Iberian by race, of noble birth and admirably capable in war. Being pious and orthodox, he immediately won a victory by force of arms over the barbarians in Thrace.* (AM 5871, AD 378/9, p. 66)

For Theodosios it is worth noting that θαυμάσιον περὶ τοὺς πολέμους, "admirably capable in war," and εὐσεβὴς ὢν καὶ ὀρθόδοξος, "being pious and orthodox," are Theophanes' additions to the text in his source.[29] So Theophanes' additions are the words which explain Theodosios' success, the success being measured in terms of victory in battle which he can take from his source (Theodore Lector) with a little bit of extra emphasis, but the reason for the success, Theodosios' piety and orthodoxy, is the result of Theophanes' own interpretation. It is piety and orthodoxy that bring success in battle. The interference is significant even if it is slight. But in the case of Justin I, maintaining the picture of Justin's goodness and support of orthodoxy involves Theophanes in tampering with his source in a less acceptable manner.

Theophanes had emphasised the role of Vitalian as a champion of orthodoxy in the latter part of the reign of the heretic Anastasios. And so likewise at the beginning of Justin's reign Theophanes emphasises the links between Justin and Vitalian. Theophanes makes the union of these champions of orthodoxy the first item in his account of Justin.

> *After Anastasios' death, the aforesaid Vitalian was thoroughly reconciled to Justin the Great, so much so that he received the rank of master of soldiery from Justin and, after coming to Byzantium, was granted a consular procession. He was proclaimed consul and count of the Praesentes and had such influence with Justin that he even ordered Severus to be expelled and put to death. For Vitalian was strongly orthodox. On hearing this, Severus fled and likewise Julian, bishop of Halikarnassos. They went to Egypt where they caused trouble by raising the question of Corruptibility and Incorruptibility.* (AM 6011, AD 518/9, p. 165)

So it was rather awkward for Theophanes that his sources pointed out that Justin (or possibly Justinian) murdered Vitalian within the year. So Theophanes takes great care not to attribute the murder of Vitalian to the equally orthodox Justin, even though this involves quite deliberately altering the facts.

> *In this year Vitalian was murdered by the Byzantines who were furious with him because of the many people he had killed at the time of his uprising against Anastasios.* (AM 6012, AD 519/20, p. 166)

Here we can not be exactly sure what Theophanes' source was, but as all our other sources say Vitalian was executed in the palace with some specifying that this was on the orders of either Justin or Justinian, it is quite clear that Theophanes' version here is his own.[30] Theophanes has carefully removed the blame from the pious emperor Justin and transferred it to the people of Byzantium in general.

29. The source is Theod. Lect., fr. 225, p. 76.26–8.
30. The sources are listed at *PLRE*, II, p. 1176.

We get a rather different and complex way of handling source material in Theophanes' narrative for Theodosios II, his wife Eudokia and his sister Pulcheria, though the same basic principle still applies of linking orthodox piety with success. I am already guilty of discussing this rather too often in published articles, so I will only mention an outline here.[31] In book XIV Malalas somewhat oddly provides two quite separate narratives for Theodosios II, one of which is essentially the romantic and eventually tragic story of Eudokia from her being cast off almost penniless by her father to being rescued by Pulcheria and marrying the emperor and finally dying in Jerusalem in disgrace for supposed adultery. The narrative is built around the story of the apple and her friendship with Paulinus. This is then followed by a second narrative covering the same period but one in which neither Pulcheria nor Eudokia nor Paulinus score a single mention. Malalas' double narrative is certainly odd. Here Theophanes makes use of almost every sentence of Malalas' apple-story narrative (apart from anything praising Eudokia) but separates each little bit and entwines it with other material (both from Malalas' second narrative and elsewhere) to create a quite different narrative in which Malalas' romantic account disappears entirely and is replaced by a narrative which exonerates the pious Theodosios from responsibility for Ephesus II (the robber council) and other misfortunes of his reign. So here we have a very clear example of Theophanes manipulating his source very considerably to create a new narrative to fit his own view of the past while still remaining honorably close to the wording and facts of that source. But without Malalas, it would not be possible to recognize Theophanes' skill and just how much he has manipulated his source.

Portrayal of Justinian I

From here let us turn to Theophanes' way of presenting the reign of Justinian. For the fourth and fifth centuries Theodore Lector was Theophanes' basic source but certainly not his sole source. But when Theodore ended, Theophanes turned to Malalas as the basis for his accounts of Justin I and Justinian and seems to have followed Malalas until Malalas ended.[32] He also clearly knows Procopius to whom he turns for just two events, but both events are significant; he makes a lot of use of Procopius' *Vandal War* though just for one year (but it is the longest year in Theophanes and clearly covers a lot more than an actual year in our terms) and he also knows *Persian War* which he exploits just once, using it to divert his readers' attention from the calamitous losses in 540 and 541, discussed below. But Malalas is the main source. What I want to show, however, is that Theophanes, despite plagiarising large chunks of Malalas, found Malalas' version of the reign unsatisfactory, which can be shown partly by his occasional use of Procopius, but also by his treatment of Malalas' material. The reign of Theophanes' Justinian ends up being quite different from the reign of Malalas' Justinian.

31. From propaganda to history to literature : the Byzantine stories of Theodosios' apple and Marcian's eagles, in *History as literature in Byzantium*, ed. by R. Macrides, Farnham 2010, pp. 115–51; Byzantine chronicles, *The medieval chronicle* 6, 2010, pp. 31–57; Text and context in Byzantine historiography, in *A companion to Byzantium*, ed. by L. James, Oxford 2010, pp. 251–62, all reprinted in *Byzantine chronicles and the sixth century*, Farnham 2012.
32. I will avoid the question of whether that was in 565 or 574, though I still believe that it was in 565.

Elsewhere[33] I have pointed out that Malalas, despite actually mentioning all four highlights of the reign of Justinian (Hagia Sophia, codification of law, recovery of West, closure of Athenian Academy), produces a narrative in which the picture of Justinian as the great conqueror simply disappears, though the image of him as a builder is perhaps reinforced.[34] This in turn will help explain what Theophanes does to Malalas, which is to rearrange Malalas' narrative and introduce select bits of Procopius in such a way as to restore the picture of Justinian as the great conqueror. In short Theophanes needed to alter Malalas' narrative drastically for his ninth-century chronicle so that it demonstrated that piety was rewarded by military success. Theophanes, I believe, needed to do this because of his contemporary problems—the period of Iconoclasm. He wanted to show that impious rulers, such as the Iconoclasts, lost the favour of God and the result was military disaster. But God rewarded good emperors with military success. So Theophanes produced the picture of Justinian the Great that we have accepted, though we have taken our picture from Procopius rather than Theophanes.

Two initial points need to be observed. First Theophanes plays games with Malalas' chronology and his selection of material. Malalas treats the early part of Justinian's reign in great detail with some thirty-two pages of the Bonn edition (thirty in Thurn) needed to cover just four years. Here Theophanes does two things. He omits Malalas' material frequently, excising twenty out of fifty-four items,[35] and he shows scant respect for Malalas' chronology, transferring eight of the remaining thirty-four items to a different period and reversing the order of a further two, so that less than half of Malalas' items (twenty-four out of fifty-four) are retained in their correct sequence.[36] Of Malalas' next twenty-eight items, still in the period up to AD 532, Theophanes then omits all but two, for both of which he makes major alterations, one being the Nika riot and the other the embassy to the Himyarites of Yemen for which Theophanes makes his most drastic change, postponing it by about forty years to the reign of Justin II (AM 6064).[37] So even if, ignoring some obvious difficulties, we assume Theophanes' version of the Nika riots is basically drawn from Malalas, only thirty-six of Malalas' eighty-two items for Justinian's first six years are retained at all with only twenty-five being in their correct sequence. For

33. Writing the reign of Justinian : Malalas versus Theophanes, in *The sixth century* (quoted n. 1), pp. 20–34.
34. Interestingly the *Suda* only knows of Justinian as a builder, the only indication of militarism being a reference (ultimately drawn from Procopius, *Buildings*) to his famous statue in the Augusteum.
35. By "items" I mean the numbered sections in the Australian translation: *The Chronicle of John Malalas*, a transl. by E. and M. Jeffreys, R. Scott *et al.* (Byzantina Australiensia 4), Melbourne 1986.
36. Theophanes omits the following items from Malalas Book XVIII: 5; 8–9; 12; 22–4; 26; 28–9; 33; 37; 39–41; 44–5; 47–9. He changes the dates of the following which in Malalas all occur between 527/8 and 530/1: 15 is dated by Theophanes to 542/3; 19 to 535/6; 21 to 538/9; 25 to 532/3; 30 to 523/4 which is a different reign; 43 to 533/4; 46 to 539/40; 51 to 543/4; 53 and 54 are in reverse order (530/1 and 528/9).
37. Theophanes' failure to use Malalas for such a long section (*Ioannis Malalae Chronographia*, ex rec. L. Dindorfii, Bonnae 1831, pp. 458–73; Mal., pp. 384–94) has led M. J. Jeffreys to postulate that Theophanes' copy of Malalas had a lacuna here and that possibly the section on the Himyarite embassy had fallen out and was reattached at the end of the chronicle, so explaining its being wrongly dated by Theophanes to Justin II. See M. J. Jeffreys, Appendix : a lacuna in Theophanes' Malalas, in *Studies in Malalas*, ed. by E. Jeffreys (Byzantina Australiensia 6), Sydney 1990, pp. 268–76; Id., Bury, Malalas and the Nika riot, in *The sixth century* (quoted n. 1), p. 48. For my explanation see below.

the next twenty-seven years Malalas is very scanty.[38] Here Theophanes hardly omits a thing. He also makes only relatively minor changes to Malalas' chronology, which, given the length of time covered, is remarkably different from his use of Malalas for the opening of Justinian's reign.[39] For the last few years until our manuscript breaks off, Malalas seems to return to a more detailed treatment and Theophanes is relatively selective. So overall it looks as if Theophanes felt he had the freedom to be selective for the overcrowded early years of Malalas' Justinian and use some of this excess material to bolster the thin middle years. But where Malalas is scanty, Theophanes' treatment is conservative.

The second preliminary point is that Theophanes saw the reigns of Justin I, Justinian and Justin II as a period of great success. That in itself points to a difference between the two chroniclers. Malalas is a non-judgmental chronicler when it comes to talking about reigns and individuals (though he may well have had very pointed views about other matters such as chronology), whereas a feature of Theophanes is his judgmental approach.[40]

The most notable single feature of Theophanes' treatment of Justinian concerns the Vandal war. For it Theophanes abandons Malalas apart from using him for his initial date and for a single-sentence cross-reference to the Gothic war in the middle of his narrative.[41] Apart from a few lines drawn from an unknown source,[42] the rest of this long narrative is a précis of the two books of Procopius, *Vandal War*. To concentrate the Vandal war into a single narrative Theophanes openly abandons the annalistic treatment he uses for the rest of his 500-page chronicle, which covers some 529 years. So the whole war is placed at AM 6026 (AD 533/4). This is by far the longest account of an entry under a single year in Theophanes, taking up some thirty pages in de Boor's edition of the sixty-eight pages which Theophanes devotes to Justinian's thirty-eight years. The treatment is thus not only wildly out of proportion to the rest of the chronicle as a whole, but it dwarfs the remainder of Justinian's long reign. The effect is clear. The Vandal war is a great victory (and Theophanes makes much of the triumphal ceremony in Constantinople) and Theophanes' Justinian becomes a triumphant, conquering emperor.

Because the account is based so closely on Procopius, it is probably one of the least read sections of Theophanes.[43] There is, after all, almost nothing in it for the modern

38. Twelve Boor pages to cover Malalas items 83–134, which in Theophanes are represented by the years AD 535/6–561/2. These take up twenty pages in Thurn's edition but much of that is subtext or taken from Theophanes.

39. Items omitted are 84; 89; 91; 101; 117; 126; 133 (3 words). Chronological changes: 83 and 85 are in order 536/7, 535/6; 90, 92 and 93 are in order 544/5, 541/2, 543/4; 103 and 104 are in order [illegible]; 110 and 111 are in order 550/1, 546/7; for 118 the chronology is confused.

40. Cf. Scott, The image of Constantine (quoted n. 27), pp. 57–71.

41. AM 6026, p. 205.24–8.

42. AM 6026, p. 208.16–20.

43. [illegible] the only place where I can convict de Boor of having missed a parallel in a Greek source: De Boor could find no parallel for Theophanes, p. 205, lines 24–8, which is the one passage of the Vandal war to be taken from Malalas (Mal., XVIII, 88). It deals with the Gothic war and it appears as if Theophanes did not have access to Procopius, *BG*.

historian which cannot be found, more reliably, in Procopius.[44] But just as Theophanes later seems to struggle with the complexities of Theophylact Simocatta's language, so there are the occasional signs of his having difficulties with Procopius' classicising Greek. I have already mentioned his difficulty with the particle γοῦν, so that he creates out of Ὄαμερ γοῦν (*Vandal War*, I, 9.2) a new Vandal leader with a nominative "Amergous" (de Boor, p. 187.23). So it was presumably something of a mental struggle for Theophanes to produce what is, despite some unfortunate lapses, generally a very competent précis of Procopius' two books. Theophanes even manages to transfer material from a digression elsewhere in Procopius' to its correct place in his own narrative.[45] The point for my purposes is that Theophanes has gone to considerable trouble to acquire the material for his presentation of Justinian as the great conqueror.

His determination to emphasise Justinian's greatness becomes clear in his handling of Justinian's initial negotiations with Gelimer.[46] In Procopius' account it is Justinian who makes the initial overtures which Gelimer rebuffs rather pointedly and violently and only responds eventually to a second request from Justinian. Theophanes has evidently felt it in more in keeping with Byzantine dignity for Gelimer to seek recognition from the great Justinian in the first place rather than for Justinian to make overtures twice and be disdained. So he simply rearranges the order of the material in Procopius to achieve this impression without actually changing any particular piece of information. Justinian's greatness and dignity are thus maintained. So whereas in Procopius Justinian makes overtures and is rebuffed, in Theophanes Justinian is in control all the time.

This emphasis on control and success is reinforced by the second occasion on which Theophanes turned to Procopius for material on Justinian, this time from *Persian War*.[47] Here Theophanes goes to some lengths to distort the truth in his attempt to represent the reign as being attended by military success. In general for Justinian's reign Theophanes plays down war with Persia, especially Persian successes. Most notably the disastrous Persian invasions of 540 and 541 are dealt with in an extraordinarily brief two lines (AM 6031). By contrast, two years later at AM 6033 Theophanes adapts Procopius with a two-page narrative for a very minor success by Belisarius. There is no doubt that the source is Procopius which incidentally demonstrates that Theophanes did have access to Procopius *Persian War* and so could have provided a full account of the disasters of 540. But by devoting instead two pages to this insignificant success (as against an average across the chronicle of less than a single page per year)[48] which was in fact gained entirely by a

44. In fact all there is comes at de Boor, p. 208.16–20, where there is otherwise unattested information about the Moors' participation, seemingly from a good source which I cannot identify. (Despite de Boor it is not from Procopius).

45. AM 6026, p. 202.7–9, in a narrative drawn from Proc., *BV* II, 12.1–29. Theophanes inserts an explanatory sentence from Proc., *BV* I, 11.6.

46. AM 6026, p. 188.6–11, cf. Proc., *BV* I, 9.10–26.

47. AM 6033, pp. 220.21–222.8, cf. Proc., *BP* II, 21.1–29. Cf. Av. Cameron, *Procopius and the sixth century*, London 1985, pp. 161–2.

48. 529 years in 498 pages in de Boor's edition. Theophanes does spread his material unevenly. For Justinian's reign the first 3 years (AM 6020–2) take up seven and a half pages; AM 6024 has four plus pages (Nika riot) and AM 6026 a massive 30 pages (Vandal war); AM 6050, 6051 and 6054 each have about one and a half pages; AM 6055 has almost 3 pages. The remaining 29 years are covered in about 18 pages.

theatrical ploy and not by any military action.[49] Theophanes is able to minimise failure and create instead the illusion of Justinian's military successes. The real disasters of 540 are forgotten and instead Theophanes can make the extraordinary claim (even if derived from Procopius) that Belisarius "gained even greater glory" by this manoeuvre than from his achievements in Africa. By linking the two campaigns and by this careful editing of material, the image of Justinian the conquering hero is retained.

This careful use of the linguistically difficult Procopius enabled Theophanes to create a quite different Justinian from that of his main source Malalas, to Theophanes' use of whom we can now turn.

The opening three years of Justinian's reign are treated in some detail by Theophanes (seven and a half pages).[50] The material is drawn entirely from Malalas, but from dispersed sections and the emphasis is on military and foreign affairs plus a bit of moral behaviour. This is most obvious for Justinian's opening year (AM 6020, AD 527/8) for which Theophanes is prepared to devote three pages and in effect establish the theme. He begins with Justinian's restoration of Palmyra and the Holy Places, followed by Justinian's huge consular largess. After that it is solidly military plus the winning of military allies: the Laz; the Elours (Heruls); a campaign in Armenia; Boarex and Sabir Huns; Grod and Huns of Bosporus. The last few lines for the year deal in a desultory way with testamentary rights for clergy (one of the more difficult sentences in Malalas, which Theophanes has misconstrued, which also suggests rather less mental effort was expended here on a non-military item than on Procopius, *Vandal War*) and the completion of a public bath. AM 6021 (AD 528/9) also take up three pages. The first twenty-nine lines continue with non-military material, but the remaining forty-nine are again devoted to military activity. Of the thirty-one lines of AM 6022, twenty-one deal with diplomatic negotiations with Persia, as are five of the nine lines of AM 6023, so the theme is still foreign affairs if not precisely war. The non-military material also deserves attention but is outside my current scope. All that I have hoped to demonstrate is that Theophanes, despite his total dependence on Malalas for these years, creates a very different account with a heavy emphasis on military and diplomatic activity and success. All that now intervenes until the long account of the Vandal war (AM 6026) are the Nika riots, which are dealt with at length (four and a half pages) at AM 6024 (AD 531/2) and which arguably also represent a military topic in the guise of a victory over a usurper, and the five peaceful lines at AM 6025 on the visit by Theodora and her entourage of four thousand to the waters at Yalova. Including the Vandal war most of the first forty-two of the sixty-eight pages Theophanes devotes to Justinian are thus dealing with successful military operations of one kind or another. What this makes clear is that Theophanes, despite copying his source almost exactly, has created a very different impression of the period from that of

49. Since the account does take up two whole pages, it is too long to include in my text. In essence Belisarius while defending Roman territory during Chosroes' fourth invasion deceives a Persian ambassador. This involved, at a sticky moment on campaign, selecting his finest-looking troops of various races and getting them to dress up in splendid costumes (including national dress) and then pretending to look utterly relaxed when the Persian ambassador arrived. This supposedly so impressed and frightened the ambassador that he advised Chosroes to withdraw immediately. It is a good story. In effect the narrative turns defeat into victory, at any rate for the reader of history.

50. AM 6020–2, pp. 174.1–181.11.

his source. And he has done this by quoting selectively and by arranging these quotations very carefully. But he has not changed the words in his source. So here we have both Cyril Mango's Theophanes providing a dossier and my Theophanes adapting his material.

EPITHETS AND JUDGEMENTS OF EMPERORS

To elicit some shape or pattern from the rest of Theophanes' version of Justinian is beyond my current scope.[51] Although some attention is still paid to military material, it is not nearly so concentrated and there is more of the general fare of Byzantine chroniclers. Two points are, however, worth noting. First, for most emperors, especially those of the fourth and fifth centuries, Theophanes makes his general judgment on emperor and reign clear by the use of epithets and usually this is in terms of their piety and their orthodoxy or lack of it. Thus at the outset of his reign we are told that Justin I was εὐσεβής "pious"[52] and "proved excellent in all respects, being an ardent champion of the orthodox faith and successful in battle"[53] and at the end of the reign that he was "most pious" (εὐσεβέστατος).[54] On the other hand Valens is frequently "impious" (δυσσεβής),[55] as too is Anastasios who is also described as "the law-breaking emperor" and "the one who later ruled wickedly."[56] Favourable judgments are similarly made about Constantine, Jovian, Theodosios I and II, Marcian and Justin II, with hostile judgements being made on the pagan Julian and the supposedly heretical Constantius, Zeno and Anastasios. It is only the relatively insignificant Arcadius and Leo who escape comment.[57] For Justinian, however, the only epithet Theophanes uses is μέγας which occurs in the opening sentence and which one might expect to mean "great." But in this context μέγας can only mean "first," i.e. Justinian the first.[58] So it is the absence of any other epithet rather than the use of μέγας that is remarkable. Any judgment Theophanes has made on Justinian arises

51. At AM 6021 the initial non-military narrative consists of three items: a brief report on Justinian's harsh punishment of pederasts which produces "considerable fear and security"; an equally brief report of Justinian's codification; and a longer account of a serious earthquake at Antioch which ends when "the emperor and the Augusta provided much money towards restoration and rebuilding." So despite being non-military the material still reinforces the image of a victorious emperor whose actions benefit his subjects.

52. AM 6010, p. 164.16. This is the last year of Anastasios who is described as δυσσεβής in the previous sentence.

53. AM 6011, p. 165.1–2.

54. AM 6019, p. 173.18.

55. AM 5860, p. 56.31; AM 5862, p. 58.28; AM 5864, p. 59.27; AM 5870, p. 66.4; in addition he is μιαρός "foul" at AM 5863, p. 58.34, and κακόδοξος "wrong-thinking" (opposite of "orthodox") at AM 5866, p. 61.27, not to mention more complex adverse judgments.

56. Anastasios is δυσσεβής at AM 6005, 6006, 6010; he is "the one who later ruled wickedly" twice at AM 5982, pp. 134–5, both times before his rule began; and the "law-breaking emperor" at AM 6004 and 6005.

57. Though at AM 5966 Theophanes notes even Leo's "wicked pleasures and unjust deeds."

58. For instance Theophanes also uses μέγας of Valentinian I (4 times); Theodosios I (5 times) and Justin I, and uses μικρός "small" of Valentinian II and III and of Theodosios II. He also uses νέος "young" of Valentinian II and III and τρίτος "third" of Valentinian III. Cf. P. SCHREINER, Zur Bezeichnung "Megas" und "Megas Basileus" in der byzantinischen Kaiserliteratur, *Βυζαντινά* 3, 1971, pp. 173–92; G. PRINZING, Das Bild Justinians I in der Überlieferung der Byzantiner vom 7. bis 15. Jahrhundert, *Fontes Minores* 7, 1986, pp. 1–99, at p. 32.

from the narrative in general rather than from a directing adjective. Second, Theophanes, however, still has one final point to make about Justinian, which may also explain why he refrains from ever making Justinian pious. For Justinian finally lapsed into the heresy of aphthartodocetism, an extreme form of monophysitism. Theophanes evidently felt he had to accept this unpalatable fact, but he is still able to make good use of it. What he does is postpone Justinian's lapse by at least several months, possibly by some years, and then in effect has God kill Justinian before any evil could befall the empire as a result of Justinian's lapse. Theophanes' difficulty in hiding this telescoping of events is clear:

> *In the same year, the emperor Justinian, after raising the doctrine of corruptibility and incorruptibility and issuing an edict to all places that was contrary to piety, with God acting in time, died on November 14th of the following 14th indiction, having reigned 38 years 7 months and 13 days.*[59]

Theophanes has not only reversed the order of events for this year, but telescoped Justinian's lapse into heresy with his death, and underlined the causal connection with the reference to God's action. "Pious" may not have been an appropriate epithet for Justinian, but his greatness was established while he was orthodox and his lapse into heresy hastened his death. Theophanes' pattern of linking orthodoxy to military success is still maintained.

Theophanes' association of proper behaviour and success may help explain what is his most violent redating of Malalas, the transfer of the embassy to the Himyarites from early in Justinian's reign (somewhere between 530 and 532) to 571/2 (AM 6064) in the reign of Justin II.[60] We need to remember that Justin II was also εὐσεβής so when Theophanes' source, Theophylact Simocatta, puts the blame for breaking the treaty of 561/2 with the Persians[61] squarely on the Romans and on Justin, this simply was not an acceptable interpretation to Theophanes. Simocatta is quite explicit. "The Romans broke the treaty through the levity of the emperor"; and "the Romans, eager for a pretext, embraced warfare and from minor ephemeral beginnings they devised for themselves great processions of troubles: for bellicosity procured for them no profit."[62] Theophanes simply ignores these unpatriotic remarks. But since the Romans had, according to a disbelieving Simocatta, charged the Persians with inciting the Himyarites to revolt (III, 9.6), Malalas' account of the embassy to the Himyarites (XVIII, 56) must have seemed to Theophanes a simple and fortuitous way of substantiating what Simocatta had rejected and so preserve for Theophanes his version of Roman righteousness against the wrongdoings of the Persians. We have already noted Theophanes' willingness to redistribute the seemingly excessive amount of material that Malalas includes for the years 527–32. An important criterion for Theophanes' redating of Malalas' material seems to have been the presence

59. AM 6057, pp. 240–1. Justinian probably issued his edict on aphthartodocetism at some stage in AD 564 (so Stein, *Histoire du Bas-Empire* [quoted n. 24], II, p. 684); certainly it will have been before 22 January 565 when the patriarch Eutychios was deposed for opposing Justinian's edict, i.e. almost ten months before Justinian's death. See Eustratios, *Vita Eutychii*, PG 86, c. 2317B.
60. AM 6064, p. 244.14–245.13.
61. For the details of that treaty, see Menander, fr. 11, in R. C. Blockley, *The History of Menander the Guardsman*, Liverpool 1985.
62. Theoph. Sim., III, 9.4 and 9.5, transl. Whitby, p. 86.

or absence of precise chronological information in Malalas' account. Where, as here, there was no chronological indication other than the context and the general order of events, he was more willing to transfer Malalas' account. Malalas' excess of material for 527–32, the lack of any chronological marker, the need for a substitute for Simocatta's attribution of blame for the war to the pious Justin and the Romans and finally Simocatta's own introduction of the Himyarites into the narrative were apparently enough to convince Theophanes that Malalas had misdated the embassy. It is all perfectly consistent with Theophanes' normal method.

Conclusion

This last example of the freedom with which Theophanes handled Malalas enables us to return to the main point. Although Theophanes' Justinian is based largely on Malalas, contains in places more of the original Malalas than survives in the abbreviated Baroccianus manuscript of Malalas, and is followed by some later chroniclers, Theophanes' Justinian is still a late construct. Theophanes is the secondary source; Malalas is the primary one. It is Malalas who reveals to us most about sixth-century attitudes. In Malalas' account Justinian's reign is portrayed as one in which Christianity pervades most aspects of life and in which the emperor, as God's representative on earth, is also almost omnipresent. It is a period of repression and fear in the service of orthodox Christianity and so it is a repression that is acceptable to, and possibly even approved by, the population as they move into the restrictive world of medieval Byzantium.[63] To understand this world more attention perhaps needs to be given to popular Christianity in works such as the hymns of Romanos and the homilies of Leontios of Constantinople.[64] It now becomes easier to understand the transition to the seventh century, especially since our picture of the seventh century[65] is now being revealed as one in which there was still much being written but this writing consisted almost entirely of theological tracts, especially of popular theology. Malalas portrays a period in which Justinian's conquests, though given proper recognition, are not seen as a dominant feature of the reign. That only happens later when Christian orthodoxy found itself under pressure from both the internal challenge of Iconoclasm and the military failures accompanying the external threat of the Muslim Arabs. This prompted the need for a revised account of the past which demonstrated the military might of orthodoxy and the Cross (and also the disasters inevitably accompanying wrong belief). Hence a new Constantine and a new Justinian

63. R. Scott, Malalas, *The Secret History* and Justinian's propaganda, *DOP* 39, 1985, pp. 99–109.
64. Cameron, *Procopius* (quoted n. 47), has done exactly this, but it is still a book for which obviously the main emphasis is on Procopius. For the text of Leontios, see *Leontii Presbyteri Constantinopolitani Homiliae*, ed. cur. C. Datema et P. Allen (CCSG 17), Turnhout 1987; for translation, Leontius Presbyter of Constantinople, *Fourteen Homilies*, transl., introd. and annotated by P. Allen with C. Datema (Byzantina Australiensia 9), Brisbane 1991.
65. Cf. Av. Cameron, New themes and styles in Byzantine literature, 7th–8th centuries, in *The Byzantine and Islamic Near East. 1, Problems in the literary source material*, ed. by Av. Cameron and L. I. Conrad (Studies in late antiquity and early Islam 1), Princeton 1992, pp. 81–105; Ead., Byzantium and the past in the seventh century : the search for redefinition, in *Le septième siècle : changements et continuités = The seventh century : change and continuity*, ed. by J. Fontaine and J. N. Hillgarth, London 1992, pp. 250–76.

whom Theophanes supplied by exploiting Procopius and by judicious editing of Malalas. Hence the all-conquering Justinian the Great, which we too have accepted so readily because our own conventions in historical method, still influenced by a classical tradition, have until recently emphasised war, politics and high literary style, and so have given undue precedence to Procopius as the best primary source writing the best kind of history.

But as a source for the seventh and eighth centuries, we can still remain confident that Theophanes has kept close to the wording and the essential information of his sources. We should, however, ignore his interpretations and his colouring, ignore his adjectives and adverbs, and be very suspicious about his dates unless he provides corroborative evidence (such as indiction dates). But above all, we should continue to admire him for his achievement during Byzantium's Dark Age.

VENERATION OF RELICS IN THE *CHRONICLE* OF THEOPHANES*

by Irina Tamarkina

The *Chronicle* is highly valued because of the unsurpassed variety of sources used by the authors, George Synkellus and Theophanes. It also provides a comprehensive, albeit very biased, account of the first Iconoclasm, a period that is otherwise poorly documented. There are two major views on the earlier part of the *Chronicle*. One considers Theophanes as an accurate and uncritical copyist of the sources made available to him through a disorganized historical dossier gathered by George Synkellus. Since most of the original texts from this dossier have not survived, the *Chronicle* is valued for the possibility to reconstruct the content of these lost writings.[1] Another approach demonstrates that Theophanes did not copy his sources word-for-word but polemically reinterpreted them by changing their wording, omitting extensive passages and altering the chronology of events. As such, these modifications reflect Theophanes' personal evaluation of prominent emperors of the past.[2] I argue that Theophanes had more significant authorial control over the source material and the narrative structures of the *Chronicle*, which went beyond rewriting separate episodes on the key figures of the Byzantine history. Theophanes carefully selected and organized even purely factual details in the narrative, such as the discoveries and transfers of relics. He consistently associated recurrent references to relics with imperial orthodoxy. Yet, he did not mention any relics in the reigns of heretical emperors. Thus, relics became a constant marker of imperial orthodoxy. Even though his

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1. Mango – Scott, p. lxxiv.

2. J. Ferber, Theophanes' account of the reign of Heraclius, in *Byzantine papers : proceedings of the first Australian Byzantine studies conference, Canberra, 17-19 May 1978*, ed. by E. and M. Jeffreys and A. Moffatt (Byzantina Australiensia 1), Canberra 1981, pp. 32–42; R. Scott, "The events of every year, arranged without confusion" : Justinian and others in the *Chronicle* of Theophanes Confessor, in Id., *Byzantine chronicles and the sixth century*, Farnham 2012, no. XII; Id., Writing the reign of Justinian : Malalas versus Theophanes, in Id., *Byzantine chronicles*, no. XIII; Id., in this volume.

text seems derivative and notoriously devoid of authorial voice, Theophanes' arrangement of facts shows his active engagement with the sources he drew upon and attests to his ability to create consistent and personal theories about the past.[3]

Discoveries and translations of relics are mentioned throughout the *Chronicle*. Yet, except for the last part of his text that covers the period of Iconoclasm, Theophanes does not provide much original and detailed information on relic veneration. The earlier part of the *Chronicle* mostly copies the basic information about the discoveries and translations of relics, which was already available in the independently surviving sources. Theophanes' heavy dependence on these sources explains why the treatment of relics in the *Chronicle* did not spark much scholarly interest. When Theophanes does provide unique evidence, as in the case of the translation of the relics of St. Stephen recorded under the year 427, his information looks suspect and its veracity has been discredited.[4] The almost total lack of unique information about relics does not mean, however, that Theophanes was absolutely derivative of his sources. Even in his adaptation of such material he markedly differs from them in narrative strategy. By examining the manner in which Theophanes selected information from his sources and the ways in which he changed it, we gain a clearer picture of how Theophanes' depiction of the discoveries and translations of relics speaks to his perception and representation of the past.

An examination of the references to relics in Theophanes' narrative reveals their importance as symbols of orthodoxy. In this capacity, relics are crucial elements in Theophanes' views on religion and imperial power. It also becomes clear that they serve as a marker of religious correctness of Byzantine emperors. As such, discoveries and translations of relics do not appear randomly in the *Chronicle*: they occur during the reigns of Orthodox emperors, while heretical emperors are ostensibly disassociated from the veneration of relics. Moreover, discoveries and translations of relics coincide in Theophanes' narrative with military victories of the pious and Orthodox emperors. Thus, Theophanes uses relics to reinforce his belief about the correlation between emperors' religious correctness and their military successes. The *Chronicle* emerges from my research as a carefully organized text in which all the narrative elements are purposefully selected and combined in order to illustrate the author's claim about the proper beliefs and imperial power.

The theme of orthodoxy is one of Theophanes' major concerns. It underlies his entire narrative and crucially affects his presentation of imperial power. All Byzantine emperors are put into one of two categories: Orthodox or heretical. Emperors who, according to Theophanes, promoted the true faith, are labeled in his account as "pious" and "Orthodox;" ones who supported heresies are described as "ungodly," "unholy" and "depraved."[5] Moreover, Theophanes' narrative articulates the consistent remuneration of

3. Since the *Chronicle* was a collective effort, it remains a challenging task to decide definitively whether these decisions were produced by George Synkellus, by Theophanes, or might be a result of their shared vision of the past. For readers' convenience I refer to the author as "Theophanes" since he was the last editor of the *Chronicle*, instead of using a more accurate but more cumbersome "George Synkellus or/and Theophanes". For the discussion on the authorship of the *Chronicle* see Treadgold, *Middle Byzantine historians*, pp. 38–77, and L. Mordechai, in this volume.
4. J. Wortley, The Trier ivory reconsidered, *GRBS* 21, 1980, pp. 381–94.
5. Scott, Writing the reign of Justinian (quoted n. 2); Id., in this volume.

imperial orthodoxy with military success of the Byzantine Empire.[6] In order to establish the unfailing connection between the imperial orthodoxy and military victories of the Byzantine army, Theophanes accordingly modified the information of his sources. When their evidence did not fully support this correlation or did not make a clear point, Theophanes masterfully altered it, by subtly rewriting the wording of his sources. In more challenging cases, Theophanes had to manipulate the order of events so that religious deviance of the emperors did not coincide with military victories.[7] Theophanes' treatment of relics as symbols of imperial orthodoxy shows a similarly careful handling of sources. Only the facts that supported the correlation between relics and imperial orthodoxy were included in the *Chronicle*, and evidence that would contradict it was eliminated.

As a result of careful selection of information and rewriting the evidence, only pious and Orthodox emperors are associated with relics in Theophanes' account. The *Chronicle* presents Constantine as the first emperor to set the trend for Orthodox rulers to venerate relics. According to Theophanes, right after the battle of the Milvian Bridge and gaining control over Rome, Constantine collected all the relics of the martyrs in the city and arranged for their reburial. Only after the relics received proper veneration did the Romans celebrate Constantine's victory.[8] Thus in Theophanes' account Constantine's act of veneration of relics emerges as the first action of the first Christian emperor. Theophanes most likely borrowed this passage from the same source used by Alexander the Monk for his piece *On the discovery of the Holy Cross*.[9] However, the latter placed the reburial of the relics after Constantine's victory over Licinius in 324. Moreover, he framed the reburial as one of the measures undertaken by the emperor in order to restore property alienated from the Christians during the persecutions. Theophanes moved Constantine's concern with the proper placing of the Christian relics to the beginning of his reign and recorded it independently from other legislation related to Church property. In such a way, the reburial became a self-important illustration of the emperor's piety.

The next Orthodox emperor in Theophanes' narrative is Theodosius I, who emerges as a pious emperor and the restorer of orthodoxy after a series of emperors who promoted the Arian heresy. The emperor ordered that the relics of Paul the Confessor be brought to Constantinople.[10] The discovery of the relics of the prophets Micah and Habbakuk also occurred during his reign.[11] Theodosius' son Arcadius continued his father's Orthodox

6. Scott, "The events of every year" (quoted n. 2).
7. Ferber, Theophanes' account (quoted n. 2).
8. Τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει κρατήσας τὴν Ῥώμην Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ θεοσυνέργητος πρὸ πάντων τὰ λείψανα τῶν ἁγίων μαρτύρων ἐκέλευσε συλλεγέντα ὁσίᾳ ταφῇ παραδοθῆναι. καὶ ἦσαν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἄγοντες ἐπινίκιον ἑορτήν, γεραίροντες τὸν κύριον καὶ τὸν ζωοποιὸν σταυρὸν ἐπὶ ἑπτὰ ἡμέρας καὶ Κωνσταντῖνον τὸν νικητὴν μεγαλύνοντες (Theoph. AM 5803, p. 14.26–30). Cf. Mango – Scott, p. 23 f.
9. Alexander Monachus, *De inventione Sanctae Crucis*, PG 87C, c. 4056A. See J. Wortley, The legend of Constantine the relic-provider, in Id., *Studies on the cult of relics in Byzantium up to 1204*, Farnham 2009, no. III, p. 489; R. Scott, The image of Constantine in Malalas and Theophanes, in Id., *Byzantine chronicles* (quoted n. 2), no. XV, pp. 66 f.
10. Theoph. AM 5876, p. 69.30–1; Mango – Scott, p. 105.
11. Theoph. AM 5885, p. 73.29–31; Mango – Scott, p. 112.

religious policies; his reign witnessed the translation of the relics of John the Baptist to Alexandria, in 397/8.[12]

The discovery and relocation of many relics are recorded under the reign of Theodosius II and his sister Pulcheria, who are repeatedly labeled "pious."[13] The relics of St. Stephen and the prophet Zachariah were discovered in Palestine.[14] The relics of St. Euphemia were brought to Alexandria.[15] Theodosius and Pulcheria also took part in the translation of the relics of St. Stephen and of John Chrysostom to Constantinople.[16] Finally, Pulcheria alone is credited with the translation of the relics of Flavian, bishop of Constantinople, immediately after Theodosius' death.[17]

The next Orthodox emperor is Leo, who is explicitly called "pious" by Theophanes.[18] Two translation of relics are recorded during his reign: that of the martyr Anastasia, which were brought to Constantinople, and those of the Prophet Elisha, which were moved to Alexandria.[19] After Leo the next Orthodox emperor in Theophanes' narrative is Justinian. He is called "pious" on two occasions.[20] Two events involving relics are recorded under his reign. First, the relics of the Apostles Andrew, Luke and Timothy were deposited in the newly rebuilt church of SS. Apostles.[21] Justinian also built a church dedicated to the martyr Eirene in Sykai and transferred her relics there.[22] The last event mentioned in the *Chronicle* in a positive connection with relics is the return of those of St. Euphemia to Constantinople after the restoration of icon veneration by the emperors Constantine VI and Eirene.[23]

At the same time Theophanes markedly disassociates heretical emperors from the veneration of relics. Some emperors, such as the pagan emperor Julian and the Iconoclast emperors Leo III and Constantine V, are said to have actively suppressed the worship of relics. During their reigns relics were confiscated, dispersed and destroyed. In addition to casting these emperors as persecutors of relics, Theophanes does not mention any occasions when relics were found or transferred during the reigns of any heretical emperor. Thus he says that Julian the Apostate removed the relics of St. Babylas from his sanctuary at Daphne.[24] During his reign the pagans unearthed and dispersed the relics of St. Patrophilos, and mistreated the relics of St. George, bishop of Alexandria.[25]

12. Theoph. AM 5890, p. 75.11; MANGO – SCOTT, p. 114.
13. Theodosius is referred to as "pious" (εὐσεβής) under AM 5920. Pulcheria is repeatedly called "blessed" ([illegible]) and "pious" (εὐσεβής) throughout the entire narrative (AM 5901–45).
14. Theoph. AM 5919, p. 86.20–4; MANGO – SCOTT, p. 135.
15. Theoph. AM 5932, p. 95.27; MANGO – SCOTT, p. 149.
16. St. Stephen: Theoph. AM 5920, pp. 86.25–87.5; MANGO – SCOTT, pp. 135 f. John Chrysostom: AM [illegible], pp. [illegible]; MANGO – SCOTT, p. 144.
17. Theoph. AM 5942, p. 102.8–10; MANGO – SCOTT, pp. 158–9.
18. Theoph. AM 5952, p. 112.4; MANGO – SCOTT, p. 172.
19. Theoph. AM [illegible], p. 111.7–10 and AM 5956, p. 114.5; MANGO – SCOTT, p. 170–6.
20. Theoph. AM 6021, p. 177.16, MANGO – SCOTT, p. 270, and AM 6027, p. 216.6, MANGO – SCOTT, p. 311.
21. Theoph. AM [illegible], p. [illegible]; MANGO – SCOTT, p. 331.
22. Theoph. AM [illegible], p. [illegible]; MANGO – SCOTT, p. 333.
23. Theoph. AM [illegible], p. [illegible]; MANGO – SCOTT, p. 607.
24. Theoph. AM [illegible], pp. [illegible]; MANGO – SCOTT, p. 79.
25. Theoph. AM [illegible], p. [illegible]; MANGO – SCOTT, p. 77.

The iconoclast Emperors Leo III and Constantine V waged a war on relics.[26] According to Theophanes, Leo III abominated the relics of all saints.[27] Constantine V had relics confiscated and destroyed; and their owners were severely punished for possessing a relic.[28] Theophanes gives a detailed description of the emperor's attempt to destroy the relics of St. Euphemia in Constantinople by throwing them into the sea.[29] Emulating Constantine's actions, Michael Lachanodrakon, strategos of Thrakesion, had relics of the saints burned and people who possessed them punished.[30]

Theophanes' disassociation of relics from heretical emperors extends to omitting discoveries and translations of relics during their reigns. In some cases his sources might not have contained the relevant information. However, these omissions are most glaring in cases when Theophanes' sources provided information on discoveries or translations of relics under these emperors but Theophanes' deliberately ignored this evidence and did not copy it in the text of the *Chronicle*.

The most telling illustration of Theophanes' aim to distance heretical emperors from veneration of the relics is the changes that he made to the text of Theodore Lector, a source that he usually followed very closely.[31] For instance, Theophanes eliminated the information about relics during the reign of Zeno contained in Theodore's *Church history*. Zeno emerges in the *Chronicle* of Theophanes as a depraved emperor and a supporter of the Miaphysite heresy. Theophanes summarized Zeno's reign and his personality in the following remark: "Zeno administered the Empire harmfully, in the beginning the Saracens overran Mesopotamia and the Huns Thrace, causing severe damage to the state, while the emperor spent his time on wicked pleasures and unjust deeds."[32] While copying most of his information on Zeno from the *Church history*, Theophanes significantly omitted the discovery of the relics of St. Barnabas. Theodore reported that these were found on Cyprus together with a manuscript of the New Testament copied in the Saint's hand. Theodore was not very explicit about what happened to the relics but reports that the manuscript was brought by Zeno to Constantinople and deposited in the palace.[33] Thus the *Church history* of Theodore established a close personal connection between Zeno and the relics of St. Barnabas. First, their discovery happened during his reign. Secondly the emperor obtained for himself the manuscript, the object that was in close contact with the relics. Theophanes, however, completely ignored the entire passage on the relic discovery and the manuscript. By doing so, he eliminated the link between Zeno and relics that was evident in the text of Theodore.

26. On an interpretation of the policies of the iconoclast emperors towards relics see M.-F. AUZÉPY, Les Isauriens et l'espace sacré : l'église et les reliques, in *Le sacré et son inscription dans l'espace à Byzance et en Occident*, sous la dir. de M. Kaplan, Paris 2001, pp. 13–24.
27. Theoph. AM 6218, p. 406.23–5; MANGO – SCOTT, p. 561.
28. Theoph. AM 6258, p. 439.21–32; MANGO – SCOTT, p. 607.
29. *Ibid.*
30. Theoph. AM 6263, p. 446.2–5; MANGO – SCOTT, p. 615.
31. On Theodore Lector see : P. NAUTIN, Théodore Lecteur et sa « réunion de différentes Histoires » de l'Église, *REB* 52, 1994, pp. 213–43; W. TREADGOLD, *The early Byzantine historians*, Basingstoke – New York 2007, pp. 169–75; B. POUDERON, in this volume.
32. Theoph. AM 5966, p. 120.9–11; MANGO – SCOTT, pp. 186 f.
33. Theod. Lect., fr. 436, p. 121.

On another occasion Theophanes slightly rewrote the text of Theodore with the same result—of distancing Zeno from the relics' veneration. Theodore's *Church history* records that Kalandion, the patriarch of Antioch, asked Zeno's permission to bring the relics of St. Eustathios back to Antioch.[34] Then it gives a description of the relics' arrival at the city. Theophanes copied this passage word-for-word with one major alteration: he omitted the mention of Zeno.[35] Kalandion alone is credited with the transfer of the relics. In such a way Theophanes gained the same effect that he achieved when eliminating the information about the discovery of the relics of Barnabas: he dissociated Zeno from the cult of relics.

Theophanes' changes to Theodore's text are all the more striking because both authors shared their assessment of Zeno's religious policies. For both historians Zeno was a bad emperor who supported heretics. But since Theodore Lector did not use relic veneration as a marker of religious orthodoxy he included in his narrative the evidence of relic veneration by Zeno. Theophanes had to eliminate it since it would not fit his theory of the direct correlation between the veneration of relics and religious orthodoxy.

In addition to using relics as markers of imperial orthodoxy Theophanes established a correlation between military victories of Orthodox emperors and discoveries and translations of relics. In his narrative discoveries and translations of relics are often mentioned when emperors defeat an enemy, internal or external. References to relics tend to gravitate towards the accounts of military victories of pious emperors, because in Theophanes' view the military successes of the Byzantine Empire were a manifestation of imperial piety.[36] In such a way, discoveries and translations of relics crown emperors' triumphs and signal that they were victorious due to their piety.

For instance, Constantine collected the relics of the Roman martyrs and arranged for their reburial after his victory over Maxentius.[37] The relics of the prophets Habakkuk and Micah were discovered in Palestine after the emperor Theodosius I defeated Eugenius, who had usurped imperial power in the West.[38] In order to create a link between Theodosius' victory and relics, Theophanes had to rearrange the information that he borrowed from Theodore Lector. Theodore records the discovery of the prophets' relics before the account of Eugenius' revolt. His *Church history* gives the following order of events: first the relics of the prophets Habakkuk and Micah were discovered in Eleutheropolis.[39] Then the emperor Valentinian II committed suicide, reportedly at the instigation of Eugenius.[40] Eugenius, together with Arbogastes, usurped imperial power in the West. Both were defeated by Theodosius; Eugenius was killed and Arbogastes fled.[41] Since Theodore records the discovery of the relics before the death of Valentinian II and the ensuing usurpation, his narrative does not create a link between the discovery of the relics and Theodosius' victory. Theophanes, however, changed the order of the events and reported the discovery of the relics after Theodosius defeated the usurpers, under the same

34. *Ibid.*, fr. 435.
35. Theoph. AM 5981, p. 133.3–5; Mango – Scott, p. 205.
36. Scott, "The events of every year" (quoted n. 2), pp. 64 f.
37. Theoph. AM 5803, p. 13.26–8; Mango – Scott, pp. 22 ff.
38. Theoph. AM 5881, p. 73.23–33; Mango – Scott, p. 112.
39. Theod. Lect., fr. 274, p. 85.
40. *Ibid.*, fr. 275.
41. *Ibid.*, fr. 276.

year. By placing the relics' discovery next to Theodosius' triumph, Theophanes created a logical link between the victory of the pious emperor Theodosius over the usurpers and the miraculous recovery of the relics. In Theophanes' narrative the discovery of the relics is the reward that crowns Theodosius' victory.

Similarly, the discovery of the relics of St. Stephen and of the prophet Zachariah in Palestine is placed in the *Chronicle* after the Byzantine victory against the Persians.[42] Theodore Lector, Theophanes' main source for the period, records a series of events in the West between the entries on the Byzantine victory over the Persians and the discovery of the relics.[43] As a result, military success and the recovery of relics are separated by non-related evidence that does not allow for any connection between the two events. Theophanes rearranged the facts and placed the discovery of the relics immediately after the Byzantine triumph under the next yearly entry.[44] In his account, the discovery of the relics is cast as another illustration of the emperor's piety, which ensured military success for the Byzantines.

A similar connection between a Byzantine victory and the veneration of relics can be seen in the account of Justinian's reign. Theophanes records two translations of relics performed by the emperor in Constantinople directly before he narrates Narses' victory over Totila in Italy.[45] In this context, Justinian's devotion towards the relics is remunerated by the victory of the Byzantines.

Information about relics in the *Chronicle* does not provide an accurate picture for the development of the cult of relics in the Byzantine Empire but serves as a way to understand Theophanes' judgment of the Byzantine emperors. Certainly, Theophanes was not the first Byzantine author who drew attention to emperors' worship of relics as the means of highlighting their piety. Just to give a few examples, Sozomenos used the discovery of the relics of the Forty Martyrs to illustrate Pulcheria's devoutness and piousness.[46] In a similar way, Prokopios praised Justinian's reverence for relics in his flattering description of the emperor's construction projects.[47] The treatment of relics in the *Chronicle* of Theophanes is compelling in another respect. It attests to the author's aptitude in arranging seemingly random and sporadic references to one particular subject into a consistent theory that runs through his entire narrative. By carefully selecting the evidence that he borrowed from various sources and subtly reworking it, Theophanes tied seemingly minor details into a consistent presentation of relics as markers of imperial orthodoxy. Theophanes' treatment of relics shows how much thought went into writing the *Chronicle*, which at first sight might appear to be an unpolished assortment of random facts.

42. Theoph. AM 5918 f., pp. 86.25–87.5; Mango – Scott, p. 134 f.
43. Theod. Lect., fr. 274, p. 93. The war with the Persians is narrated in fr. 314, the discovery of the relics in fr. 319.
44. In fact the military operations in question took place in 421–2: see G. Greatrex, The two fifth-century wars between Rome and Persia, *Florilegium* 12, 1993, pp. 1–14. The discovery of the relics of St. Stephen and the prophet Zachariah is traditionally dated to 415.
45. SS. Apostles: Theoph. AM 6042, p. 227.10–5; Mango – Scott, p. 331. Translation of the relics of St. Eirene and victory over the Goths: AM 6044, p. 228.6–11; Mango – Scott, p. 333.
46. Soz., IX, 2, pp. 378-389.
47. Proc., *Aed.* I, 4.19–24; 7.1–2; *Procopius in seven volumes. 7, Buildings. General index*, with an English transl. by H. B. Dewing, London – Cambridge MA 1954, pp. 19–24; 67–8.

THÉOPHANE ET SES SOURCES SUR LA GUERRE D'ANASTASE Ier CONTRE LES PERSES

par Geoffrey Greatrex

Notre contribution porte sur le récit circonstancié du chroniqueur du IXe s. de la guerre qui éclata au début du VIe s. lorsque le roi sassanide Cabadès traversa la frontière et mit le siège devant la ville d'Amida, qui tomba en janvier 503. L'empereur riposta en envoyant à la frontière plusieurs commandants qui réussirent, non sans quelques difficultés, à refouler les Perses et à convaincre le roi d'entamer des négociations[1].

Il n'y a pas lieu de reconsidérer l'histoire de la guerre, déjà l'objet de plusieurs études, mais nous croyons cependant qu'il reste des éléments à éclaircir sur la provenance des informations fournies par Théophane pour les années AM 5996-5998. Soulignons en passant que ce travail est réalisé dans le cadre d'un projet lancé dernièrement, soutenu par le Conseil de recherches en sciences humaines du Canada, qui a pour but de produire un commentaire sur les deux premiers livres des *Guerres* de Procope. Il s'agit de la première étape d'une entreprise plus vaste qui vise à doter toutes les œuvres de l'historien d'un commentaire[2]. Procope ne semble toutefois pas être la source de la version de Théophane, ni le chroniqueur Malalas, pas plus que le pseudo-Zacharie de Mytilène[3]. Avant d'aller plus loin dans notre tentative d'identifier la (ou les) source(s) de Théophane, il convient de dégager quelques traits saillants du récit.

1. Sur la guerre voir G. Greatrex, *Rome and Persia at war*, Leeds 1998, p. 72-118 ; *The Roman Eastern frontier and the Persian wars. 2, AD 363-630 : a narrative sourcebook*, ed. and compiled by G. Greatrex and S. N. C. Lieu, London 2002, p. 62-77 ; F. Haarer, *Anastasius I*, Cambridge 2006, p. 47-65 ; Jean le Lydien, *Des magistratures de l'État romain. 2, Livres II et III*, texte établi, trad. et commenté par J. Schamp, Paris 2006, p. XXXVIII-XLII ; M. Meier, *Anastasios I.*, Stuttgart 2009, p. 194-213. Nous tenons à remercier Boris Shopov (Sofia) pour nous avoir fourni une traduction de l'article de И. С. Чичуров, Феофан Исповедник компилятор Прокопия, *VV* 37, 1976, p. 62-73, et de celui de Я. Н. Любарский, Феофан Исповедник и источники его *Хронографии* : к вопросу о методах их освоения, *VV* 45, 1984, p. 72-86, ainsi qu'à Dariusz Brodka (Cracovie) et à Catherine Collobert (Ottawa).

2. G. Greatrex, Procopius and Pseudo-Zachariah on the siege of Amida and its aftermath (502-6), dans *Commutatio et contentio : studies in the late Roman, Sasanian, and early Islamic Near East in memory of Zeev Rubin*, ed. by H. Börm and J. Wiesehöfer, Düsseldorf 2010, p. 227-251, représente le premier fruit de ce projet, une comparaison des récits du pseudo-Zacharie de Mytilène et de Procope sur le siège d'Amida. Cf. G. Greatrex, Perceptions of Procopius in recent scholarship, *Histos* 8, 2014, p. 76-121.

3. Voir Mango – Scott, p. LXXXI, XCIII et n. 18 plus bas.

Studies in Theophanes, ed. by M. Jankowiak & F. Montinaro (Travaux et mémoires 19), Paris 2015, pp. 269-78.

A. Le récit de Théophane

En premier lieu, relevons quelques détails uniques que livre la chronique. Théophane est la seule source à préciser que Constantin, le commandant de la garnison à Théodosiopolis (en Arménie) était de rang sénatorial et qu'il commandait des unités illyriennes (p. 144.27-28)[4]. C'est aussi la seule source grecque à l'accuser d'avoir livré la ville à l'ennemi, accusation portée également par le chroniqueur syriaque, le pseudo-Josué le Stylite (48). Il dresse une liste détaillée des commandants envoyés par Anastase pour refouler les Perses (p. 145.18–146.6) qui ressemble de par sa longueur et sa précision à celle qui est donnée par Procope (*BP* I, 8.1-5). Son récit de la campagne menée par Celer en territoire perse renferme, lui aussi, des détails uniques, par exemple les noms des généraux qui prirent part à l'offensive (p. 148.6-10)[5]. Il suffit pour l'instant de constater que son récit demeure aussi circonstancié pour la dernière partie de la guerre que pour son début.

En second lieu, on remarque un certain engagement de la part de l'auteur de cette section (la source de Théophane, on suppose) : le *dux* Alypius est trois fois loué, notamment à la page 144.30-32, mais aussi p. 147.12 et p. 148.27. Cet auteur chante également les louanges du *magister officiorum* Celer, « un homme de bon sens et d'érudition, rempli de la grâce de Dieu et courageux » (p. 148.8-9). On a détecté en outre un certain parti pris en faveur du *magister militum per Orientem*, Aréobindus, dont les victoires sont rapportées par le chroniqueur de façon élogieuse : il est seul à raconter l'envoi des dépouilles d'une bataille à l'empereur, « symbole très clair de sa victoire » (p. 146.16). D'autres sources, notamment Jean le Lydien, affichent une attitude bien plus hostile à l'égard d'Aréobindus[6].

En dernier lieu, rappelons que cette section de la chronique n'est pas isolée du reste de l'œuvre : lorsque l'auteur évoque le *dux* Romanus parmi les commandants affectés à la guerre par Anastase en 503 (p. 146.4), il indique qu'il s'agit du Romanus « mentionné

4. Vraisemblablement il désigne les *equites scutarii Illyriciani* cantonnés à Amida selon la *Notitia dignitatum*, *Oriens* 36.19 (éd. O. Seeck, Berlin 1876, p. 78) = *Oriens* 37.19 (éd. C. Neira Faleiro, Madrid 2005, p. 279). Avshalom Laniado a attiré notre attention sur le mot συγκλητικός employé ici par Théophane, un terme technique (pour un membre du sénat de rang *illustris*, on suppose) évité par un historien classicisant tel que Procope et même par Jean d'Antioche. Il est employé à maintes reprises, par contre, par le chroniqueur Jean Malalas : voir l'édition de J. Thurn, Berlin 2000, p. 492 ; on ne le trouve pas ailleurs dans la chronique de Théophane. Sur l'emploi du terme par les auteurs dans l'Antiquité tardive on consultera Αι. Χριστοφιλοπουλου, *Η σύγκλητος εις το βυζαντινόν κράτος*, Εν Αθήναις 1949, p. 16-19, référence que nous devons à l'érudition de notre collègue A. Laniado.

5. Il est le seul, par exemple, à signaler la présence du général Bonosus, cf. Mango – Scott, p. 229 n. 4. Cf. am 5941, p. 101.21-23, pour une liste de commandants plus complète que celles qu'offrent les autres sources (l'expédition contre Genséric) : il est le seul à mentionner Inobindus, cf. *PLRE* 2, s.v. Inobindus, ainsi qu'à évoquer l'entrée en Amida de Cabadès sur le dos d'un éléphant, am 5996, p. 145.10-12, cf. Greatrex, *Rome and Persia* (cité n. 1), p. 93 n. 60. On consultera D. Brodka, Wege und Irrwege der byzantinischen Historiographie : Quellenkritische Studie zur Priskos-Tradition bei Eustathios von Epiphaneia, Johannes Malalas, Theophanes und Nikephoros Kallistos, *Rheinisches Museum* 155, 2012, p. 185-192 sur cette question, qui affirme que Théophane et Nicéphore puisaient à une même source pour certains renseignements (vraisemblablement Eustathe).

6. Jean le Lydien, *Des magistratures* III, 53, cf. Greatrex, *Rome and Persia* (cité n. 1), p. 75-76, Haarer, *Anastasius I* (cité n. 1), p. 58 n. 111. Schamp dans Jean le Lydien, *Des magistratures de l'État romain*. [illegible], B. Rubin, Prokopios von Kaisareia, *RE* 23/1, 1957, col. 363.54-57, associe les informations fournies par Théophane à une version officielle de la cour.

plus haut ». Il suffit de remonter quelques pages plus haut pour trouver une référence à Romanus, loué comme étant « un homme excellent » (p. 141.7)[7].

Nous avons insisté sur ces points, surtout sur le premier, afin de faire ressortir l'unité de la section. Théophane paraît puiser dans une seule source – ou presque, car on a pu identifier quelques bribes de Théodore le Lecteur dans son récit, notamment dans les trois lignes qui précèdent le déclenchement de la guerre (p. 144.21-23, cf. Theod. Lect. fr. 552, p. 156.12-14). Qui plus est, cette source lui a fourni d'autres renseignements sur la période précédente, par exemple sur la reprise de l'île de Iotabè par le *dux* Romanus ; on notera en passant que son collègue, le *dux* Eugène, est décrit au même endroit comme un homme sérieux qui vainquit les Arabes lors de leur razzia en Syrie vers 500 (p. 141.4, cf. Évagre, III, 36, une version abrégée). Avant de remonter plus loin dans la recherche d'autres liens, il est nécessaire d'évoquer le nom incontournable dans ce contexte du chroniqueur (ou épitomateur) Eustathe d'Épiphanie. Il n'y a que quelques années que Roger Blockley a pu déclarer au sujet de l'*Histoire universelle* d'Eustathe qu'elle était « a work of which so little is presently (sic) known to survive that almost nothing can be, and has been, said about it »[8]. Depuis lors, cependant, Eustathe a su attirer l'attention des chercheurs, notamment de Warren Treadgold, qui le considère comme le véritable auteur des chroniques de Malalas et de Jean d'Antioche : tous les deux auraient pillé son œuvre en rédigeant leur propre chronique[9]. En effet, depuis longtemps les chercheurs ont identifié Eustathe comme une source de premier plan non seulement de Théophane, mais aussi d'Évagre, qui le cite explicitement à plusieurs reprises, ainsi que de Malalas et de Procope. D'après un chercheur, il aurait été la source du comte Marcellin sur la fin de l'empire d'Occident en 476, la notice de cette chronique qui a peut-être fait couler le plus d'encre. Cependant,

7. Cf. p. 145.23-24, Aspar, « mentionné plus haut ». On trouve la dernière allusion à Aspar p. 126.11 (am 5970), au sujet de la révolte de Théodoric Strabon contre Zénon. Ces deux allusions sont dans le contexte d'une explication généalogique. Nous supposons d'ailleurs que ces renvois sont pour la plupart attribuables à la source exploitée par Théophane plutôt qu'au chroniqueur lui-même (cf. n. 25 pour quelques exceptions) ; nous en discuterons ultérieurement.

8. R. Blockley, The development of Greek historiography : Priscus, Malchus, Candidus, dans *Greek and Roman historiography in late antiquity : fourth to sixth century AD*, ed. by G. Marasco, Leiden 2003, p. 289-315, ici p. 289. W. Treadgold, The Byzantine world histories of John Malalas and Eustathius of Epiphania, *International history review* 29, 2007, p. 709-745, ici p. 725, suit la Souda en désignant l'œuvre comme « un épitomè chronologique ». Voir aussi A. Goltz, *Barbar, König, Tyrann : das Bild Theoderichs des Grossen in der Überlieferung des 5. bis 9. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin 2008, p. 45-46, qui propose que l'historien Nicéphore au xive s. a eu accès à une version d'Eustathe puisque son récit sur Théodoric se montre plus détaillé (XVI, 23) que celui d'Évagre.

9. Treadgold, The Byzantine world histories (cité n. 8), p. 737 et *passim*, cf. Id., *The early Byzantine historians*, Basingstoke 2007, p. 119, 320-326 ; D. Brodka, Eustathios von Epiphaneia und das Ende des Weströmischen Reiches, *JÖB* 56, 2006, p. 59-78. Bien que nous trouvions les travaux de Treadgold utiles et intéressants (cf. notre compte rendu, *The Journal of ecclesiastical history* 59, 2008, p. 530-531), nous devons signaler notre désaccord sur le rôle excessif qu'il attribue au chroniqueur d'Épiphanie. Il est assuré qu'Évagre s'est servi de l'œuvre d'Eustathe (cf. e.g. P. Allen, *Evagrius Scholasticus, the Church historian*, Leuven 1981, p. 7-8, 139 ; M. Whitby, *The Ecclesiastical history of Evagrius Scholasticus*, Liverpool 2000, p. xxvi) dont il chante les louanges : six des sept fragments répertoriés par K. Müller, *FHG* IV, p. 138-142, proviennent d'Évagre. Il cite aussi explicitement la chronique de Malalas (« Jean le Rhéteur »), III, 28. Si Malalas n'avait fait que transcrire Eustathe, il est inévitable que son compatriote Évagre s'en serait aperçu. Or, il les cite l'un après l'autre (III, 27-29), ce qui implique plutôt qu'il y trouva des informations distinctes.

nous sommes très mal renseignés sur sa vie et sa carrière. Mais une chose qui ressort très clairement des récits de Malalas et d'Évagre, c'est que son œuvre prit fin subitement au cours de la 12e année du règne d'Anastase, plus ou moins au moment de la prise d'Amida (janvier 503) : la 12e année commença le 11 avril 502 et dura jusqu'au 10 avril 503[10].

Force est donc de constater que nous sommes confrontés à un défi historiographique de grande envergure : si l'on admet que la section de Théophane sur la guerre d'Anastase provient d'une seule source, ce qui paraît hautement probable, comme nous l'avons vu, il semble désormais exclu que cette source soit Eustathe. En outre, étant donné les renvois notés, on risque de remettre en question l'attribution à Eustathe de plusieurs autres notices[11]. L'interprétation traditionnelle de la transmission de notices, selon laquelle Eustathe serait la source principale de Théophane pour le Ve s., perdrait ainsi de sa plausibilité.

B. Les autres sources

Plutôt que de s'attarder sur les implications de notre constatation, passons à une analyse plus approfondie des autres sources de la guerre d'Anastase contre les Perses. La chercheur russe A. Chekalova a cru détecter des points communs entre Théophane et le pseudo-Josué le Stylite : ils sont les seuls à signaler la défection du général Constantin à Théodosiopolis, par exemple. Il n'est pas nécessaire pour autant d'en déduire un lien entre les deux sources : la trahison de Constantin a dû être bien connue[12]. Malalas, quant à lui, ne fait que rapporter la prise de la ville et la capture du commandant. Il croit d'ailleurs que celui-ci mourut en territoire perse, alors que le pseudo-Josué affirme qu'il se réfugia plus tard chez les Romains et fut ordonné prêtre à Constantinople[13]. L'erreur de Malalas pourrait être la conséquence de sa dépendance de la chronique d'Eustathe, qui, comme

10. Anastase monta le trône le 11 avril 491. Évagre, III, 37, donne la date de la fin de l'œuvre. Sur l'équivalence de la 12e année et de 502-3 voir Allen, *Evagrius* (cité n. 9), p. 239, *contra* F. Trombley & J. Watt, *The Chronicle of Pseudo-Joshua the Stylite*, Liverpool 2000, p. xxxi (qui donnent plutôt 503-4), M. Debié, Du grec en syriaque : la transmission du récit de la prise d'Amid (502) dans l'historiographie byzantine, *BZ* 96, 2003, p. 601-622, ici p. 607. Sur l'exploitation d'Eustathe par Évagre, Malalas (et Théophane), voir L. Jeep, Die Lebenszeit des Zosimus, *Rheinisches Museum* 37, 1882, p. 425-433, ici p. 427-429 ; Id., Quellenuntersuchungen zu den Griechischen Kirchenhistorikern, *Jahrbücher für classische Philologie*, suppl. 14, Leipzig 1885, p. 56-178, ici p. 159-160 ; cf. aussi n. 8 plus haut ; U. Roberto, Prisco e una fonte romana del V secolo, *Romanobarbarica* 17, 2000-2002, p. 117-159, ici p. 117-125 ; L. Várady, Jordanes-Studien, *Chiron* 6, 1976, p. 441-487, ici p. 467, 477-478, sur Eustathe comme source de Marcellin (et de Jordanès), une théorie rejetée par Brodka, Eustathios (cité n. 9), p. 71-73, avec des arguments probants à l'appui. P. Allen, An early epitomator of Josephus : Eustathius of Epiphania, *BZ* 81, 1988, p. 1-11, ici p. 2, évoque la possibilité d'une œuvre distincte d'Eustathe sur le siège d'Amida, cf. Debié, Du grec en syriaque, p. 607, se basant sur l'allusion d'Évagre en I, 19 (p. 176.14-15 dans l'édition de A. Hübner, Turnhout 2007), ὅς καὶ τὴν ἅλωσιν [illegible] qui ne l'implique pas cependant, cf. F. Rühl, Wann schrieb Zosimos?, *Rheinisches Museum* 46, 1891, p. 146-147. Il n'est pourtant pas assuré qu'Eustathe soit la source de Procope ou du pseudo-Zacharie sur le siège ; cf. n. 18.

11. Voir n. 7 plus haut pour les renvois.

12. [illegible], *VV* 42, 1981, p. 73, cf. N. Pigulevskaja, Theophanes' *Chronographia* and the Syrian chronicles, *JÖBG* 16, 1967, p. 55-60, ici p. 57-58 (qui [illegible]).

13. Mal. [illegible] (p. [illegible]), cf. *The Chronicle of Pseudo-Joshua the Stylite* § 74 et Greatrex, *Rome and Persia* (cité n. 1), p. 73 et n. 2, p. 80.

on l'a vu, semble avoir pris fin en 502-3 : Malalas aurait pu en tirer la conclusion d'après l'œuvre dont il disposait que l'ancien commandant avait dû périr sur le sol perse[14].

Examinons de plus près la version de Malalas. Il commence par la prise d'Amida, puis continue en relatant celle de Théodosiopolis et de son commandant, Constantin. Suit la réaction d'Anastase, l'expédition d'Aréobindus, de Patricius, d'Hypatius et d'Apion et d'une vaste armée destinée à reprendre l'offensive. Puis l'auteur semble perdre intérêt ; il déclare tout simplement que lors d'affrontements sanglants de nombreux soldats des deux puissances périrent (p. 326.44-45). C'est à ce moment qu'il introduit sa référence à Eustathe, « le chroniqueur le plus sage » qui disparut peu après, laissant son œuvre inachevée (p. 326.46-47)[15]. Plus précisément, il affirme qu'Eustathe composa un récit « de ce πόλεμος », terme qui pourrait évoquer soit la guerre entière, soit une campagne (en l'occurrence, celle de 503 au cours de laquelle Aréobindus remporta quelques succès mais fut repoussé par l'armée de Cabadès)[16]. Il termine son récit en relatant le rappel d'Hypatius à Constantinople et son remplacement par le « sage » illyrien Celer qui réussit à reprendre possession des villes tombées et à conclure une trêve avec les Perses (p. 326.48-53). Évagre (III, 37) pour sa part clôt sa petite notice de la guerre par une référence au récit d'Eustathe, puis poursuit en décrivant la fondation de Dara (cf. Mal. 16.10).

Il nous reste à discuter des autres historiens de la guerre. Nous pouvons laisser de côté le pseudo-Josué le Stylite : comme nous l'avons déjà noté, son récit, à part son caractère détaillé, ne ressemble pas à celui de Théophane[17]. Quant au pseudo-Zacharie, il se concentre presque exclusivement sur le siège d'Amida et les tentatives des Romains de récupérer la ville. Comme nous l'avons fait remarquer ailleurs, il puise dans une source locale à laquelle Procope eut accès également, d'où la ressemblance de leurs descriptions du siège[18].

14. La solution émise par la *PLRE* II, s.v. Eustathius 10, cf. Greatrex, *Rome and Persia* (cité n. 1), p. 80 n. 27.

15. Certains chercheurs supposent qu'Eustathe est mort en 502-3 : par exemple Whitby, *Evagrius* (cité n. 9), p. 46 n. 168, Debié, Du grec en syriaque (cité n. 9), p. 607 (cf. Greatrex, *Rome and Persia* [cité n. 1], p. 78 n. 8), mais il est plus probable qu'il ne mourut que plus tard au moment où son épitomé avait atteint la guerre perse, cf. déjà Th. Mommsen, Zosimus, *BZ* 12, 1903, p. 533 ; Al. Cameron, The date of Zosimus' New history, *Philologus* 13, 1969, p. 106-110, ici p. 107 ; T. Damsholt, Das Zeitalter des Zosimos : Evagrios, Eustathios und die Aufhebung des chrysargyron, *Analecta Romana Instituti Danici* 8, 1977, p. 89-102, ici p. 90 ; Brodka, Eustathios (cité n. 9), p. 60 ; Treadgold, The Byzantine world histories (cité n. 8), p. 726.

16. Rappelons que Cédrenus rapporte qu'il y eut plusieurs πόλεμοι contre le roi perse après la chute d'Amida (Cedr., I, p. 629.1) : le sens de « campagne » semble donc préférable. Cf. n. 33 plus bas.

17. Cf. n. 12 plus haut. Certains commandants romains figurent dans les deux récits, mais d'autres ne sont mentionnés que par l'un ou l'autre (par exemple Bonosus dans le cas de Théophane). Les tentatives de Chekalova, Иешу Стилит (cité n. 12) et de Pigulevskaja, Theophanes' *Chronographia* (cité n. 12), de les rapprocher ne nous paraissent pas probantes, cf. l'approche plus prudente de Trombley & Watt (cité n. 10), p. xxxi.

18. Greatrex, Procopius and Pseudo-Zachariah (cité n. 2), p. 244-245. Il est possible que la chronique d'Eustathe sous-tende les deux narrations sur la chute d'Amida, cf. la préface de J. Haury, *Procopii Caesariensis Opera omnia*, add. et corr. adiecit G. Wirth, vol. 1, Leipzig 1963, p. xx-xxi ; Debié, Du grec en syriaque (cité n. 10), p. 607, 611-612 ; Cameron, The date (cité n. 15), p. 107 ; Brodka, Eustathios (cité n. 9), p. 69 n. 28 ; *PLRE* II, s.v. Eustathius 10 ; mais nous n'en sommes pas persuadé, cf. Treadgold, The Byzantine world histories (cité n. 8), p. 744, selon lequel Procope ne se serait pas servi de l'œuvre d'Eustathe avant les *Guerres vandales*.

Par contre, les quelques chapitres que consacre Procope à la guerre sont les plus proches de la version de Théophane. À l'instar du pseudo-Zacharie, il traite en détail du siège d'Amida et des tentatives de la reprendre, mais on y repère quelques autres éléments provenant d'autres sources, par exemple son excursus sur l'homme saint Jacques d'Endièlon (*BP* I, 7.5-11). Son catalogue des commandants expédiés par Anastase pour mener l'offensive contre Cabadès (*BP* I, 8.1-5) rappelle celui de Théophane (p. 145.17-146.6) mais les deux listes recèlent des différences : Procope évoque des chefs omis par Théophane (Patriciolus et son fils Vitalien, les chefs goths Godidisclus et Bessas), tandis que ce dernier mentionne Romanus et Zémarchus et n'associe pas Celer à la première vague de renforts (à raison). La conclusion la plus plausible – que tirent d'ailleurs Mango et Scott dans leur commentaire – est que Procope et Théophane puisaient tous les deux à la même source mais en retenant des éléments différents[19]. La même source a probablement aussi été exploitée par l'auteur des *Excerpta Salmasiana* attribués à Jean d'Antioche, comme l'a démontré en 1893 de Boor[20].

Procope poursuit en relatant une série de défaites romaines à laquelle mit fin Celer, qui réussit enfin à conclure un accord pour reprendre possession des villes tombées (*BP* I, 8.6-9.25) ; Théophane donne plutôt l'impression d'une série de victoires romaines (p. 148.31-149.13). L'historien de Césarée offre plus de détails sur les affrontements que le chroniqueur, mais se trompe sur l'identité du général rappelé à Constantinople : il affirme que ce fut Aréobindus qui y retourna (*BP* I, 9.1), alors qu'il est assuré que ce fut plutôt le neveu de l'empereur, Hypatius[21]. Cependant, il faut nuancer ces divergences. Le chroniqueur et l'historien décrivent les mêmes campagnes mais en brossent un portrait très différent : Procope, comme les autres historiens du règne de Justinien, préfère minimiser les succès remportés sous la dynastie précédente, alors que Théophane reflète une version beaucoup plus positive du déroulement des opérations militaires. Les allusions que fait Théophane à l'installation du commandant Glonès à Amida (p. 145.17), puis à son

19. Mango – Scott, p. 227 n. 3, lors d'une discussion du terme bizarre ἐξαρχοῦντος qu'emploie Théophane pour désigner le commandement d'Aréobindus (p. 145.19) : ils suggèrent que Théophane a eu du mal à comprendre la source qu'il partageait avec Procope. Nous préférons cette interprétation à leur supposition, p. xciii, selon laquelle Théophane puisait dans le récit de Procope dans cette section. Il paraît ainsi que le seul passage où le chroniqueur ait clairement puisé dans les *Guerres perses* de Procope est à AM 6033, p. 219-222.

20. Nous reprenons les arguments avancés par C. de Boor, Römische Kaisergeschichte in byzantinischer Fassung. 3. Die Salmasischen und Treuschen Exzerpta. Manasses, *BZ* 2, 1893, p. 195-211, ici p. 204-207, contestés par E. Patzig, Johannes Antiochenus Fr. 200 Salm. und Prokop, *BZ* 2, 1893, p. 591-598, appuyés (en partie) par C. E. Gleye, Beiträge zur Johannesfrage, *BZ* 5, 1896, p. 422-464, ici p. 460-461. Il n'y a pas lieu ici de revenir sur l'attribution des *Excerpta Salmasiana* et la « Johanneische Frage », sur laquelle on consultera en dernier lieu S. Mariev, Neues zur Johanneischen Frage?, *BZ* 99, 2006, p. 535-549. Il faut reconnaître toutefois que la section de Théophane qui nous concerne ici ne contient aucune instance de l'emploi du discours direct, à la différence de celle de Procope.

21. [illegible] le raisonnement de Mango – Scott (voir n. 19), on pourrait penser que Procope a mal interprété la source commune : il aurait facilement pu lire une phrase semblable à celle de Théophane (p. 146.21-24) qui évoque la volonté d'Aréobindus de rentrer à Constantinople à cause du manque de collaboration de ses collègues et qui rapporte qu'il ne fut retenu que par l'insistance du préfet Apion. Sur les points de vue de Théophane sur cette période en général, voir Чичуров, Феофан [illegible]

assassinat (p. 147.8-9) semblent indiquer qu'il aurait pu donner plus de précisions (à l'instar de Procope, cf. le pseudo-Zacharie), mais qu'il préféra se contenter d'une simple mention[22].

Sur la base de la courte section que Théophane consacre à la guerre perse d'Anastase, nous pensons qu'il a eu accès à une source de premier ordre, la même sur laquelle Procope s'est fondé pour son récit superficiel et déséquilibré. Cette source présente tous les traits d'une histoire classicisante, qu'on songe aux épithètes ou aux descriptions accordées aux commandants (tels Alypius et Celer), aux précisions géographiques, par exemple l'explication qu'Édesse est une ville de la Mésopotamie et que Samosate est située en Euphratésie (p. 146.6-7) ou bien à l'allusion à τῶν λεγομένων Καδουσίων (ceux qu'on appelle des Cadusiens, p. 148.15), tournure typique pour un historien de ce genre.[23] Nous croyons repérer une autre trace de la nature classicisante de cette source dans l'emploi presque unique de l'unité de mesure le stade (p. 145.1-2) : Théophane précise que la ville de Constantia est située à 507 stades à l'ouest de Nisibis et une distance semblable au sud d'Amida. Hormis plusieurs emplois du terme dans la notice qu'il puise dans les *Guerres contre les Vandales* de Procope (AM 6026) Théophane ne s'en sert qu'une seule autre fois, lorsqu'il rapporte la fondation de Constantia par Constance (AM 5832, p. 36.12) et qu'il précise qu'elle est située à 700 stades d'Amida[24]. Procope emploie régulièrement cette unité de mesure plutôt archaïsante, notamment en *BP* I, 8.10, lorsqu'il situe Siphrios, la scène d'une bataille dans la guerre qui nous occupe, à 350 stades d'Amida. Nous pouvons en déduire que la source commune des deux auteurs fut une œuvre classicisante, bien renseignée sur le déroulement de la guerre en question.

22. Sur la volonté des auteurs du règne de Justinien de minimiser les réussites du règne d'Anastase voir n. 6 plus haut.

23. Les *Guerres* de Procope regorgent d'exemples de jugements sommaires de l'auteur sur les commandants, voir Av. Cameron, *Procopius and the sixth century*, London 1985, p. 240 n. 84. Pour un exemple, voir *BP* I, 17.40, cf. Priscus frg. 9, 4 (éd. R. Blockley, *The fragmentary classicising historians of the later Roman Empire*, vol. 2, Liverpool 1983 = Theoph., AM 5942, p. 102.15-16 = Priscus Panita, *Excerpta et fragmenta*, ed. P. Carolla, Berolini – Novi Eboraci 2008, frg. 61*, p. 89-90), au sujet d'Attila. Pour ce qui est de l'orientation géographique, cf. Proc., *BP* I, 8.10 ; 13.2 ; 15.9 ; Théophane décrit l'emplacement de Serdica (p. 116.31) de la même façon que celui de Constantia, cf. p. 119.26-27 (Ravenne). Dans ce dernier cas pourtant, Mal. 15.10 (p. 308.60-61) donne des renseignements similaires, détail qui a échappé à de Boor et à Thurn.

Théophane indique aussi dans cette section l'ethnicité d'un individu, par exemple dans le cas de Pharesmanès, p. 146.3, cf. Proc., *BP* I, 8.3 ; 24.11, encore un trait typique d'une œuvre classicisante ; cf. aussi Théophane, p. 119.22 (au sujet d'Odoacre). Sur les circonlocutions employées couramment par les historiens classicisants, voir (par exemple) Cameron, *Procopius*, p. 114-115 (au sujet du christianisme), Proc., *BP* I, 7.22 ; 25.31, cf. Priscus frg. 6, 2, 19 (= Theoph., AM 5942, p. 102.17). Jean d'Antioche, dans les fragments plus élaborés qui concernent le règne d'Anastase, offre des jugements semblables (par exemple, frg. 242, 5, sur Cyrille), emploie des circonlocutions (frg. 234, pour les Goths) et signale l'ethnicité de certaines personnes (frg. 234).

24. Notons qu'il y a un problème textuel à la p. 145.1-2, où de Boor a dû corriger le chiffre dans le texte. On remarque toutefois une contradiction avec la notice à la p. 36, cf. Mango – Scott, p. 59 n. 1.

C. Théophane et le ve s.

Avant d'en tirer des conclusions, il serait souhaitable d'élargir nos horizons afin de déterminer si l'on peut déceler d'autres sections dans le récit de Théophane qui ressemblent à celui de la guerre du début du vi^e s. Nous avons déjà signalé les allusions à une référence précédente dans la section sur laquelle nous nous sommes penché ; une analyse du reste de l'œuvre de Théophane montre des statistiques intéressantes. Le chroniqueur n'indique que rarement s'il a déjà mentionné quelque chose ou quelqu'un précédemment. On trouve de telles allusions (« le susmentionné », « comme il a été indiqué précédemment ») à plusieurs reprises pourtant au cours de son récit du ve s., sous les années AM 5892 (p. 75.34)[25], 5940 (p. 99.28), 5942 (p. 102.13), 5943 (p. 105.10), 5963 (p. 117.11), 5964 (p. 118.2-3) ; suivent les allusions notées plus haut. On n'en trouve plus – mise à part la longue section consacrée aux guerres vandales puisée dans l'œuvre de Procope (AM 6026, p. 189.12 et p. 192.7) et deux références vers la fin du vi^e s., dont une adaptée du récit de Théophylacte Simocatta (AM 6064, p. 245.14-15) et une qui semble dériver d'une source qu'il partage avec le chroniqueur syriaque Jean d'Éphèse (AM 6071, p. 249.23)[26] – avant AM 6169 (p. 355.29–356.1)[27].

Nous avançons donc l'hypothèse que ces renvois résultent de l'exploitation d'une source particulière par Théophane et que plusieurs ont été copiés de cette source[28].

25. Un cas particulier qui concerne l'orateur Libanius auprès duquel Jean Chrysostome a étudié la rhétorique (AM 5892). Comme le notent Mango et Scott, p. 116 n. 3, la notice semble dériver de Théodore le Lecteur (frg. 280-281, p. 86.5-17), où il y a une allusion à Diodore de Tarse et non à Libanius « susmentionné ». Soz., VIII, 2 (qui est, avec Socrate, la source de Théodore), évoque les deux, Diodore et Libanius. Le terme προειρημένῳ a probablement été ajouté par Théophane lui-même, car il devait se rendre compte du fait qu'il avait déjà mentionné Libanius cinq lignes plus haut. L'allusion au concile de Constantinople « susmentionné » (sous la même année), AM 5876, p. 69.19, est probablement, elle aussi, l'ajout du chroniqueur. Sur ces expressions, voir l'article d'Andrzej Kompa dans ce volume.

26. Dans le premier cas Théophane dépend de Théophylacte, III, 9.7-11, mais lorsqu'il parle des « Huns que nous avons l'habitude d'appeler les Turcs » il fait allusion à un passage antérieur où Théophylacte (III, 6.9, p. 121.12) emploie la phrase « les Huns, que les Perses ont l'habitude d'appeler des Turcs ». Voir Mango – Scott, p. 362-363 et n. 11, cf. Любарский, Феофан Исповедник (cité n. 11), p. 77-78, sur la façon dont Théophane modifie l'ordre (et parfois le contenu) du récit de Théophylacte. Sur le deuxième cas, Mango – Scott, p. 370 n. 2, font remarquer que le couronnement de Tibère par Eutychius, sur lequel Théophane ajoute ὡς προλέλεκται (« comme il a été dit ») n'a pas été mentionné précédemment. Ils affirment que la référence provient d'une source qu'il partage avec Jean d'Éphèse (Joh. Eph., *HE* III, 3.1, p. 120.15-16, trad. p. 88.10).

27. Les renvois se multiplient d'ailleurs vers la fin de la chronique : on en retrouve en AM 6210, 6214, 6218, 6232, 6241, 6256, 6257, 6258, 6259, 6278, 6284, 6295. Nous ne prétendons pas avoir repéré toutes les notices de ce type, dont la formulation peut varier grandement.

28. Nous croyons pouvoir identifier un endroit où Évagre et Théophane auraient puisé un renvoi dans leur source, lorsqu'ils évoquent le rôle d'Eusèbe de Dorylée dans l'accusation d'hérésie levée contre Eutychès. Théophane fait référence à ὁ προμνησθεὶς Εὐσέβιος (AM 5940, p. 99.28, cf. AM 5923, p. 88.18 pour la première mention, lorsqu'il rapporte les accusations portées contre Nestorius) alors qu'Évagre emploie le mot [illegible] dans le même contexte sans toutefois avoir mentionné l'évêque précédemment [illegible] il poursuit la phrase en faisant allusion aux accusations qu'il avait soulevées contre Nestorius. Nous pensons donc que Théophane et Évagre auraient trouvé un renvoi dans leur source et que ce dernier, [illegible] qu'il manquait une référence antérieure à Eusèbe, en insérant [illegible].

Comme on l'a reconnu depuis longtemps, l'historien Évagre s'est servi, lui aussi, de cette source, notamment au début de son troisième livre (une évaluation très négative du règne de Zénon, cf. Theoph. AM 5966, p. 120.9-12) et vers le milieu (III, 25-27) où il invoque le nom d'Eustathe d'Épiphanie (III, 27). Les deux auteurs offrent des jugements des individus concernés dans ces sections : Théophane chante les louanges de Théodoric l'Ostrogoth (AM 5977, p. 130.32–131.2, cf. Évagre, III, 27, p. 388.27-28) ; Évagre décrit l'allié d'Illus Marsus comme un homme réputé (ἄνδρα δόκιμον, p. 388.23), jugement qui rappelle ceux de Théophane sur (par exemple) Alypius ou Celer[29]. Nous hésitons à tenter de relever d'autres cas de parti pris dans cette source inconnue. D'aucuns ont remarqué une tendance défavorable aux eunuques (Theoph. AM 5938, p. 97.23-25, sur Chrysaphius, cf. AM 5943, p. 103.28-33)[30]. On a proposé aussi un certain parti pris pour Aspar et sa famille, mis à mort injustement par Léon (par un complot, AM 5963, p. 117.11-14) ; l'index de de Boor indique que le général figure vingt-trois fois dans la chronique[31].

D. Conclusion

Reste en suspens l'identité de cette source. Nous avons souligné déjà la difficulté d'associer le chroniqueur Eustathe à cette source inconnue : même s'il ne mourut que sous le règne de Justin Ier,[32] Malalas indique clairement que son récit se termina abruptement, alors qu'Évagre permet de placer cette rupture dans la 12e année du règne d'Anastase. Or, dans les sections suivantes de Théophane, on ne trouve aucun récit comparable : le chroniqueur semble se tourner progressivement vers l'*Histoire ecclésiastique* de Théodore le Lecteur et à la chronique de Malalas (par exemple sur le soulèvement de Vitalien, dont le chroniqueur Jean d'Antioche offre un récit beaucoup plus détaillé [frg. 242, Mariev]). Son récit se concentre presque exclusivement sur la politique ecclésiastique et ses répercussions sur l'ordre social à Constantinople, mis à part quelques notices sur l'insurrection de Vitalien. Pour la période précédente, en revanche, on a pu relever un style plutôt cohérent – non seulement les renvois notés plus haut, mais aussi au niveau du langage employé, des jugements portés sur les personnages, etc. Ni Priscus, dont l'œuvre traita la période jusqu'en 474 probablement, ni Malchus, qui se concentra sur le règne de Zénon (auquel il était plutôt hostile), n'entrent en jeu comme source potentielle, puisque leurs récits n'atteignent pas la guerre perse[33].

29. Le même Marsus (comme d'autres généraux) est qualifié de δραστήριος par Théophane, AM 5963, p. 117.4 (= Priscus, frg. 53.5, éd. Blockley, frg. 76*, p. 104, éd. Carolla). Sur le traitement de Théodoric dans les récits d'Évagre et de Théophane on consultera Goltz, *Barbar* (cité n. 8), p. 47-48.

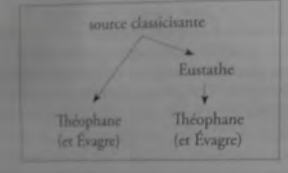
30. De Boor, Römische Kaisergeschichte (cité n. 20), p. 207 ; cf. Várady, Jordanes-Studien (cité n. 10), p. 472 (qui met à contribution les récits de Jordanès et du comte Marcellin).

31. C. de Boor, dans Theoph., p. 577 (index) ; cf. Várady, Jordanes-Studien (cité n. 10), p. 472. Les références à la généalogie d'Aréobindus seraient donc liées à cette tendance, p. 145.19-24, cf. p. 117.27-28.

32. Voir ci-dessus, n. 15.

33. Sur l'œuvre de Priscus, Blockley, *The fragmentary classicising historians* (cité n. 29), vol. 1, Liverpool 1981, p. 50 ; Id., The development (cité n. 8), p. 293 ; Treadgold, *Early Byzantine historians* (cité n. 9), p. 96-102 ; sur celle de Malchus, Blockley, *Fragmentary classicising historians*, p. 72, cf. Id., The development, p. 293-294, Treadgold, *Early Byzantine historians*, p. 103-107.

Même si nous ne nous croyons pas en mesure d'identifier la source, nous tenons au moins à offrir des pistes pour contourner cette impasse. Nous envisageons, en effet, deux solutions possibles. D'une part, on pourrait supposer qu'Eustathe a prolongé son récit jusqu'en 506, malgré l'affirmation d'Évagre, éventuellement dans une version préliminaire ; c'est d'ailleurs l'avis de Roger Blockley, même s'il n'a pas offert de justification pour sa suggestion[34]. D'autre part, il se peut que nous ayons affaire à une autre source (inconnue), une source qui pourrait bien sous-tendre d'autres notices de Théophane pour le v[e] s. Rappelons que les recherches récentes de Dariusz Brodka ont démontré avec certitude qu'il y a (au moins) deux sources distinctes auxquelles Théophane et Évagre auraient puisé leurs récits du v[e] s. : il ne faut pas tout imputer à Eustathe. Soulignons d'ailleurs que nos deux suggestions ne s'excluent pas : il est tout à fait envisageable qu'une source classicisante, basée sans doute sur des documents officiels[35], fut exploitée en premier lieu par Eustathe, puis par d'autres écrivains. Ce fut notamment le sort de Priscus, qui ne fut probablement pas exploité directement par Théophane, mais plutôt par l'intermédiaire d'Eustathe[36]. Dans ce cas on n'aurait qu'à tirer la conclusion que cette source se poursuivit jusqu'à la fin de la guerre : la disparition d'Eustathe ne devrait plus nous créer de difficulté.



34. La conclusion du rapport de Théophane sur la guerre, p. 149.3-7, rappelle un verdict d'historien (ou de chroniqueur), notamment dans son souci de placer la fin des hostilités au cours de la 15[e] année du règne d'Anastase ; l'allusion d'Évagre au décès d'Eustathe en III, 37, le date de la même façon (12[e] année de son règne). Blockley, The development (cité n. 8), p. 289 n. 2, propose soit qu'Eustathe a prolongé son récit jusqu'en 506, soit qu'il a consacré une œuvre distincte à la guerre (entière), cf. Brodka, *Eustathios* (cité n. 9), p. 60, qui croit que la référence au πόλεμος dans la chronique de Malalas pourrait désigner la guerre entière (mais voir plus haut, n. 10, 16).

35. Voir J. Howard-Johnston, The great powers in late antiquity : a comparison, dans *The Byzantine and early Islamic Near East. 3, States, resources, armies*, ed. by Av. Cameron (Studies in late antiquity and early Islam 1), Princeton 1995, p. 157-226, ici p. 166 n. 13 ; cf. B. Rubin, Prokopios (cité n. 6), col. 363-364 ; Greatrex, *Rome and Persia* (cité n. 1), p. 73.

36. Mango – Scott, p. 151 n. 1 et 152 n. 1, évoquent comme source de Théophane un auteur qui se serait basé sur Priscus (donc peut-être Eustathe), cf. p. 202 n. 11 (où ils font allusion à Eustathe comme source ; p. 181, n. 5, 7) ; Whitby, *Evagrius* (cité n. 9), p. xxvi. Quant à Évagre, Whitby, *Evagrius*, p. xxvi-xxvii, croit qu'il est possible qu'il se serait servi directement de Priscus, mais cf. Roberto, *Priscus* (cité n. 10), p. 122-125 ; Id., Sulla tradizione storiografica di Candido Isaurico, *Mediterraneo antico* 9/2, 2006, p. 685-727, ici p. 690, selon lequel Évagre dépend probablement d'Eustathe, alors que les *Excerpta Salmasiana* semblent plus proches de Priscus (sans passer par Eustathe comme intermédiaire). Brodka, Eustathios (cité n. 9), p. 62-67, sur les deux sources distinctes : il établit l'existence des deux sources en relevant deux systèmes chronologiques distincts (à Évagre, II. [illegible]

THÉOPHANE, TÉMOIN DE L'*ÉPITOMÈ D'HISTOIRES ECCLÉSIASTIQUES*, DE THÉODORE LE LECTEUR OU DE JEAN DIACRINOMÉNOS ?

par Bernard Pouderon

Quand il m'a été demandé d'intervenir dans ce colloque sur le thème des relations entre l'*Histoire ecclésiastique* de Théodore le Lecteur et la *Chronique* de Théophane, toutes deux fort éloignées de mon domaine de spécialité, j'ai trouvé le terrain bien vaste, et la réponse déjà quasiment assurée : qui ne sait en effet, surtout depuis des travaux du regretté G. C. Hansen ou ceux de C. Mango et R. Scott[1], qu'il existe de nombreux parallèles entre les fragments conservés de l'œuvre historiographique de Théodore et la *Chronique* de Théophane, et que l'étude détaillée de l'ensemble des parallèles existants serait une entreprise de longue haleine, dont le résultat serait pour ainsi dire connu par avance !

Mais pouvais-je ainsi me dérober ? Car persistent malgré tout de nombreuses obscurités : y a-t-il emprunt, ou source commune ? L'emprunt s'est-il fait directement, ou faut-il supposer des sources intermédiaires entre l'un et l'autre historien ? Et comment justifier le fait que, dans son édition de Théodore, Hansen emprunte de nombreux fragments à Théophane[2] ?

1. Voir Theod. Lect. ; Mango – Scott. Dans la partie de leur introduction consacrée aux sources de Théophane, Mango et Scott mentionnent « a compendium of ecclesiastical history, of which a substantial part consisted of an abridgment of two works by Theodore Lector, namely the *Historia Tripartita* […] and its continuation, the *Historia ecclesiastica*. These two works survive only in fragments and Theophanes provides an essential basis for their reconstruction. Theodore is Theophanes' main source from Constantine I to the death of Anastasios. The same compendium may also have provided Theophanes with his versions of various ecclesiastical historians : Gelasios of Caesarea […]; a few passages from *Baroccianus* 142 […]; fragments dans le *Parisinus gr.* 1555A […]; a chronicle based in Eusebios' (and) Jerome's chronicles » (p. lxxv-lxxvi). Sur le contenu des deux mss cités, voir *infra* Appendix 1 et 2. Mango et Scott ne posent ni la question de l'unicité et de la cohérence de l'*Épitomè* tel qu'il est restitué par Hansen, ni celle de la dimension et de la complétude de l'*Épitomè* originel.

2. Ces fragments sont marqués Θ dans son édition : frg. 10, frg. 16, frg. 31 *(partim)*, frg. 35 *(partim)*, etc. Pour le premier d'entre eux, on se reportera à notre étude : Pour une évaluation de l'*Épitomè anonyme d'histoires ecclésiastiques* : confrontation des trois historiens sources, de la *Tripartite* de Théodore le Lecteur et de celle de Cassiodore, *TM* 18, 2014 (= *Mélanges Jean-Pierre Mahé*).

Studies in Theophanes, ed. by M. Jankowiak & F. Montinaro (Travaux et mémoires 19), Paris 2015, pp. 279-314.

La situation se complique du fait que nous n'avons pas conservé directement l'œuvre de Théodore, composée après 518, année de la mort d'Anastase, le dernier empereur dont il fasse mention (frg. 524), mais seulement des fragments insérés dans une chaîne, l'*Épitomè d'histoires ecclésiastiques*, un ouvrage anonyme du VIIe siècle[3] intégralement conservé dans quatre manuscrits, le *Parisinus suppl. gr.* 1156 [M] (XIe/XIIe s.), le *Vatopedi* 286 [V] (XIIIe s.), le *Parisinus gr.* 1555 A [P] (XIIIe/XIVe s.) et le *Baroccianus gr.* 142 [B] (XIVe s.), dont je n'ai consulté directement que les deux derniers[4]. L'édition Hansen, basée sur ces manuscrits, permet de constater combien les différents copistes (ou réviseurs, voire éditeurs) ont procédé chacun à une sélection bien différente des fragments contenus dans l'*Épitomè*. Le principe de l'édition Hansen est d'additionner les différents témoignages pour former un ensemble aussi complet que possible, qui est notre *Épitomè*, sans qu'il soit certain qu'il en ait véritablement existé une forme unique et intégrale. Il a parfois complété ces fragments à l'aide d'autres sources – dont Théophane. Une partie, néanmoins, de l'œuvre de Théodore a subsisté dans son état originel, mais réduite à deux livres, et consistant elle-même en une compilation : l'*Histoire tripartite*, dans laquelle Théodore a rassemblé des passages de Sozomène, Théodoret et Socrate, pour former un ensemble cohérent. Cette partie de l'ouvrage original n'a cependant jamais été publiée[5]. Mais la revendication d'une dépendance par rapport à des auteurs dont l'œuvre était largement divulguée nous a contraint à tenir un moindre compte de l'*Histoire tripartite* dans notre étude. Importaient seuls les fragments de l'*Histoire ecclésiastique* conservés soit au sein de l'*Épitomè*, tel que l'a publié G. C. Hansen, soit dans divers documents, de manière sporadique. Dans notre travail, nous n'avons pas cherché à discuter ou remettre en cause *a priori* les attributions de G. C. Hansen, que nous avons acceptées telles quelles.

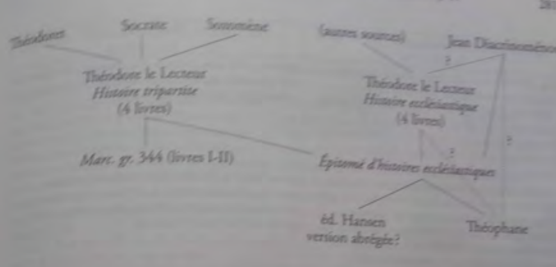
Pour suivre notre démarche, on se reportera commodément au stemma codicologique suivant, établi par Marek Jankowiak, qui anticipe sur le résultat de nos recherches : il indique à la fois les sources et les utilisateurs potentiels de Théodore.

p. 537-545, où il apparaît que Hansen a restitué ce passage parce qu'il figurait dans notre seul témoin de l'*Histoire tripartite* de Théodore, le codex *Marcianus gr.* 344, fol. 23v, l. 12-14 = Soz., I, 16, 4a (colère de Constantin, qui écrit à l'évêque Alexandre et à Arius).

3. Il est postérieur à la mort de Phocas, le dernier empereur dont il est fait mention. Sur son contenu, voir nos deux articles : Les fragments anonymes du *Baroc. gr.* 142 et les notices consacrées à Jean Diacrinoménos, Basile de Cilicie et l'anonyme d'Héraclée, *REB* 55, 1997, p. 169-192 ; Le codex *Parisinus graecus* 1555A et sa recension de l'Épitomè byzantin d'histoires ecclésiastiques, *REB* 56, 1998, p. 169-191. On consultera aussi P. Nautin, La continuation de l'*Histoire ecclésiastique* d'Eusèbe par Gélase de Césarée, *REB* 50, 1992, p. 163-183 ; Id., Théodore le Lecteur et sa Réunion de différentes histoires ecclésiastiques, *REB* 52, 1994, p. 213-243 ; ainsi que J. A. Cramer, Ἐκλογαὶ [illegible], dans Id., *Anecdota Graeca e codd. mss. Bibliothecae regiae Parisiensis* 2, Oxford 1839, p. 87-114.

4. Voir ci-dessous l'Appendix 1 (contenu du *Baroccianus* 142) et l'Appendix 2 (contenu du *Parisinus gr.* 1555 A).

5. Toutefois G. C. Hansen en donne un aperçu dans l'introduction de son édition de Théodore le Lecteur [illegible] au texte de l'*Épitomè* un sommaire du contenu de ces deux [illegible]. Notre étude « Pour une évaluation » (citée n. 2), bien [illegible] de l'édition Hansen, permet de mesurer toute la distance qui sépare l'original de Théodore de son abrégé (l'*Épitomè*).



Étude parallèle des textes de Théodore et Théophane

Faute de pouvoir étudier l'ensemble des fragments de l'*Histoire ecclésiastique* de Théodore, nous nous sommes limité à deux passages, choisis arbitrairement aux deux extrémités de l'ouvrage : pour le début du livre I, les fragments 336 à 353 Hansen, depuis l'année 438 jusqu'à la mort de Théodose II, en 450 ; et pour la fin du livre IV et de l'œuvre de Théodore le Lecteur, les fragments 499 à 524 Hansen, depuis l'année 511/512 jusqu'à l'avènement de Justin en 518.

Dans la colonne de gauche, figurent les fragments de Théodore conservés dans l'*Épitomè* ; dans celle de droite, les passages correspondants de Théophane, ainsi que quelques textes parallèles parmi les plus significatifs. Les passages communs sont donnés en italiques, tandis que les marques de discours rapporté ou plus généralement celles d'une intervention de l'épitomateur sont soulignées d'un trait.

Épitomè de Théodore le Lecteur [Theod. Lect.] de 438 à 450	Théophane
frg. 336 (V) : les juifs de Palestine se révoltent et massacrent de nombreux chrétiens	les révoltes de juifs mentionnées par Théophane (AM 5843, p. 40 ; AM 5905, p. 81-82 ; AM 6021, p. 178) ne correspondent pas à celle qui figure chez Théodore
frg. 337 (V) : énumération des évêques des principaux sièges	AM 5931, p. 93 : simple liste des empereurs (Théodose, Isdigerdès) et des évêques métropolitains (Xyste, Proclus, Juvénal, Cyrille, Jean), avec l'indication de la durée et de l'année du règne ou de l'épiscopat
frg. 338 (V) : Théodore de Mopsueste accusé d'hérésie par des moines de Constantinople : *μοναχοί τινες* καταλαβόντες *ΚΠ παρηνώχλουν* τοῖς βασιλεῦσι *κατὰ Θεοδώρου τοῦ γενομένου ἐπισκόπου Μομψουεστίας* πάλαι τελευτήσαντος, *ὡς αἱρετικὸν διαβάλλοντες*· οἱ δὲ *Πρόκλῳ ἐπέτρεψαν τοῖς τῆς ἀνατολῆς ἐπισκόποις* σημᾶναι *ποιήσασθαι* τῶν λεγομένων *ζήτησιν καί*, εἴπερ ἀληθῆ ὦσιν, τοῦτον *ἀναθεματίσαι* καὶ μετὰ θάνατον	AM 5933, p. 96 : Théodore de M. accusé d'hérésie : *μοναχοὶ* δέ *τινες* ἐλθόντες ἐν *ΚΠ παρηνώχλουν* τῷ βασιλεῖ *κατὰ Θεοδώρου τοῦ γενομένου ἐπισκόπου Μομψουεστίας* μετὰ θάνατον αὐτοῦ, *ὡς αἱρετικὸν διαβάλλοντες*. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς *Πρόκλῳ ἐπέτρεψε τοῖς τῆς ἀνατολῆς ἐπισκόποις* γράψαι τὴν *ζήτησιν ποιήσασθαι καί*, εἰ ἀληθεύουσιν, *ἀναθεματίσαι* Θεόδωρον

Épitomè de Théodore le Lecteur [Theod. Lect.] de 438 à 450	Théophane
frg. 339 (V), suite du récit : Jean d'Antioche certifie l'orthodoxie de Théodore de M. : Ἰωάννης ὁ Ἀντιοχείας τὰ Πρόκλου δεξάμενος γράμματα, σὺν τῇ κατ' αὐτὸν (αὐτῷ V) συνόδῳ ἀντιγράψας ὀρθοδοξίαν Θεοδώρῳ τότε προσεμαρτύρησεν· ἀντέγραψε δὲ βασιλεῖ καὶ Πρόκλῳ αἵτινες ἐπιστολαὶ καὶ ἐνετάγησαν	suite du récit : *Ἰωάννης δὲ ὁ Ἀντιοχείας ἀντέγραψε Πρόκλῳ μετὰ τῆς ἰδίας συνόδου καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ ὀρθοδοξίαν μαρτυρῶν Θεοδώρῳ*
frg. 340 (PV) : selon les partisans de Nestorius, Pulchérie aurait pris en haine Nestorius à la suite d'une accusation de πορνεία : ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἐμίσει Πουλχερία τὸν Νεστόριον, ὡς τινὲς φιλοῦντες ἐκεῖνον διαθρυλεῖν, ὅτι πορνείαν πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτῆς Θεοδόσιον τὸν βασιλέα διέβαλε Πουλχερίας Νεστόριος· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὕτως ὑπ' αὐτῆς ἐμισεῖτο· ἐλοιδόρει γὰρ αὐτὴν εἰς τὸν τότε μάγιστρον Παυλῖνον λεγόμενον (passage repris dans la Souda, s.v. Πουλχερία)	cf. AM 5940, p. 99 (anecdote similaire, présente aussi chez Malalas : Mal., p. 276 ss.) : Théodose fait exécuter le magister Paulin pour la trop grande amitié que lui portait Eudocie.
frg. 341 (V) : Domnus, élu sur la chaire d'Antioche, atteste de l'orthodoxie de Diodore (c. 441/442)	absent de Théophane
frg. 342 (V) : Dioscore succède à Cyrille : Κύριλλος ἐπίσκοπος ἐτελεύτησε (il ne fait mention de Proclos plus loin, frg. 343) διαδέχεται δὲ αὐτὸν Διόσκορος, διδασκαλικὸς μὲν μὴ ὑπάρχων τὸ σύνολον, ἄγριος δέ τις καὶ βαρὺς τοῖς συγγενέσι Κυρίλλου γενόμενος, ὡς καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτῶν, καίπερ οὖσαν ὕψει πολλῷ περιστέγων οἴκων, καθιερῶσαι Κύριλλον δέ φησι τριάκοντα ἔτη ἐπισκοπῆσαι	AM 5939, p. 97.26-27 et 29-31 : (l. 26-27) τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει Κύριλλος Ἀλεξανδρείας καὶ Πρόκλος ΚΠ εὐσεβῶς ἐκοιμήθησαν (l. 29-31) Κύριλλον δὲ *Διόσκορος* ὁ δυσσεβὴς *διεδέξατο, μηδ' ὅλως ὢν διδασκαλικός, ἄγριος* δὲ καὶ ἀνήμερός τις, ἐξαιρέτως δὲ *ἐν τοῖς συγγενέσι Κυρίλλου γενόμενος, ὡς καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτῶν, καίπερ οὖσαν* ἐν *ὕψει πολλῷ* ἐπάνω τριστέγον *οἴκον καθιερῶσαι* (l. 25) <Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐπίσκοπος Κύριλλος ἔτη> λβ'
frg. 343 (V) : Flavien succède à Proclos : Πρόκλου τελευτήσαντος ἐπίσκοπος ΚΠ χειροτονεῖται Φλαβιανός, πρεσβύτερος ὢν καὶ σκευοφύλαξ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἀνὴρ ἱερώτατος καὶ ἐνάρετος	AM 5939, p. 97.27-29 (voir ci-dessus, ordre inversé par rapport à Théodore) : καὶ τὸν μὲν *Πρόκλον Φλαβιανὸς ὁ πρεσβύτερος καὶ σκευοφύλαξ τῆς ἐκκλησίας* ΚΠ διεδέξατο, *ἀνὴρ ἱερώτατος καὶ ἐνάρετος*
frg. 344 (V) : Eutychès déposé comme hérétique à l'instigation d'Eusèbe de Dorylée : Εὐτυχὴς ὁ αἱρετικὸς ἀρχιμανδρίτης ἦν τῆς μονῆς Ἰὼβ τῆς ἐν τῷ Ἑβδόμῳ, τὰ Ἀπολιναρίου φρονῶν· ᾧ [illegible] ἀντέστη ὁ τοῦ Δορυλαίου Εὐσέβιος, ὥστε καὶ λιβέλλους προσδοῦναι κατ' αὐτοῦ τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ Φλαβιανῷ καὶ τῇ ἐνδημούσῃ συνόδῳ· ἣ δὴ καὶ μετὰ πλεῖστα κινηθέντα, ἅπερ ἐν τοῖς πεπραγμένοις ἐμφέρονται, καθεῖλε δικαίως τὸν Εὐτυχῆ	AM 5940, p. 99-100 (récit beaucoup plus développé, et avec seulement quelques mots et expressions communes) : ὁ δὲ ἀνωτέρω μνημονευθεὶς Εὐσηβίος ὁ σχολαστικός, ὁ πρῶτος Νεστορίου λαβόμενος, προαχθεὶς εἰς ἐπισκοπὴν τοῦ Δορυλαίου καὶ πρὸς *Εὐτύχης τὸν ἀρχιμανδρίτην* περὶ πίστεως διαλεγόμενος εὗρεν οὐκ ὀρθὰ *φρονοῦντα* αὐτόν. πολλὰ δὲ παραινέσας ὠφελῆσαι αὐτὸν οὐκ ἴσχυσεν. τότε ὁ Εὐσέβιος ἀνήγαγε τὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ Φλαβιανῷ τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ, ὅστις συγκροτήσας σύνοδον μ' ἐπισκόπων μεταστέλλεται τὸν Εὐτυχέα καὶ κατὰ πᾶσαν ἀκολουθίαν τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν κανόνων ἀνακρίνας καὶ εὑρὼν αὐτὸν *αἱρετικὸν* καὶ ὕπουλον καθεῖλεν αὐτόν.

Épitomè de Théodore le Lecteur [Theod. Lect.] de 438 à 450	Théophane
frg. 345 (V) : le pape Léon approuve la déposition d'Eurychès et écrit à ce sujet à Flavien	absent de Théophane
frg. 346 (V) : Chrysaphios convainc Théodose de réunir le concile d'Éphèse : Χρυσάφιος καὶ οἱ περὶ Νόμον τὸν ὕπατον ἐκθύμως τῷ Εὐτυχεῖ προσκείμενοι πείθουσι Θεοδόσιον κελεῦσαι σύνοδον γενέσθαι κατὰ τὴν Ἔφεσον καὶ κριθῆναι *Φλαβιανὸν μετὰ Εὐτυχοῦς* τοῦ καθῃρημένου δικαίως. δικάσαι δὲ Διόσκορον παρεῖναι καὶ Βαρζουμᾶν ἄλλον Εὐτυχέα τυγχάνοντα· ἐνέταξε δὲ ὁ ἱστορῶν *τὰς Θεοδοσίου κελεύσεις* πρός τε Διόσκορον καὶ τὴν σύνοδον	AM 5941, p. 100 (récit beaucoup plus détaillé et très différent) : τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει κελεύσει τοῦ βασιλέως Θεοδοσίου ἡ λῃστρικὴ καὶ παράνομος συνηθροίσθη σύνοδος ἐν Ἐφέσῳ τοῦ κριθῆναι τὰ *περὶ Φλαβιανοῦ* καὶ *Εὐτυχοῦς* ὑπὸ Διοσκόρου τοῦ δυσσεβοῦς κατὰ παραίνεσιν Χρυσαφίου τοῦ εὐνούχου (aucune mention n'est faite du consul Nomos, pas plus que de Barzouma)
frg. 347 (V) : synode (« brigandage ») d'Éphèse ; quelques formules communes avec Théophane : *σύνοδος ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ἠθροίσθη* ἐν ᾗ τῶν μὲν ἀνατολικῶν ἐπισκόπων συνῆλθεν οὐδείς, Διόσκορος δὲ καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ τὰ κατὰ τῆς ὀρθοδοξίας καττύσαντες καθαιροῦσι Φλαβιανὸν καὶ Εὐσέβιον τὸν Δορυλαίου, ἀποδιδόασι δὲ τῷ Εὐτυχεῖ τήν τε ἀξίαν τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου καὶ τὴν τοῦ μοναστηρίου διοίκησιν· *καθεῖλον δὲ Θεοδώρητον καὶ Ἴβαν καὶ Ἀνδρέαν καὶ ἑτέρους τῶν ἀνατολικῶν, πάντας ἀπόντας, καὶ Δόμνον τὸν Ἀντιοχείας*	AM 5941, p. 100-101 (récit beaucoup plus détaillé, relativement différent pour les parties communes, mais avec des expressions similaires qui trahissent soit une source commune, soit un emprunt de l'un à l'autre) (p. 100.13-17) τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει κελεύσει τοῦ βασιλέως Θεοδοσίου ἡ λῃστρικὴ καὶ παράνομος συνηθροίσθη σύνοδος ἐν Ἐφέσῳ τοῦ κριθῆναι τὰ Φλαβιανοῦ καὶ Εὐτυχοῦς ὑπὸ Διοσκόρου τοῦ δυσσεβοῦς κατὰ παραίνεσιν Χρυσαφίου τοῦ εὐνούχου, τοῦ ἐπίκλην Τζουμᾶ, τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως κουφότατα παραπείσαντος (p. 101.11-13) ὁ δὲ Διόσκορος *καθῆρε καὶ Θεοδώρητον καὶ Ἴβαν καὶ Ἀνδρέαν καὶ Δόμνον τὸν Ἀντιοχείας καὶ ἄλλους ἀνατολικοὺς* ἐπισκόπους *ἀπόντας*
frg. 348 (V) : le synode d'Éphèse ne fait pas mention des 150 pères réunis à Constantinople (en 381)	détail absent de Théophane
frg. 349 (V) : Maxime d'Antioche établi (ἀντεισήχθη) à la place de Domnos, chassé (ἐκβληθέντος) de sa chaire (449/450)	détail absent de Théophane (cf. ci-dessus, p. 101.12 : ὁ δὲ Διόσκορος καθῆρε – Δόμνον ; p. 101.25-26 : Ἀντιοχείας ἐπίσκοπος Μάξιμος ἔτη δ'. α')
frg. 350 (V) : Chrysaphios persuade Théodose de justifier en retour (ἀντιγράψαι) devant Valentinien et les impératrices la déposition de Flavien (ὡς δικαίως Φλαβιανὸς καθῃρέθη – 3 avril 450) (il est fait mention de la source qui a conservé la dite lettre : ἐντέτακται δὲ καὶ αὕτη ἡ ἐπιστολή)	le récit de Théophane (AM 5941, p. 100-101) est beaucoup plus long et assez différent, il expose le méchant rôle joué par Chrysaphios, outre la déposition de Flavien (ὁ δὲ Διόσκορος... Εὐσέβιον... καὶ Φλαβιανὸν... καθεῖλεν), mentionne sa mort (τριταῖος τὸν βίον μετήλλαξεν), et la démarche du pape Léon auprès de Valentinien pour qu'il proteste auprès de Théodose : ὁ δὲ ἀντιγράφει τῇ θυγατρὶ Εὐδοξίᾳ οὕτως. τοῦτο τῇ σῇ γλυκύτητι γνωρίσαι βούλομαι, ὅτι ὁ Φλαβιανὸς θείᾳ κρίσει τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἐξεβλήθη ὡς ταραχῶν πολλῶν αἴτιος
frg. 351 (V) : Dioscore fait élire comme évêque de Constantinople son apocrisiaire Anatole	détail absent de Théophane

Épitomè de Théodore le Lecteur [Theod. Lect.] de 438 à 450	Théophane
frg. 352 (V) : la légèreté de Théodose, qui signe les lettres qu'on lui présente sans même les regarder, et la leçon donnée par Pulchérie : *Θεοδοσίου τοῦ βασιλέως* ὁ ἱστορῶν καθάπτεται *ὡς πειθομένου ὡς ἔτυχε καὶ εὐμεταγώγου ὄντος, καὶ ὅτι τοῖς ὑποβάλλουσιν αὐτῷ χάρτας ἀπαραναγνώστως ὑπέγραφεν* *ὅπερ γνοῦσα Πουλχερία ἡ ἀδελφὴ αὐτοῦ σοφῶς ὑπῆλθεν αὐτόν, δωρεὰν ὑποβαλοῦσα[ν] Θεοδοσίῳ ἐκχωροῦσαν πρὸς δουλείαν Εὐδοκίαν τὴν γαμετὴν αὐτοῦ ἣν καὶ ὑπέγραψεν καὶ δεινῶς ὑπὸ τῆς Πουλχερίας ὠνειδίσθη* (il est de nouveau fait mention de la source)	AM 5941, p. 101 : même récit, légèrement abrégé : Θεοδόσιος δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς εὐρίπιστος ἦν, παντὶ ἀνέμῳ φερόμενος, ὅθεν καὶ χάρταις ἀπαραναγνώστοις πολλάκις ὑπέγραφεν ἐν οἷς καὶ *Πουλχερία* ἡ *σοφωτάτη δωρεὰν ὑπέβαλεν* ἀπαρανάγνωστον *ἐκχωροῦσαν πρὸς δουλείαν Εὐδοκίαν, τὴν γαμετὴν αὐτοῦ*, καὶ *ὑπέγραψε δεινῶς* παρὰ *Πουλχερίας* ὀνειδισθείς
frg. 353 (PVB) : mort accidentelle de Théodose : Θεοδόσιος ἐξελθὼν εἰς κυνήγιον εἰς Λεῦκον ποταμὸν παραχθείς, ὡς λέγει, τῇ ἐπιούσῃ νυκτὶ ἐτελεύτησε· καὶ ἐτάφη ἐν τῇ θήκῃ Ἀρκαδίου τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ ; sort d'Eudocie : λέγει δὲ οὗτος ὡς Εὐδοκία ἡ βασιλὶς ἀπελθοῦσα εἰς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα οὐκέτι ὑπέστρεψε (nouvelles mentions de la source) (VB) mort de Marina, exécution de Chrysaphios : Μαρίνα δὲ παρθενεύουσα ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις πρὸ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ ἐτελεύτησε, καὶ ὅτι Χρυσάφιον τὸν Τζουμᾶν ἀνεῖλεν ἡ Πουλχερία (B) Eudocie fait parvenir à Pulchérie une image de la Vierge, sans doute l'icône dite ὁδηγήτρια, peinte par ou d'après saint Luc : καὶ ὅτι ἡ Εὐδοκία τῇ Πουλχερίᾳ τὴν εἰκόνα τῆς θεομήτορος, ἣν ὁ ἀπόστολος Λουκᾶς καθιστόρησεν, ἐξ Ἱεροσολύμων ἀπέστειλεν	cf. AM 5942, p. 103, qui ne fournit aucun détail sur les circonstances de cette mort. cf. AM 5942, p. 102 : exil volontaire d'Eudocie : ἡ δὲ ἀπογνοῦσα παρεκάλεσεν ἐπὶ τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα ἀπολυθῆναι αὐτήν. cf. AM 5942, p. 103 : exécution de Chrysaphios : ἡ δὲ μακαρία Πουλχερία τὸν παμμίσητον Χρυσάφιον τὸν εὐνοῦχον ἐκδέδωκεν Ἰορδάνῃ [...] ὃν λαβὼν Ἰορδάνης ἀνεῖλεν

Théodore le Lecteur [Theod. Lect.] de 511 à 518	Théophane
frg. 499 (B) : selon Jean Diacrinoménos, Sévère ne respecte pas l'engagement pris envers Anastase de ne pas anathématiser le synode de Chalcédoine : Ἰωάννης ὁ Διακρινόμενος κατὰ Σευήρου ἱστορεῖ ὅτι... (mention de la source)	AM 6004, p. 156, et AM 6005, p. 157 : Sévère évêque d'Antioche, mais il n'est point fait mention de son engagement ; Jean Diacrinoménos n'est mentionné nulle part chez Théophane
frg. 500 (de Theoph.) : absent des manuscrits de l'*Épitomè*, mais reconstitué d'après Théophane	AM 6005, p. 157 : Anastase et l'évêque Timothée unissent leurs efforts contre Macédonios et le synode de Chalcédoine
frg. 501 (B) : Timothée fait réciter contre Macédonios le symbole de foi des 318 pères [de Nicée] à chaque assemblée	absent de Théophane

Théodore le Lecteur [Theod. Lect.] de 511 à 518	Théophane
frg. 502 (de Theoph.) : absent des manuscrits de l'*Épitomè*	AM 6005, p. 157 : Timothée veut ajouter le nom de Sévère aux diptyques et enlever celui de Flavien
frg. 503 (de Theoph.) : absent des manuscrits de l'*Épitomè*	AM 6005, p. 157 : le comte Vitalien se révolte contre Anastase
frg. 504 (de Theoph.) : absent des manuscrits de l'*Épitomè*	AM 6005, p. 157-158 : Juliana refuse d'entrer en communion avec Timothée
frg. 505 (de Theoph.) : absent des manuscrits de l'*Épitomè*	AM 6005, p. 158 : Anastase humilie son neveu Pompée, défenseur du synode et soutien de Macédonios
frg. 506 (de Theoph.) : absent des manuscrits de l'*Épitomè*	AM 6005, p. 158 : les envoyés de Timothée à Alexandrie anathématisent le synode depuis l'ambon
frg. 507 (B) : Timothée nomme un nouvel higoumène du monastère de Stoudios ; conflit avec l'archidiacre manichéen Jean (?), qui dénonce Timothée auprès de l'empereur : *τοῦ ἡγουμένου τῆς μονῆς τῶν Στουδίου τελευτήσαντος* ἀπῆλθε *Τιμόθεος* ὁ ἐπίσκοπος εἰς τὸ μοναστήριον *προβαλέσθαι ἡγουμένον*. *ὁ δὲ μέλλων* χειροτονεῖσθαι εἶπεν αὐτῷ ὡς οὐκ ἀνέξεται χειροτονίαν ὑπὸ *ἀνδρὸς τὴν ἐν Χαλκηδόνι* ἀναθεματίζοντος *σύνοδον*. *Τιμόθεος δὲ ἔφησεν* πρὸς αὐτόν· *ἀνάθεμα παντὶ ἀνθρώπῳ* ἀποτρεφομένῳ ἢ ἀναθεματίζοντι *τὴν ἐν Χαλκηδόνι σύνοδον*. οὕτως οὖν ὁ μέλων *χειροτονεῖσθαι κατεδέξατο*. *Ἰωάννης δὲ ὁ ἀρχιδίακονος μανιχαῖος* ὑπάρχων *ὕβρεσι τὸν Τιμόθεον* βάλλων δραμὼν ταῦτα *τῷ βασιλεῖ ἐμήνυσεν*. ὁ δὲ μετάπεμπτον ποιησάμενος *τὸν Τιμόθεον χαλεπῶς* αὐτὸν *ἠτίμασεν*. αὐτὸς δὲ ἠρνήσατο εἰπών· *ἀνάθεμα* παντὶ ἀνθρώπῳ *τὴν ἐν Χαλκηδόνι σύνοδον* δεχομένῳ	AM 6005, p. 158 : *τοῦ ἡγουμένου τῆς* Δίου *μονῆς τελευτήσαντος* ἦλθε *Τιμόθεος προβαλέσθαι ἡγούμενον*. *ὁ δὲ μέλλων* προβιβάζεσθαι ἔφη μὴ δέχεσθαι εὐλογίαν παρὰ *ἀνδρὸς* ἀθετοῦντος *τὴν ἐν Χαλκηδόνι σύνοδον*. *Τιμόθεος δὲ ἔφη· ἀνάθεμα παντὶ ἀνθρώπῳ* τῷ μὴ δεχομένῳ *τὴν ἐν Χαλκηδόνι σύνοδον*. καὶ οὕτω προχειρισθῆναι ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ *κατεδέξατο* ὁ ἡγούμενος. *Ἰωάννης δὲ ὁ ἀρχιδίακονος* Τιμοθέου *μανιχαῖος* ὢν ὑβρίσας *Τιμόθεον τῷ βασιλεῖ ἐμήνυσεν*. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἀτιμάσας *Τιμόθεον χαλεπῶς* κατὰ πρόσωπον ἀρνούμενον εὗρε καὶ πάλιν ἀναθεματίζοντα τοὺς δεχομένους *τὴν ἐν Χαλκηδόνι σύνοδον*
frg. 508 (de Theoph.) : absent des manuscrits de l'*Épitomè*	AM 6005, p. 159 : l'empereur ordonne à des magistrats de proclamer l'addition du Trisagion depuis le pupitre de l'église de Saint-Théodore de Sphorakios à la grande colère de la foule
frg. 509 (de Theoph.) : absent des manuscrits de l'*Épitomè*	AM 6006, p. 160 : Anastase invite le rebelle Vitalien à la paix, proposant le rappel des évêques exilés
frg. 510 (de Theoph.) : absent des manuscrits de l'*Épitomè*	AM 6006, p. 160 : le patrice Secundinus supplie Vitalien d'assurer la sécurité de son fils Hypatios
frg. 511 (de Theoph.) : absent des manuscrits de l'*Épitomè*	AM 6006, p. 160-161 : l'évêque de Rome Hormisdas envoie Enodius et l'archidiacre Vitalien au synode d'Héraclée

Théodore le Lecteur [Theod. Lect.] de 511 à 518	Théophane
frg. 512 (B) : le roi Perse Kabadès attaque le camp de Tzoundadeer, défendu par des démons : *Κάστρον ἐστὶ μεταξὺ Περσῶν καὶ Ἰνδῶν ᾧ ὄνομα Τζουνδαδεέρ. ἐν τούτῳ τῷ τόπῳ χρήματα πολλὰ καὶ λίθους τιμίους κεῖσθαι μαθὼν Κωάδης ὁ βασιλεὺς ταῦτα μαθεῖν ἐβασίλευσεν* [*λαβεῖν ἐβουλεύσατο* corr. Valois]. *δαίμονες δὲ τὸν τόπον οἰκοῦντες τοῦ ζητουμένου Κωάδη ἐκώλυον.* *πᾶσαν τοίνυν μαγείαν ἐπιδειξαμένων τῶν μάγων αὐτοῦ καὶ μηδὲν ἰσχυσάντων ἦλθε διὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων.* il fait finalement appel à un évêque chrétien : *ἀποτυχὼν δὲ κἀκεῖθεν συνεβουλεύθη διὰ τῶν Χριστιανῶν καταργῆσαι τοὺς δαίμονας.* *ὁ δὲ ἐπίσκοπος Χριστιανῶν τῶν ἐν Πέρσαις σύναξιν ἐπὶ τούτῳ τελέσας καὶ τῶν θείων μυστηρίων μεταλαβὼν* καὶ μεταδοὺς τοῖς συνοῦσι Χριστιανοῖς τῷ σημείῳ τοῦ σταυροῦ *διώξας τοὺς δαίμονας τῷ Κωάδῃ τὸ κάστρον ἀπόνως παρέδωκεν.* *ὅπερ καταπλαγεὶς ὁ ἀνὴρ πρωτοκαθεδρίᾳ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον ἐτίμησεν, ἕως τότε Ἰουδαίων καὶ μανιχαίων προτιμωμένων.* *ὁ δὲ πᾶσι τοῖς χριστιανίζειν ἐθέλουσιν ἄδειαν δέδωκεν.*	AM 6009, p. 163 : *μεταξὺ δὲ Ἰνδῶν καὶ Περσῶν κάστρον ἐστὶ ὀνόματι Τζουνδαδεέρ, ἔνθα πολλὰ χρήματα καὶ λίθους τιμίους εἶναι πολλοὺς Κωάδης μαθὼν ἐπεζήτει* τοῦτο λαβεῖν. *δαίμονες δὲ τῷ τόπῳ παρεδρεύοντες ἐκώλυον αὐτὸ χειρωθῆναι.* *πᾶσαν οὖν κινήσας τῶν παρ' αὐτῷ μάγων ἐπίνοιαν,* ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ *Ἰουδαίων*, καὶ τοῦ σκοποῦ μὴ ἐπιτυχών, πεισθεὶς διὰ τῆς πρὸς θεὸν εὐχῆς *τῶν Χριστιανῶν* τούτου κυριεῦσαι, *ἐπίσκοπόν τινα Χριστιανῶν τῶν ἐν Περσίδι* περὶ τούτου παρεκάλεσεν, ὃς *σύναξιν ἐπιτελέσας καὶ τῶν θείων μυστηρίων μεταλαβών,* προσελθὼν τῷ τόπῳ τοὺς ἐκεῖσε *δαίμονας ἐξεδίωξε καὶ τῷ Κουάδῃ τὸ κάστρον ἀπόνως παρέδωκεν* τούτῳ Κουάδης *καταπλαγεὶς* τῷ σημείῳ *πρωτοκαθεδρίᾳ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον ἐτίμησεν, ἕως τότε μανιχαίων καὶ Ἰουδαίων* προκαθεζομένων. *ἄδειαν* δὲ παρέσχε καὶ τοῖς βουλομένοις βαπτίζεσθαι.
frg. 513 (B) : Sévère ne réussit pas à gagner à la foi monophysite le phylarque des Saracènes : *Ἀλαμουνδάρου τοῦ φυλάρχου Σαρακηνῶν χριστιανίσαντος δύο ἐπισκόπους ἔπεμψεν ὁ Σευῆρος ἐφ' ᾧ τῆς ἰδίας μεταδοῦναι τῷ φυλάρχῳ κακίας.* *θεὸς δὲ προφθάσας ὑπὸ τῶν δεχομένων τὴν σύνοδον τὸν ἄνδρα βαπτισθῆναι πεποίηκεν.* *τῶν ὑπὸ Σευήρου σταλέντων ἐναντία τῶν ἀληθῶν δογμάτων σπουδαζόντων διδάξαι τὸν φύλαρχον δρᾶμα εἰς ἔλεγχον τῶν λεγομένων συνέθηκεν.* *τοῦτο δὲ ἦν τὸ δεῖξαι γράμματα δέχεσθαι φάσκοντα, ὅτι Μιχαὴλ ὁ ἀρχάγγελος τέλει τοῦ βίου ἐχρήσατο.* *τῶν δὲ τοῦτο λεγόντων ἀδύνατον· πῶς οὖν, ὁ φύλαρχος ἔφησεν, εἰ μὴ δύο ὁ Χριστός, θεὸς γυμνὸς <ὑπὲρ> σταυρὸν κατεδέξατο, ὅτε μηδὲ ἄγγελος κατὰ φύσιν ἢ ἀποθνήσκειν πέφυκεν; οὕτως οὖν οἱ Σευήρου αἰσχυνθέντες ἀπρακτοῦντες ἀνεχώρησαν.*	AM 6005, p. 159 : *Ἀλαμουνδάρῳ δέ, τῷ φυλάρχῳ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν,* βαπτισθέντι *Σευῆρος ὁ δυσσεβὴς δύο ἐπισκόπους ἔπεμψε* τῆς λώβης αὐτοῦ *μεταδοῦναι* αὐτῷ. *θεοῦ δὲ* προνοίᾳ *ὑπὸ τῶν* ὀρθοδόξων *ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐβαπτίσθη τῶν δεχομένων τὴν σύνοδον.* *τῶν* δὲ ἐπισκόπων *Σευήρου* διαστρέφειν τὸν φύλαρχον τοῦ ἀληθοῦς δόγματος σπευδόντων, θαυμαστῶς αὐτοὺς *ἤλεγξεν* Ἀλαμούνδαρος *δραματουργίᾳ* τοιαύτῃ. ἔφη γὰρ πρὸς αὐτούς· *γράμματα*, φησίν, *ἐδεξάμην* σήμερον σημαίνοντά μοι *ὅτι Μιχαὴλ ὁ ἀρχάγγελος* τέθνηκεν. *τῶν δὲ εἰπόντων ἀδύνατον* εἶναι *τοῦτο, ἔφη ὁ φύλαρχος· καὶ πῶς θεὸς γυμνὸς* ἐσταυρώθη καθ' ὑμᾶς, *εἰ μὴ δύο* φύσεων ἦν *ὁ Χριστός,* εἴπερ μηδὲ *ἄγγελος ἀποθνήσκει,* καὶ *οὕτω μετ' αἰσχύνης ἀνεχώρησαν οἱ τοῦ Σευήρου* ἐπίσκοποι.
frg. 514 (de Theoph.) : absent des manuscrits de l'*Épitomè*	AM 6008, p. 161 : incursion des Huns Saber jusqu'au Pont ; fuite du saint Macédonios jusqu'à Gangra, où Anastase le fait exécuter

Théodore le Lecteur [Theod. Lect.] de 511 à 518	Théophane
frg. 515 (B) : rêve d'un compagnon de Macédonios après sa mort : *Μακεδονίου* τελευτῶντος τοῦ ἐπισκόπου φοβερόν τι συμβῆναί φησιν (add. ὁ ἱστορῶν Epist. Callisti*). *νεκρὸν γὰρ ὄντα σφραγίσασθαι τῷ σταυρῷ. Θεόδωρος δέ τις τῶν συνόντων αὐτῷ ὄναρ ἰδεῖν* ἐπωμόσατο αὐτὸν *Μακεδόνιον* *αὐτῷ λέγοντα· ἔκλαβε καὶ ἄπελθε,* ἃ λέγω[ν] *Ἀναστασίῳ ἀνάγνωθι, ἐγὼ μὲν ἀπέρχομαι πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας μου, ὧν καὶ τὴν πίστιν τετήρηκα· οὐ παύσομαι δὲ ὀχλῶν τῷ δεσπότῃ, ἄχρις οὗ ἔλθῃς καὶ τὴν δίκην εἰσέλθωμεν* (avec mention de la source)	AM 6008, p. 162 : *Μακεδονίου νεκροῦ κειμένου φασὶ τῇ χειρὶ σφραγίσασθαι τῷ σταυρῷ. Θεόδωρος δέ τις τῶν συνόντων αὐτῷ εἰς ὄναρ εἶδε Μακεδόνιον λέγοντα αὐτῷ· ἔκλαβε καὶ ἀπελθὼν ἐπανάγνωθι Ἀναστασίῳ καὶ εἰπέ* *ἐγὼ μὲν ἀπέρχομαι πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας μου, ὧν τὴν πίστιν τετήρηκα· οὐ παύσομαι δὲ ὀχλῶν τῷ δεσπότῃ, ἄχρις οὗ ἔλθῃς καὶ εἰς δίκην εἰσέλθωμεν*
* Mots attestés dans la lettre de Kallistos à Manuel Dishypatos de 1276, voir Hansen, dans Theod. Lect., p. XXXIII.	
frg. 516 (P) : peste à Alexandrie ; le peuple en attribue la cause à la colère de Dieu	absent de Théophane
frg. 517a (P) : Anastase ordonne à Élie, l'évêque de Jérusalem, d'entrer en communion avec Sévère d'A., ce qu'il refuse : ὁ βασιλεὺς προσέταξεν *Ἀναστάσιος Ἠλίαν τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ἐπίσκοπον* ἢ *κοινωνῆσαι Σευήρῳ ἢ τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς ἐκβληθῆναι*. οἱ δὲ τῶν μοναστηρίων συναχθέντες τοῦτον *ὠχύρωσαν* καὶ διεμαρτύραντο. ὁ δὲ *τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς μᾶλλον ἐκβληθῆναι* προετίμησεν ἢ κοινωνῆσαι Σευήρῳ	AM 6004, p. 156 : *Ἠλίας* δὲ *ὁ Ἱεροσολύμων ἐπίσκοπος* ἀναγκαζόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως *ἢ Σευήρῳ* κοινωνῆσαι *ἢ τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς ἐκβληθῆναι*, τῶν μοναχῶν *ὀχυρωσάντων* αὐτόν, *τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς μᾶλλον* ᾑρετίσατο *ἐκβληθῆναι*...
frg. 517b (de Theoph.) : la suite du passage est absente des manuscrits de l'*Épitomè*, et a été restitué par Hansen à partir de Théophane	AM 6004, p. 156 : élection de Jean comme évêque de Jérusalem
frg. 518 (de Theoph.) : absent des manuscrits de l'*Épitomè*	AM 6005, p. 158-159 : un certain Anastase promet à l'empereur de persuader Jean de Jérusalem d'entrer en communion avec Sévère, mais sans succès
frg. 519 (de *Synod.*) : absent des manuscrits de l'*Épitomè*	absent de Théophane ; attesté dans *The Synodicon vetus*, text, transl., and notes by J. Duffy & J. Parker (CFHB 15), Dumbarton Oaks 1979, § 116 : Anastase exile les moines Théodose et Sabas, deux défenseurs de l'orthodoxie ; voir cependant AM 6005, p. 159, où il est question du moine Théodose et du soutien que lui accorde Hypatios, le neveu d'Anastase, chalcédonien
frg. 520 : lacune dans le manuscrit, la majeure partie est restituée par Hansen d'après Théophane, seule la fin du frg. figure en M : – *θάνατον ἑτοίμως ἑαυτοὺς παρέχουσιν.* ἐντέτακται δὲ ἡ μία τῶν πρὸς βασιλέα δηλοῦσα καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τὴν δύναμιν	AM 6008, p. 162 : mort d'Ariane, l'épouse d'Anastase ; les moines du désert écrivent à l'empereur qu'ils préfèrent mourir que renier la foi chalcédonienne : *ἐπεὶ πρὸς θάνατον ἑτοίμως* ἔχουσιν, ἐμπυρίζοντες καὶ τοὺς ἁγίους τόπους

Théodore le Lecteur [Theod. Lect.] de 511 à 518	Théophane
fg. 521 (M, avec une lacune par saut du même au même) : l'évêque de Thessalonique entre en communion avec Timothée par crainte de l'empereur, tandis qu'une quarantaine d'évêques de Grèce et d'Illyricum annoncent leur communion avec Rome : *τοῦ ἐπισκόπου Θεσσαλονίκης διὰ φόβον τοῦ βασιλέως κοινωνήσαντος Τιμοθέῳ μ´ ἐπίσκοποι τοῦ Ἰλλυρίκου καὶ Ἑλλάδος ἀθροισθέντες εἰς ἓν δι᾽ ὁμολογίας [lacuna] ἐγγράφως συνέθεντο.* *ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι πατριάρχην ὀνομάζει τὸν Θεσσαλονίκης ἐπίσκοπον ὁ ἱστορῶν, οὐκ οἶδα διατί* (avec mention de la source)	AM 6008, p. 162 : τοῦ δὲ *ἐπισκόπου Θεσσαλονίκης διὰ φόβον τοῦ βασιλέως κοινωνήσαντος Τιμοθέῳ* τῷ ΚΠ ἐπισκόπῳ, *μ´ ἐπίσκοποι τοῦ Ἰλλιρίκου καὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος συνελθόντες εἰς ἓν δι᾽ ἐγγράφου ὁμολογίας* ὡς ἀπὸ ἰδίου μητροπολίτου ἀπέστησαν ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ, καὶ εἰς Ῥώμην πέμψαντες τῷ Ῥώμης κοινωνεῖν *ἐγγράφως συνέθεντο.* *τὸν δὲ Θεσσαλονίκης ἐπίσκοπον* Θεόδωρος ὁ ἱστορικὸς *πατριάρχην ὀνομάζει* ἀλόγως, μὴ εἰδὼς *τὸ διατί*
fg. 522 (M) : Dioscore le Petit élu à la mort de Jean d'Alexandrie ; son départ précipité lors de son ambassade à CP : *Ἰωάννου τοῦ Ἀλεξανδρείας τελευτήσαντος προχειρίζονται Διόσκορον τὸν μικρὸν τὸν Τιμοθέου τοῦ Αἰλούρου ἀδελφιδοῦν.* *ὃς παραγενόμενος ἐν ΚΠ διὰ τὸν βίαιον θάνατον ὃν οἱ Ἀλεξανδρέων δῆμοι ἐπήγαγον τῷ υἱῷ Καλλιοπίου τῷ τότε αὐγουσταλίῳ, ὑποπτευθεὶς ὅτι διὰ δόγματα παρεγένετο χαλεπῶς ὑπὸ τῶν Βυζαντίων καθ᾽ ἑκάστην ὑβρίζετο πρόοδον.* *πρεσβεύσας δὲ ὑπὲρ Ἀλεξανδρέων διὰ τὸν φόνον ἐπανῆλθεν εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν*	AM 6009, p. 162 (avec interversion de membres de phrase) : τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει *Ἰωάννου τοῦ* Νικαιώτου ἐπισκόπου *Ἀλεξανδρείας* αἱρετικοῦ ἀποθανόντος, *Διόσκορος ὁ μικρός, Τιμοθέου τοῦ Ἐλούρου* ἀνεψιός, προεβλήθη ἐπίσκοπος Ἀλεξανδρείας. *ἐλθὼν δὲ ἐν τῷ Βυζαντίῳ ὑπὲρ Ἀλεξανδρέων* πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα *πρεσβεύσασθαι διὰ τὸν* φόνον τοῦ υἱοῦ *Καλλιοπίου τοῦ αὐγουσταλίου* ὑπὸ τῶν ὀρθοδόξων δημοσίως *ὑβρίζετο κατὰ πρόοδον* νομιζόντων αὐτὸν κατα τῶν ὀρθῶν δογμάτων ἐληλυθέναι. *πρεσβεύσας οὖν διὰ τὸν φόνον ἐπανῆλθεν* μετὰ σπουδῆς ἀνεχώρησεν
fg. 523 (M) : l'empereur nomme Jean de Cappadoce évêque de Constantinople en succession de Timothée : *Τιμόθεος ὁ ἐπίσκοπος ἐτελεύτησεν. προεβλήθη δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως Ἰωάννης ὁ Καππαδόκης πρεσβύτερος τῆς ἐκκλησίας ὑπάρχων, ἀπὸ Καλωνείας δὲ τῆς ἐν Καππαδοκίᾳ ὁρμώμενος. οὗτος ἐν τῇ γ´ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ πάσχα χειροτονηθεὶς εὐθὺς τὴν ἀποστολικὴν στολὴν ἐνδύσατο. πολλὴν δὲ αὐτῷ ὁ λαὸς στάσιν ἐποίησεν ἐκβιβάζων αὐτὸν ἀναθεματίσαι Σευῆρον*	AM 6010, p. 164 : τοῦ δὲ *ἐπισκόπου* ΚΠ *Τιμοθέου ἀποθανόντος, Ἰωάννην τὸν Καππαδόκην, πρεσβύτερον* καὶ σύγκελλον ΚΠ, ἐπίσκοπον ὁ βασιλεὺς προεχειρίσατο. *οὗτος χειροτονηθεὶς τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ πάσχα τὴν ἀποστολικὴν ἐνεδύσατο στολήν* *ὁ δὲ λαὸς πολλὴν στάσιν ἐποίησεν* τῷ Ἰωάννῃ τοῦ *ἀναθεματίσαι Σευῆρον*

Théodore le Lecteur [Theod. Lect.] de 511 à 518	Théophane
fg. 524 (M B) : mort d'Anastase, avènement de Justin : *Ἀναστάσιος ὁ βασιλεὺς* ἐτελεύτησεν ἄφνω, ζήσας ἔτη πη´, *βασιλεύσας δὲ ἔτη κζ´ καὶ μῆνας γ´.* προήχθη δὲ βασιλεὺς Ἰουστῖνος, ἀνὴρ πρεσβύτης (-τερος B[m] -τατος B[rc]) ἀπὸ *στρατιωτῶν ἀρξάμενος καὶ μέχρι τῆς συγκλήτου προκόψας* καὶ διὰ πάντων ἄριστος φανείς, τῆς δὲ ὀρθῆς πίστεως ἔμπυρος ζηλωτής, γένος (γενόμενος B) *Ἰλλυριος* (+ ὢν B) (il n'est pas fait mention du foudroiement d'Anastase) *σύμβιον ἔχων ὀνόματι Λουππικίναν* (Λουπικίαν B), ἣν γενομένην *Αὐγούσταν Εὐφημίαν οἱ δημόται* ὠνόμασαν	AM 6010, p. 164 : τῷ δ᾽ αὐτῷ ἔτει ἰνδικτιῶνος ια´, μηνὶ Ἀπριλλίῳ θ´, τέθνηκεν Ἀναστάσιος ὁ δυσσεβὴς βασιλεύς, βασιλεύσας ἔτη κζ´ μῆνας ζ´, τῷ σλδ´ ἔτει ἀπὸ Διοκλητιανοῦ· καὶ ἐβασίλευσεν Ἰουστῖνος ὁ εὐσεβὴς ἀντ᾽ αὐτοῦ, ἀνὴρ πρεσβύτης καὶ πολύπειρος, ἀπὸ στρατιωτῶν ἀρξάμενος καὶ ἕως τῆς συγκλήτου προκόψας, Ἰλλύριος τῷ γένει. τινὲς δέ φασιν ὅτι θείῳ σκηπτῷ κεραυνωθεὶς Ἀναστάσιος ἐμβρόντητος γέγονεν. AM 6011, p. 165 : τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει Ἰουστῖνος βασιλεύσας πᾶσιν ἄριστος ἀνεδείχθη, ζηλωτὴς μὲν τῆς ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως ἔμπυρος καὶ ἐν πολέμοις εὐδοκιμῶν. *σύμβιον* δὲ *ἔχων ὀνόματι Λουπικίαν*, ταύτην *Εὐφημίαν οἱ δῆμοι* ἐκάλεσαν στεφθεῖσαν αὐτὴν *Αὐγούσταν*

De la lecture de ces tableaux se dégage un premier bilan : sur les trente et un fragments de Théodore étudiés, quinze (soit la moitié) offrent avec le texte de Théophane de telles similitudes, souvent au mot près, qu'une dépendance de l'un à l'autre semble incontestable ; seuls cinq d'entre eux appartiennent à la première série, et dix à la seconde. On pourra en outre remarquer que les fragments qui apparaissent dans plusieurs manuscrits de l'*Épitomè* sont assez rares : deux dans la première série, un seul dans la seconde, ce qui (m'a suggéré Marek Jankowiak) n'est pas sans poser le problème de la cohérence (ou de l'unicité) de l'ouvrage. Enfin, on notera que quatorze des fragments attribués par Hansen à l'*Épitomè* n'ont en fait pour seul témoin que le texte de Théophane (ainsi que quelques sources secondaires parallèles, principalement la *Chronique* de Victor Tunnunensis), et que ces fragments supposés se situent tous dans la seconde série (qui comprend 26 fragments), un constat propre à susciter de nouvelles interrogations.

À LA RECHERCHE DES SOURCES DE THÉOPHANE : THÉODORE OU L'ÉPITOMATEUR ; REMARQUES SUR LA PRÉSENCE DE L'ÉPITOMATEUR

Restent cependant deux possibilités : d'abord, que Théophane n'ait pas eu entre les mains le texte même de Théodore, mais celui de l'*Épitomè*[6], ou encore tout à la fois le texte originel de Théodore et celui de son épitomateur ; ensuite, que Théodore et Théophane aient puisé ces courtes notices à une même source, aujourd'hui perdue, indépendamment l'un de l'autre.

En fait, l'*Épitomè* se caractérise par la présence de son auteur, qui n'hésite pas à se manifester. Pour nous en tenir à notre corpus de référence, voici les passages où

6. C'est l'hypothèse retenue par MANGO – SCOTT, p. LXXV, source n° 2 : « a compendium of ecclesiastical history, of which a substantial part consisted of an abridgement of two works of Theodor Lector… », cité plus amplement à la note 1.

l'épitomateur signale sa présence, qui sont au nombre de neuf (sur trente et un, soit le quart, ce qui est une proportion énorme) :

- frg. 342 (V) : Κύριλλον δέ φησι τριάκοντα ἔτη ἐπισκοπῆσαι (« il dit que Cyrille détint l'épiscopat durant trente années ») ; cette mention de la source (« il dit ») ne renvoie à aucun des personnages mentionnés plus haut dans le passage, à savoir Cyrille lui-même, dont la mort vient d'être annoncée, et son successeur Dioscore. Celui qui a fait le comput, c'est évidemment la source de l'épitomateur, le « il » de « il dit », vraisemblablement Théodore, *Hist. eccl.* livre I, aujourd'hui perdu. Le texte correspondant de Théophane, qui fixe la durée de l'épiscopat de Cyrille à 32 ans (et non trente), ne comporte pas cette indication d'un discours rapporté.
- frg. 346 (V) : ἐνέταξε δὲ ὁ ἱστορῶν τὰς Θεοδοσίου κελεύσεις πρός τε Διόσκορον καὶ τὴν σύνοδον (« l'historien a inséré les instructions de Théodose à Dioscore et au Synode ») ; on aimerait connaître le nom de cet historien qui reproduit ainsi un document officiel, mais l'épitomateur ne le donne pas, et Hansen, dans son édition, ne donne comme parallèles que les volumes des Actes des conciles œcuméniques correspondants, à savoir *ACO* II, 1, 1, p. 71 et 73. Le texte correspondant de Théophane ne fait pas mention d'une source.
- frg. 350 (V) : ἐντέτακται δὲ καὶ αὕτη ἡ ἐπιστολή (« cette lettre elle aussi est jointe »), à propos de la réponse que Chrysaphios a persuadé Théodose de rédiger, à la suite de la destitution de Flavien. Théophane ne fait aucune allusion à la transmission ou la conservation de ce document.
- frg. 352 (V) : Θεοδοσίου τοῦ Βασιλέως ὁ ἱστορῶν καθάπτεται ὡς πειθομένου ὡς ἔτυχε καὶ εὐμεταγώγου ὄντος (« l'historien reproche à l'empereur Théodose de se laisser convaincre facilement et d'être influençable »). Le passage est reproduit par Théophane, qui ne retient pas la mention de la source, pour vague qu'elle soit dans l'*Épitomè*.
- frg. 353 (P, V et B) : Θεοδόσιος ἐξελθὼν εἰς κυνήγιον εἰς Λεῦκον ποταμὸν παραχθείς, ὡς λέγει, τῇ ἐπιούσῃ νυκτὶ ἐτελεύτησε (« Théodose, en se rendant à la chasse, fut emporté dans le fleuve Leukos, comme il le rapporte, et il mourut la nuit suivante ») ; autre indication anonyme de la source. Il n'y a pas de passage strictement correspondant chez Théophane.
- frg. 499 (B) : Ἰωάννης ὁ Διακρινόμενος κατὰ (περὶ corr. Valois) Σεύηρου ἱστορεῖ ὅτι… (« Jean Diacrinoménos raconte contre [corrigé en « à propos de » par Valois] Sévère que l'empereur Anastase obtint de lui le serment que s'il était élu évêque d'Antioche, il ne s'en prendrait pas au synode de Chalcédoine par l'anathème et que, le jour même de son élection, montant à l'ambon, il l'anathématisa à la demande de ses partisans »). Le passage est intéressant, puisqu'il nous donne le nom de la source de Théodore (ou de son épitomateur), du moins pour cet épisode, à savoir Jean Diacrinoménos. Théophane ne fait aucune mention de l'épisode du serment et de sa violation. En revanche, l'appendice de l'Épitomè qui rassemble les quelques fragments de Jean Diacrinoménos nous donne une version à peine différente du même épisode, mais sans la mention κατὰ Σεύηρον, qui peut être une addition de l'épitomateur : « Sévère, après avoir fait serment à Anastase qu'il ne soulèverait aucune agitation contre le

synode de Chalcédoine, le jour même où il fut élu, violant son serment, prononça l'anathème » (frg. 561).

- frg. 515 (B) : Μακεδονίου τελευτῶντος τοῦ ἐπισκόπου φοβερόν τι συμβῆναί φησιν (add. ὁ ἱστορῶν Epist. Callisti) (« à la mort de l'évêque Macédonios, il dit qu'il arriva quelque chose d'extraordinaire »). C'est un autre témoin de l'*Épitomè*, la *Lettre de Calliste à Manuel Dishypatos*, datée de l'année 1276, qui précise le sujet : ὁ ἱστορῶν, « l'historien ». Étrangement, Théophane, reprenant ce passage, emploie le pluriel au lieu du singulier : φασί, c'est-à-dire « ils disent que », le verbe renvoyant théoriquement à une pluralité des sources – pluralité sur laquelle nous reviendrons.
- frg. 520 (M – lacunaire) : ἐντέτακται δὲ ἡ μία τῶν πρὸς βασιλέα δηλοῦσα καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τὴν δύναμιν (« est jointe une seule des [lettres] à l'empereur, qui montre la force des autres »). L'épitomateur fait ici clairement référence au fait que sa source, à savoir l'*Histoire ecclésiastique* de Théodore, produisait une des quatre lettres envoyées par les moines du désert ; cette précision n'est pas reprise par Théophane.
- frg. 521 : ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι πατριάρχην ὀνομάζει τὸν Θεσσαλονίκης ἐπίσκοπον ὁ ἱστορῶν, οὐκ οἶδα διατί (« il faut savoir que l'historien appelle l'évêque de Thessalonique "patriarche", je ne sais pas pourquoi »). Ce passage est intéressant, parce qu'il crée une distance entre « l'historien » source (ὁ ἱστορῶν) et celui qui l'évalue, qui se désigne à la première personne (οὐκ οἶδα). Reste à savoir qui est l'écrivain source (Théodore ou sa source) et qui est le porteur de jugement (Théodore ou l'épitomateur). Le plus étrange est que Théophane reprend quasiment mot pour mot la formule de Théodore : τὸν δὲ Θεσσαλονίκης ἐπίσκοπον Θεόδωρος ὁ ἱστορικὸς πατριάρχην ὀνομάζει ἀλόγως, μὴ εἰδὼς τὸ διατί, remplaçant ὁ ἱστορῶν par ὁ ἱστορικός, ajoutant un commentaire (ἀλόγως, « à tort ») et attribuant à « l'historien » l'origine de l'erreur. Si l'historien (ὁ ἱστορῶν) est Théodore, et non sa source, le « je » du οὐκ οἶδα de l'*Épitomè* est un ajout de l'épitomateur et le désigne donc lui-même, tandis que le μὴ εἰδὼς de Théophane qui reprend la formule en la mettant à la troisième personne renvoie nécessairement… à ce même épitomateur, désigné à son tour comme ὁ ἱστορικὸς, un « historien » à sa manière, en effet, à qui Théophane aurait emprunté la formule renvoyant à la méprise de Théodore, et qu'il aurait eu comme source. Cela reviendrait à dire que l'*Épitomè* est une source de Théophane distincte de son *Histoire ecclésiastique* originelle.

De nouveau, tirons un bilan de cette étude. Il est incontestable que Théophane dépend de Théodore pour la relation de ces événements ; toutefois, il est tout à fait plausible qu'il l'ait connu en partie, voire en grande partie, grâce à un intermédiaire, à savoir l'*Épitomè*.

Nous reviendrons sur cette question, intimement liée à l'utilisation que fait, ou ne fait pas, Théodore de l'expression ὁ ἱστορῶν dans ce qui nous reste de son œuvre originale, à savoir les livres I et II de la *Tripartite*. Pour l'instant, nous nous contenterons de souligner le fait que, sur l'ensemble des trente et un fragments (18 + 13) de notre corpus de Théodore *via* les différents manuscrits de l'*Épitomè*, neuf (5 + 4) mentionnent l'utilisation d'une source, par l'un ou l'autre de ces moyens, voire plusieurs à la fois :

- tantôt la désignant par son nom, à savoir Jean Diacrinoménos (frg. 499) ;
- tantôt la désignant par la formule « l'historien » (frg. 346, 352, 521 et peut-être aussi frg. 515) ;

- tantôt utilisant le discours rapporté avec un verbe introducteur, φησί, λέγει, ἱστορεῖ ou [illegible] (frg. 342, 353, 499, 515, 521);
- tantôt faisant allusion à la rédaction de l'ouvrage lui-même ou à l'intervention de son auteur dans le récit (frg. 346, 520 et 350, ἐντάττω, « insérer », frg. 352, καθάπτομαι, « reprocher »).

L'épitomateur se permet même, semble-t-il, de relever une erreur dans sa source, au fragment 521, intervenant alors à la première personne : οὐκ οἶδα διατί, « je ne sais pas pourquoi », pour se distinguer nettement d'elle.

En revanche, Théophane, dans les passages de sa *Chronique* correspondant aux fragments étudiés, ne reprend que rarement les marques de discours rapporté :

- absence chez Théophane de marque de discours rapporté : passages qui correspondent aux frg. 342, 346, 350, 352, 520 ;
- présence chez Théophane de la marque du discours rapporté :
  - frg. 515 : le texte de Théophane, p. 162.3, reprend la mention de la source, mais au pluriel : « ils disent que Macédonios mort fit un signe de croix de sa main… » ; ce « ils » représente soit les historiens sources de l'*Histoire ecclésiastique* de Théodore, soit la double source Théodore + l'*Épitomè* – sauf à lui donner un sens faible, collectif, de type : « on dit » ce qui est fort possible, comme nous le verrons plus loin ;
  - frg. 521 : voir ci-dessus ;
  - pas de correspondance entre Théophane et Théodore/l'*Épitomè*, qui mentionne une nouvelle source, Jean Diacrinoménos (frg. 499).

On notera particulièrement le fait qu'au fragment 521, Théophane cite non pas Théodore, mais l'*Épitomè* portant jugement sur Théodore, preuve indiscutable de l'utilisation par Théophane de l'*Épitomè*.

La présence chez Théophane de détails ou de passages absents de l'*Épitomè*, mais vraisemblablement présents dans l'ouvrage original de Théodore, ou alors présentés dans un ordre différent dans l'*Épitomè* et chez Théophane (mais l'argument est moins convaincant, dans la mesure où Théophane aime à réarranger ses sources), oblige à postuler en sens inverse que le Confesseur a aussi eu accès directement à l'ouvrage de Théodore – sauf à admettre l'existence d'un *Épitomè* beaucoup plus ample que celui actuellement conservé et parfois autrement agencé. Voici les fragments en question :

- frg. 342 et 343 de Théodore sur la mort de Cyrille et de Proclus et leurs successeurs, Dioscore et Flavien : l'ordre est inversé chez Théophane, p. 97.
- frg. 517 de Théodore sur l'ordre donné par l'empereur Anastase à Élie de Jérusalem d'entrer en communion avec Sévère d'Antioche. Théophane, p. 158-159, mentionne l'intervention d'un certain Anastase, qu'ignore l'épitomateur (P). Hansen accepte pourtant le passage comme frg. 518 de Théodore, parce qu'il figure aussi dans la *Vie de St Saba* de Cyrille de Scythopolis.
- frg. 524 de Théodore sur la mort d'Anastase : le τινὲς δέ φασιν (« certains prétendent ») de Théophane renvoie soit au texte original de Théodore, qui mentionnait le fait, soit à un *Épitomè* plus complet que celui actuellement conservé, soit à une source complémentaire, inconnue de nous. Il ne semble pas être ici l'indication d'une pluralité

de sources, mais plutôt une marque de distanciation par rapport à un événement jugé mal assuré, à savoir l'intervention divine.

Devant le faible nombre d'exemples significatifs, nous avons élargi notre enquête à d'autres fragments étudiés plus loin :

- frg. 359b (Λέων δὲ ὁ ἐπίσκοπος ἔγραψε πρὸς τὴν ἐν Νικαίᾳ [...] σύνοδον θαυμασίαν ἐπιστολήν, ἥτις... ὑπὸ τοῦ ἱστοροῦντος ἐντέτακται) : l'*Épitomè* (B) mentionne la lettre de Léon au synode programmé à Nicée, lettre insérée dans les Actes de Chalcédoine (451), et que rapporte « l'historien », c'est-à-dire Théodore ; le texte correspondant de Théophane, p. 105, ne mentionne quant à lui qu'une lettre à Marcien, dont l'*Épitomè* ne dit rien (voir ci-dessous) ;
- frg. 422b (Ζήνων δὲ ταῦτα προσέταξε ποιήσας καὶ τὸ ἑνωτικὸν τὸ λεγόμενον [...] ὅπερ καὶ ἐντέτακται) : l'*Épitomè* (V) mentionne la rédaction de l'*Hénotikon* par Zénon ; le texte correspondant de Théophane, p. 130, précise qu'il le fit à l'instigation d'Acace, un renseignement qu'il n'a pas pu tirer de l'*Épitomè* tel qu'il est actuellement conservé (voir ci-dessous).

La conjonction de ces deux constats, à savoir d'une part que Théophane, dans certains cas, cite l'épitomateur, et non le texte même de Théodore (marques de discours rapporté), et d'autre part que Théophane cite ou fait allusion à des passages de Théodore absents de l'*Épitomè* (informations fournies par l'un et absentes de l'autre), nous semble être l'indice du fait que Théophane a pu avoir un double accès à l'œuvre de Théodore : l'un directement, par la lecture de ses deux ouvrages, l'*Histoire tripartite* et l'*Histoire ecclésiastique* (ou au moins par celle d'un *Épitomè* plus complet et plus proche du texte originel de Théodore) ; l'autre par l'intermédiaire de l'*Épitomè* tel qu'il est actuellement conservé, dont il est souvent très proche.

Les marques de discours rapporté

La mention d'une source (par exemple « l'historien dit que… ») soulève aussi des questions. Comme Théodore est lui-même un compilateur, il est possible que ce soit lui, et non l'épitomateur anonyme, qui ait donné ainsi l'indication de sa source. Ainsi l'aurait-il fait pour Jean Diacrinoménos (comme nous le verrons plus loin), si tant est que l'*Histoire* de ce dernier ait été antérieure à celle de Théodore, et non strictement contemporaine, voire postérieure. Mais un argument très fort vient contredire cette hypothèse. Dans la partie de l'*Épitomè* qui contient les fragments de l'*Histoire tripartite*, on trouve de nombreuses mentions de la présence de « l'historien » : marques de discours rapporté, jugements portés sur le déroulement des faits. Or, d'après l'échantillon que nous avons choisi, on ne les retrouve pas dans le texte original conservé au sein du codex *Marcianus gr.* 344, le seul témoin de la *Tripartite*[7] :

7. Sur lequel voir maintenant Pouderon, Pour une évaluation (cité n. 2).

Épitomé de Théodore	Théodore, *HT*, livre II dans le *Marc. gr.* 344
frg. 63, à propos des lettres de Jules de Rome (340/1) : « ce que disent même aujourd'hui à propos de Léon (ἐπὶ Λέοντι) les adversaires du saint synode (i.e. Chalcédoine) »	commentaire évidemment absent du cod. *Marcianus* 344, fol. 75ᵛ, l. 10-15 = Socr., II, 15, 5
frg. 71 : « Constant écrit *avec colère* à Constance ou bien de... » (commentaire ajouté par l'épitomateur au texte de Socr., II, 22)	mention « avec colère » absente du cod. *Marcianus* 344, fol. 81ᵛ, l. 25-82ʳ, l. 14 = Socr., II, 22, 1–23, 2
frg. 73 : ᾧ καὶ μαρτυρεῖ ὁ ἱστορικός (« ce dont témoigne aussi l'historien », c'est-à-dire Théodore, reprenant Soz., III, 14, 31 : les *Ascetica* de Basile sont en fait d'Eustathe) : Βασίλειος δὲ ὁ θεῖος ἐν πλείοσιν ἐπιστολαῖς αἱρετικοῦ τοῦ Εὐσταθίου καθάπτεται (« le divin Basile dans plusieurs lettres s'en prend à Eustathe comme à un hérétique »)	mentions du témoignage de l'historien et des attaques de Basile contre Eustathe absentes du cod. *Marcianus* 344, fol. 89ᵛ, l. 29-90ʳ, l. 18 = Soz., III, 14, 31
frg. 77 : ὥς φησι ὁ ἱστορῶν (« comme le dit l'historien », c'est-à-dire Théodore, reprenant Soz., III, 18 : Constance accepta d'abord le terme ὁμοιούσιος)	mention du témoignage de « l'historien » (qui aurait alors été Sozomène) absente du cod. *Marcianus* 344, fol. 93ᵛ, l. 1-13 = Soz., III, 18

On trouvera ci-dessous une analyse comparée détaillée de ces quatre passages :

Texte n° 1

– Socr., II, 15, 5, p. 106.5-9 : οἱ δὲ δεξάμενοι ὕβριν ἐποιοῦντο τὴν ἐπίπληξιν, καὶ σύνοδον ἐν τῇ Ἀντιοχείᾳ κηρύξαντες συνελθόντες ἐν αὐτῇ κοινῇ γνώμῃ δι' ἐπιστολῆς σφοδρότερον ἀντεγκαλοῦσι τῷ Ἰουλίῳ, δηλοῦντες μὴ δεῖν κανονίζεσθαι παρ' αὐτοῦ, εἰ βούλοιντο ἐξελαύνειν τινὰς τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν· μηδὲ γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἀντειπεῖν, ὅτε Ναυάτον τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἤλαυνον (« eux [i.e. ceux qui avaient déposé Paul de Constantinople, Asclépas de Gaza, Marcel d'Ancyre et Lucius d'Adrianoupolis], en les recevant [i.e. les lettres de Jules, l'évêque de Rome], considéraient la réprimande comme une insulte : ayant convoqué un concile à Antioche [fin 340 – janvier 341], ils s'y rassemblent et d'un commun accord adressent à leur tour une assez violente lettre de reproche à Jules, en faisant valoir qu'il n'avait pas à prendre de décision canonique s'ils voulaient chasser certains de leurs Églises ; eux-mêmes n'avaient pas protesté lorsqu'ils avaient chassé Novat [i.e. en 251 !] de l'Église »). Rappelons que Socrate est lui-même novatien, proche des nicéens.

– Théodore, *Histoire tripartite*, dans le *Marc. gr.* 344, fol. 75ʳ, l. 10-15 : οἱ δεξάμενοι ὕβριν ἐποιοῦντο τὴν ἐπίπληξιν, καὶ σύνοδον ἐν τῇ Ἀντιοχείᾳ κηρύξαντες συνελθόντες ἐν αὐτῇ κοινῇ γνώμῃ δι' ἐπιστολῆς σφοδρότερον ἀντεγκαλοῦσι τῷ Ἰουλίῳ, δηλοῦντες μὴ δεῖν κανονίζεσθαι παρ' αὐτοῦ, εἰ βούλοιντο ἐξελαύνειν τινὰς τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν· μηδὲ γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἀντειπεῖν, ὅτε Ναυατιανοὺς τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἤλαυνεν. Suit une addition propre au *Marcianus* : ὁ νῦν ἐκεῖνος κατὰ καιροὺς τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς ἡγούμενος. La suite du texte est elle aussi conforme au texte de Socrate.

– *Épitomé* [Theod. Lect.], frg. 63, p. 33 : οἱ δὲ τοῖς Ἰουλίου θαρρήσαντες γράμμασι τοὺς ἰδίους θρόνους κατέλαβον, πρὸς ὅπερ οἱ Ἀρειανοὶ χαλεπήσαντες συνῆλθον πάλιν εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν καὶ γράφουσιν Ἰουλίῳ ἐγκαλοῦντες μὴ δεῖν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κανονίζεσθαι· ὅπερ καὶ νῦν οἱ τῆς ἁγίας συνόδου τῆς ἐν Χαλκηδόνι ἐχθροὶ ἐπὶ Λέοντι (i.e. le pape Léon Iᵉʳ ;

le codex Ambrosianus ajoute τῷ πάπᾳ) λέγουσι, « eux, rassurés par les lettres de Jules, récupérèrent leurs propres sièges, ce dont s'irritèrent les ariens, qui se rassemblèrent de nouveau à Antioche et écrivent à Jules qu'il n'avait pas à prendre de décision canonique – ce qu'aujourd'hui aussi les adversaires du saint synode de Chalcédoine disent au sujet de Léon ». La référence à Chalcédoine n'apparaît ni chez Socrate, ni chez Théodore, et ne peut être qu'une addition de l'épitomateur, prochalcédonien militant.

Le fragment qui précède (n° 62) concerne la double élection à Constantinople de Paul et de l'arien Macédonios, la déposition de Paul par Constance et l'émeute qui s'ensuivit [= Socr., II, 13]. Le fragment qui suit (n° 64) concerne le rétablissement de Paul sur le siège de Constantinople par décision de Jules, puis le rétablissement *manu militari* de Macédonios par le préfet : Κωνστάντιος μαθὼν ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ ὡς ἀπεκατέστησε Παῦλον Ἰούλιος εἰς ὀργὴν κινηθεὶς κελεύει Φιλίππῳ τῷ ἐπάρχῳ ἐκδιῶξαι μὲν Παῦλον, ἐγκαταστῆναι δὲ τῇ ἐπισκοπῇ Μακεδόνιον, « Constance, ayant appris à Antioche que Jules avait rétabli Paul, pris de colère, ordonne à l'éparque Philippe de chasser Paul et d'établir Macédonios à l'épiscopat, etc. ») [= Socr., II, 16 : ὁ μέντοι βασιλεὺς Κωνστάντιος ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ δίαγων, πυθόμενός τε πάλιν τὸν Παῦλον ἀπειληφέναι τὸν θρόνον, δι' ὀργῆς ἐτίθετο τὸ γινόμενον, πρόσταγμά τε ἔγγραφον ἀποστέλλει πρὸς τὸν ἔπαρχον Φίλιππον, ὃς μείζονα μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ἀρχόντων τὴν ἐξουσίαν κεκλήρωται, δεύτερος δὲ μετὰ βασιλέα χρηματίζει, ὅπως ἂν τὸν μὲν Παῦλον τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐκβάλῃ, ἀντεισαγάγῃ δὲ εἰς αὐτὴν Μακεδόνιον].

– Théophane, p. 38.28-30 : τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει Ἀθανάσιος καὶ Παῦλος καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς τοῖς γράμμασιν Ἰουλίου, τοῦ πάπα Ῥώμης, θαρρήσαντες τοὺς ἰδίους θρόνους κατέλαβον. ὁ δὲ Κωνστάντιος ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ δίαγων, μαθὼν ὅτι Παύλῳ καὶ Ἀθανασίῳ διὰ γραμμάτων ὁ Ἰούλιος τοὺς ἰδίους ἀπέδωκε θρόνους, καὶ ὀργισθεὶς κελεύει αὐτοὺς ἀπελασθῆναι τῶν ἰδίων θρόνων, « cette année-là, Athanase, Paul et leurs partisans, rassurés par les lettres de Jules, le pape de Rome, récupérèrent leurs propres sièges ; Constance, qui se trouvait à Antioche, ayant appris que Jules avait restitué leurs propres sièges à Paul et Athanase, pris de colère, ordonne qu'ils soient chassés de leurs propres trônes » (pas de mention de Macédonios et de l'hipparque Philippe dans ce passage) ; et p. 43.1-7 : ὁ δὲ Κωνστάντιος καὶ τότε ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ δίαγων, μαθὼν ὅτι τὸν Παῦλον Ἰούλιος τῷ θρόνῳ ἀπεκατέστησεν, ὀργισθεὶς κελεύει Φιλίππῳ τῷ ἐπάρχῳ Παῦλον ἐκδιῶξαι καὶ Μακεδόνιον ἀντικαταστῆσαι τῷ θρόνῳ, « Constance, qui se trouvait alors à Antioche, ayant appris que Jules avait rétabli Paul sur son trône, pris de colère, ordonne à l'hipparque Philippe de chasser Paul et de rétablir Macédonios sur le trône. »

Texte n° 2

– Socr., II, 22, 1–23, 2 (texte grec ici abrégé) : οἱ μέντοι ἐν Σαρδικῇ συνελθόντες καὶ <οἱ> ἐν Φιλιππουπόλει τῆς Θρᾴκης ἰδίαζον συνέδριον ποιησάμενοι, τὰ δοκοῦντα αὐτοῖς ἑκάτεροι πράξαντες κατὰ πόλεις τὰς ἑαυτῶν ἀνεχώρησαν [...] ὡς δ' ὁ Κωνστάντιος παρεῖλκεν πρὸς τὰ γραφόμενα, αἵρεσιν αὖθις προὐτίθει ὁ τῶν ἑσπερίων μερῶν βασιλεὺς ἢ δέχεσθαι τοὺς περὶ Παῦλον καὶ Ἀθανάσιον ἐν τῇ οἰκείᾳ τάξει καὶ ἀποδιδόναι αὐτοῖς τὰς ἐκκλησίας ἢ μὴ ποιοῦντα τοῦτο ἐχθρόν τε καὶ προσδέχεσθαι πόλεμον [...] ὅθεν εἰς ἀνάγκην καταστὰς ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐκάλει πρὸς ἑαυτὸν Ἀθανάσιον, « ceux qui s'étaient réunis à Sardique et ceux qui avaient tenu assemblée à part à Philippoupolis de Thrace, lorsqu'ils eurent fait les uns les autres ce qui leur semblait bon, s'en retournèrent dans leurs villes. L'Orient était

donc séparé de l'Occident : la frontière de la communion, pour eux, était la montagne appelée Succi, qui sépare Illyriens et Thraces. Jusqu'à cette montagne, la communion était sans discrimination, car la foi aussi n'était pas différente, mais au-delà ils n'étaient pas en communion les uns avec les autres. C'est dans une telle confusion qu'était alors la situation dans les Églises. Aussitôt après cela, l'empereur des parties occidentales fait connaître à son frère Constance ce qui s'était passé à Sardique, et il lui recommandait de rendre les sièges qui étaient les leurs à Paul et à Athanase. Mais comme Constance ne réagissait pas promptement à ce qu'il avait écrit, l'empereur des parties occidentales lui propose un choix : ou bien de recevoir Paul et Athanase à leur propre rang et de leur rendre leurs églises, ou bien, s'il ne le faisait pas, d'être son ennemi et de devoir s'attendre à la guerre. En apprenant cela, l'empereur d'Orient fut extrêmement inquiet. Ayant convoqué aussitôt plusieurs des évêques orientaux, il leur faisait connaître la position prise par son frère et leur demandait ce qu'il fallait faire. Ceux-ci dirent qu'il valait mieux restituer les églises aux partisans d'Athanase que de subir une guerre civile ; aussi, forcé par la nécessité, l'empereur convoquait Athanase auprès de lui. »

- Théodore, *Histoire tripartite*, dans le *Marc. gr.* 344, fol. 81v, l. 25–82r, l. 14 [texte grec ici abrégé] : οἱ μέντοι ἐν τῇ Σαρδικῇ συνελθόντες καὶ ἐν Φιλιππωπόλει τῆς Θρᾴκης ἰδίαζον συνέδριον ποιησάμενοι, τὰ δοκοῦντα αὐτοῖς ἑκάτεροι πράξαντες κατὰ πόλεις τὰς ἑαυτῶν ἀνεχώρησαν [...] ὡς δ᾿ ὁ Κωνστάντιος παρεῖλκεν πρὸς τὰ γραφόμενα, αἵρεσιν αὖθις προὐτίθει ὁ τῶν ἑσπερίων μερῶν βασιλεὺς ἢ δέχεσθαι τοὺς περὶ Παῦλον καὶ Ἀθανάσιον ἐν τῇ οἰκείᾳ τάξει καὶ ἀποδιδόναι αὐτοῖς τὰς ἐκκλησίας ἢ μὴ ποιοῦντα τοῦτο ἐχθρόν τε καὶ προσδέχεσθαι πόλεμον [...] ὅθεν εἰς ἀνάγκην καταστὰς ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐκάλει πρὸς ἑαυτὸν Ἀθανάσιον (texte quasiment identique à celui de Socrate).
- *Épitomè* [Theod. Lect.], frg. 71, p. 36 (texte complet) : τῆς ἐν Σαρδικῇ συνελθούσης συνόδου καὶ τῶν ἀνατολικῶν ἀποδιαστάντων καὶ συναχθέντες ἐν Φιλιππουπόλει καὶ πραξάσης ἑκατέρας ἃ ἔπραξε γράφει μετ᾿ ὀργῆς Κώνστας τῷ Κωνσταντίῳ ἢ Παύλῳ καὶ Ἀθανασίῳ ἀποδοῦναι τοὺς θρόνους ἢ δέξασθαι αὐτὸν πολεμοῦντα. ὅπερ φοβηθεὶς ὁ Κωνστάντιος τοὺς θρόνους ἀποδοῦναι τοῖς δυσὶν ἐπισκόποις προὐτίμησε, τοῦτο πρᾶξαι συμβουλευσάντων τῷ Κωνσταντίῳ αὐτῶν ἐκείνων τῶν ἐχθρῶν τῆς πίστεως καὶ πολεμίων Ἀθανασίου καὶ Παύλου, « le synode s'étant réuni à Sardique et les Orientaux s'étant séparés et s'étant rassemblés à Philipoupolis, et chaque (partie) ayant fait ce qu'elle a fait, Constant écrit avec colère à Constance ou bien de rendre leurs trônes à Paul et à Athanase, ou bien d'accepter d'entrer en guerre contre lui. Constance, effrayé, préféra restituer les trônes aux deux évêques, sur le conseil de ceux qui étaient des ennemis de la foi et des adversaires d'Athanase et de Paul. » On remarque ici le parti pris de l'épitomateur en faveur de la foi nicéenne et d'Athanase, l'expression « ennemi de la foi » n'apparaissant nulle part chez Socrate. Par ailleurs, on remarquera que la « colère » de Constance qui, au frg. 64 (= Socr., II, 16), avait pour cause le rétablissement de Paul par Jules, devient ici, sous la plume de l'épitomateur, celle de Constant envers Constance.
- Théophane, p. 43.21-31 : τότε οἱ ἀνατολικοὶ ἐν Φιλιππουπόλει γενόμενοι ἀναιδῶς τὸ ὁμοούσιον ἀνεθεμάτισαν, οἱ δὲ ἐν Σαρδικῇ ὀρθόδοξοι τὸν ὀρθὸν τῆς ἐν Νικαίᾳ πίστεως ὅρον ἐκύρωσαν κ.τ.λ., « alors les Orientaux, installés à Philippoupolis, jetèrent sans pudeur l'anathème sur l'*homoousion* tandis que les orthodoxes, à Serdique, confortèrent la définition de la foi de Nicée en anathémisant l'*anomoion* ; ils rendirent aussi leurs trônes à Athanase et à Paul ainsi qu'à Marcel d'Ancyre comme confessant l'*homoousion* et le défendant en alléguant que sa pensée n'avait pas été comprise de ses accusateurs. Après que le synode de Serdique eut pris ces mesures contre les Orientaux dissidents et eut conforté l'*homoousion*, Constance reçut en conséquence Athanase et Paul avec les honneurs et leur rendit leur propre trône. Ainsi, Athanase revint à Alexandrie et, après qu'il eut chassé Georges l'Arien, y fut accueilli avec joie. »

Texte n° 3

- Soz., III, 14, 31-35 (texte grec et traduction ici abrégés) : Ἀρμενίοις δὲ καὶ Παφλαγόσιν καὶ τοῖς τῷ Πόντῳ οἰκοῦσι λέγεται Εὐστάθιος [...] Διὰ δὴ ταῦτα τοὺς πλησιοχώρους ἐπισκόπους συνελθεῖν ἐν Γάγγραις τῇ μητροπόλει Παφλαγόνων καὶ ἀλλοτρίους αὐτοὺς ψηφίσασθαι τῆς καθόλου ἐκκλησίας εἰ μὴ κατὰ τοὺς ὅρους τῆς συνόδου ἕκαστον τῶν εἰρημένων ἀποκηρύξωσιν, « chez les Arméniens, les Paphlagoniens et les riverains du Pont-Euxin, Eustathe, qui gouverna l'Église de Sébaste d'Arménie, fut, dit-on, le fondateur de la vie monastique, et le mode d'existence qu'elle requiert, les aliments dont il faut user et ceux dont il faut s'abstenir, le vêtement qu'on doit porter, la rigueur des mœurs et du genre de vie, c'est lui qui les introduisit au point que certains soutiennent qu'il est l'auteur du *Livre ascétique* attribué à Basile de Cappadoce. On dit que par sa grande rigueur il tomba en des observances déraisonnables, totalement étrangères aux lois ecclésiastiques. D'autres cependant le déchargent de cette accusation, mais incriminent certains de ses disciples comme blâmant le mariage, [...] jeûnant le dimanche, célébrant le culte dans des maisons, déclarant les riches exclus une fois pour toutes du Royaume de Dieu, abominant ceux qui mangent de la viande, ne supportant pas de revêtir des tuniques et robes ordinaires [...]. Pour ces raisons donc les évêques des régions voisines se réunirent à Gangres, métropole de Paphlagonie, et les déclarèrent étrangers à l'Église catholique... »
- Théodore, *Histoire tripartite*, dans le *Marc. gr.* 344, fol. 89v, l. 29–90r, l. 18 : Ἀρμενίοις δὲ καὶ Παφλαγόσιν καὶ τοῖς περὶ τῷ Πόντῳ οἰκοῦσι λέγεται Εὐστάθιος [...] Διὰ δὴ ταῦτα τοὺς πλησιοχώρους ἐπισκόπους συνελθεῖν ἐν Γάγγραις τῇ μητροπόλει Παφλαγόνων καὶ ἀλλοτρίους αὐτοὺς ψηφίσασθαι τῆς καθόλου ἐκκλησίας εἰ μὴ κατὰ τοὺς ὅρους τῆς συνόδου ἕκαστον τῶν εἰρημένων ἀποκηρύξωσιν. Le texte est quasiment identique à celui de Sozomène.
- *Épitomè* [Theod. Lect.], frg. 73, p. 37 : τὰ ἀσκητικὰ Βασιλείου τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις φασί τινες Εὐσταθίου εἶναι τοῦ ἐπισκόπου Σεβαστείας τῆς Ἀρμενίας· ᾧ καὶ μαρτυρεῖ ὁ ἱστορικὸς ὁσίως βιώσαντι. Βασίλειος δὲ ὁ θεῖος ἐν πλείοσιν ἐπιστολαῖς ὡς αἱρετικοῦ τοῦ Εὐσταθίου καθάπτεται, « certains prétendent que les *Ascetica* de saint Basile sont [de la main] d'Eustathe, l'évêque de Sébaste d'Arménie ; l'historien [i.e. Théodore, base de l'*Épitomè*, plutôt que sa source, Sozomène] témoigne aussi qu'il [i.e. Eustathe] a vécu saintement. Le divin Basile, dans plusieurs lettres, s'en prend à lui comme à un hérétique » (cf. Basile, *Epist.* 130, 1 : « il s'est arraché de notre communion »).
- Absent de Théophane.

On constate une grande divergence entre le texte original de Théodore, qui démarque entièrement Sozomène, et celui de l'*Épitomè*, qui prend sur lui d'ajouter un détail qu'ignorent Sozomène et Théodore, à savoir la condamnation d'Eustathe non pas (ou :

non pas seulement) par une assemblée des évêques du Pont et des régions avoisinantes, mais par Basile le Grand lui-même dans des lettres.

Texte n° 4

– Soz., III, 18, 1-4 (texte grec et traduction ici abrégés) : Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ αὐτὸ τὸ δόγμα τὰ πρῶτα τὴν πατρῴαν ἐφύλαττον δόξαν· ἄμφω γὰρ ἐπαίνεται τῆς ἐν Νικαίᾳ πίστεως ἤστην. Κώνστας μὲν οὕτω διαμείνας ἐτελεύτησε· Κωνστάντιος δὲ μέχρι μέν τινος ὁμοίως εἶχε, μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ διαβληθείσης τῆς τοῦ ὁμοουσίου λέξεως τῆς προτέρας παρεκινήθη γνώμης [...] Ὑπὸ δὴ τῶν τοιούτων καὶ Κωνστάντιος ὁ βασιλεὺς μετεπείσθη. « Quoi qu'il en soit, pour ce qui regarde le dogme même, les empereurs [i.e. Constant et Constance] gardèrent d'abord l'opinion de leur père : tous deux en effet approuvaient la foi de Nicée. Constant persévéra ainsi jusqu'à la mort. Constance, lui, jusqu'à une certaine date, pensa de même. Puis, comme on avait attaqué le terme *homoousios*, il quitta son propre sentiment ; cependant, il ne refusa pas entièrement de convenir que le Fils est semblable en substance (τοῦ κατ' οὐσίαν ὅμοιον εἶναι) au Père. Les partisans d'Eusèbe [i.e. d'Émèse?] en effet et d'autres parmi les évêques qu'on admirait alors en Orient pour leur éloquence et leur vie introduisaient, comme nous l'avons appris, une différence entre dire le Fils d'une même *ousia (homoousias)* et le dire semblable quant à l'*ousia* (κατ' οὐσίαν ὅμοιον), ce qu'ils nommaient *homoiousios*. [...] C'est sous l'influence de tels hommes que l'empereur Constance lui aussi changea d'opinion (μετεπείσθη). »

– Théodore, *Histoire tripartite*, dans le *Marc. gr.* 344, fol. 93ᵛ, l. 1-13 (texte grec ici abrégé) : Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ αὐτὸ τὸ δόγμα τὰ πρῶτα τὴν πατρῴαν ἐφύλαττον δόξαν [...] Ὑπὸ δὴ τούτων καὶ Κωνστάντιος βασιλεὺς μετεπείσθη (le texte de Sozomène est suivi de très près).

– *Épitomè* [Theod. Lect.], frg. 77, p. 38 (texte complet) : Κωνστάντιος πρῶτον δεχόμενος τὸ ὁμοούσιον ἐν ὑστέρῳ μετίθετο, οὐ γνώμῃ κακῇ, ὥς φησι ὁ ἱστορῶν, ἀλλὰ τὸ ὅμοιον κατ' οὐσίαν ἁρμόζειν μᾶλλον τῇ θείᾳ φύσει ἀπατηθείς. ἐν οἷς καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ τῷ Κωνσταντίῳ μαρτυροῦσι πρὸς ἔπαινον. « Constance, qui avait d'abord accepté l'*homoousion*, changea plus tard de position, non pas par (le fruit d')un mauvais jugement, comme l'indique l'historien [i.e. Théodore, plutôt que sa source Sozomène], mais plutôt parce qu'il était faussement persuadé que l'*homoion* correspondait mieux à la nature divine. Sur ces points, ils (i.e. Théodore et ses sources?) portent beaucoup d'autres témoignages à la louange de Constance. »

– Théophane, p. 35.16-19 : Κωνστάντιος δὲ πρότερον δεχόμενος τὸ ὁμοούσιον ὕστερον μετέθετο κουφότητι γνώμης καὶ ἀπάτῃ τοῦ Ἀρειανοῦ πρεσβυτέρου καὶ Εὐσεβίου, τοῦ τῶν εὐνούχων πρωτεύοντος καὶ τοῦ Νικομηδείας Εὐσεβίου καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτούς, « Constance, qui avait tout d'abord accepté l'*homoousion*, changea plus tard sa position par légèreté d'esprit et par la tromperie du prêtre arien, d'Eusèbe, le premier de ses eunuques, d'Eusèbe de Nicomédie et de leur entourage. »

On remarquera que l'épitomateur infléchit la pensée de Constance telle que la présentaient Sozomène et Théodore dans un sens plus « arianisant », faisant de lui un partisan de l'*homoion* (Constance fut l'instigateur du credo dit homéen), et non de l'*homoiousion*.

La présence des marques de discours rapporté (« aujourd'hui » [frg. 63], « l'historien dit que » [frg. 73 et 77]), ou d'un parti pris (« avec colère », « les ennemis de la foi »

[frg. 71]) dans un cas (l'*Épitomè*) et son absence dans l'autre (la *Tripartite* de Théodore dans son texte original et ses différentes sources) montrent à l'évidence qu'elles sont des additions de l'épitomateur, qui indique qu'il a repris à « un historien » non seulement la substance de son récit, mais aussi, parfois, sa formulation et le jugement ou le parti pris qu'elle implique à ses yeux.

On remarquera que, dans les quatre extraits choisis, le texte de Théophane ne comporte pas ces marques de discours rapporté que nous venons de souligner et qui auraient indiqué, si elles avaient été présentes, une utilisation par le Confesseur de l'*Épitomè* plutôt que des textes sources de Socrate, Sozomène ou bien plutôt Théodore. Qu'en est-il ailleurs? Reprenons notre corpus de référence, à savoir les fragments 336-353 et 499-524 de Théodore via l'*Épitomè*, et ne retenons que les sept passages qui ont un parallèle exact chez Théophane et qui contiennent des marques de discours rapporté. Parmi ces sept,

- cinq ne contiennent pas de marque de discours rapporté au sein des passages correspondants de Théophane :
  - frg. 342 : « il dit que Cyrille a été évêque durant 30 années »; mention absente de Théophane, p. 97.27-33, qui se contente d'une notation chronologique : Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐπίσκοπος Κύριλλος ἔτη λβ´ en début de notice, et d'indiquer plus loin la mort de Cyrille;
  - frg. 346 : « l'historien a repris les ordonnances de Théodose contre Dioscore et le synode »; mention absente de la *Chronique* de Théophane et, évidemment, de Socrate et de Sozomène;
  - frg. 350 : « la lettre (de Théodose à Valentinien sur Flavien) est reprise »; mention absente de la *Chronique* de Théophane et, évidemment, de Socrate et de Sozomène;
  - frg. 352 : « au sujet de l'empereur Théodose, l'historien rapporte qu'il était docile et influençable... »; l'anecdote figure bien chez Théophane, p. 101.13-17, mais pas la mention de l'historien source;
  - frg. 499 : « Jean Diacrinoménos rapporte (ἱστορεῖ) au sujet de Sévère que l'empereur Anastase... »; Jean Diacrinoménos n'est mentionné nulle part chez Théophane.
- deux contiennent des marques de discours rapporté :
  - frg. 515 : « À la mort de l'évêque Macédonios, il dit (var. l'historien dit) qu'il arriva quelque chose de terrible »; l'anecdote figure chez Théophane, p. 162, avec la marque du discours rapporté, mais employée au pluriel (« ils disent, on dit que... »);
  - frg. 521 : « Il faut savoir que l'historien (ὁ ἱστορῶν) appelle "patriarche" l'évêque de Thessalonique, je ne sais pas pourquoi », passage où sont distingués l'historien source (ὁ ἱστορῶν) et l'épitomateur, qui se désigne à la première personne (οὐκ οἶδα). Ce serait la preuve que Théophane cite ici Théodore par le truchement de l'épitomateur.

La présence de marques de discours rapporté communes à Théophane et à l'*Épitomè*, même réduites à deux (frg. 515 et 521), prouve désormais sans conteste possible que le Confesseur a bel et bien utilisé l'*Épitomè*, soit seul, soit en complément de l'œuvre originelle de Théodore, et en sachant parfaitement que sa source, directe ou indirecte, était Théodore, Θεόδωρος ὁ ἱστορικός, comme il le désigne p. 162.24-25.

L'« historien » source de l'*Épitomè* se ramène-t-il au seul Théodore?

Demeure cependant une question : l'« historien » en question (ὁ ἱστορῶν) mentionné par l'épitomateur est-il unique, ou bien cette formule renvoie-t-elle à une pluralité de

sources ? En fait, il importe de distinguer d'une part les sources de Théodore dans l'*Histoire tripartite* et dans l'*Histoire ecclésiastique*, et d'autre part la ou les sources directes de l'épitomateur.

Pour l'*Histoire tripartite* de Théodore, la réponse ne fait aucun doute, puisqu'elle est contenue dans le titre de l'ouvrage :

> [Extraits] *de Sozomène, auxquels Théodore a joint des* [passages] *de Théodoret et de Socrate dans lesquels il a constaté que l'un des deux racontait quelque chose de nouveau par rapport à Sozomène* (cod. B de l'*Épitomè*).

Le message est simple : à une base narrative empruntée à Sozomène, Théodore a ajouté des éléments complémentaires provenant de Théodoret et de Socrate. Cette déclaration est confirmée très généralement par l'indication des sources de Théodore telle qu'elle apparaît dans l'édition de Hansen, et également par le bref échantillonnage auquel nous avons procédé : ainsi, les fragments 63 et 71 sont empruntés à Socrate, mais les fragments 73 et 77 à Sozomène.

Pour ce qui est de l'*Histoire ecclésiastique* de Théodore, qui commence (frg. 337, élection de Proclus, ann. 434) pratiquement là où s'arrête la *Tripartite* (frg. 335, mort de Firmus, ann. 439), tout est plus compliqué, car nous n'avons pas d'indication des sources, mais seulement cette brève mention de l'épitomateur conservée dans le codex *Baroccianus* 142 [B] : *Extraits* (ἐκλογαί) *de l'* Histoire ecclésiastique *de Théodore le Lecteur*. Toutefois, ainsi que nous l'avons déjà indiqué, l'épitomateur indique à plusieurs reprises qu'il utilise une source, par les marques habituelles du discours rapporté. Mais est-ce lui qui parle, ou reproduit-il le discours de Théodore ?

Dans le corpus que nous avons pris comme référence, plus du quart des extraits était renvoyé à une source, restée anonyme. Ne pouvant élargir notre étude à l'ensemble des fragments de l'*Histoire ecclésiastique*, nous avons néanmoins relevé de-ci de-là, dans le reste du corpus des fragments de Théodore, quelques marques de discours rapporté particulièrement significatives :

- au moyen du verbe ἱστορέω, « raconter en tant qu'historien » :
  - frg. 359 : « L'évêque Léon écrivit au synode dont la tenue à Nicée était espérée, une lettre qui figure dans les Actes de Chalcédoine et qui est insérée (ἐντέτακται) par l'historien (ὑπὸ τοῦ ἱστοροῦντος). » On croit comprendre que l'épitomateur a trouvé chez Théodore une copie de cette lettre. Le texte parallèle de Théophane (p. 105) ne signale pas la lettre de Léon au synode, mais celle de Léon à Marcien, sans faire aucune mention de sa conservation.
  - frg. 382 : « Sous Gennade, la main d'un peintre qui avait osé peindre le Sauveur sous les traits de Zeus devint sèche ; Gennade la guérit par sa prière. L'historien soutient (φησὶ δὲ ὁ ἱστορῶν) que l'autre type du Sauveur, avec des cheveux rares et frisés, est la plus véridique. » L'historien en question doit aussi être Théodore. Le texte parallèle de Théophane, p. 112, donne : « certains des historiens » (φασὶ δέ τινες τῶν ἱστορικῶν), au pluriel. Plutôt qu'à une diversité des sources, nous pensons que Théophane songe ou bien à Théodore et la source de ce dernier (c'est-à-dire l'historien auquel Théodore ferait allusion en employant le verbe φησί), ou bien, et c'est le plus probable, à Théodore et à son abréviateur.
- au moyen du verbe ἐντάττω, « insérer (un document) » :
  - frg. 359 : déjà cité ci-dessus

  - frg. 422 : « Voilà ce que prescrit Zénon après avoir composé ce qu'on appelle l'*Hénotikon* et l'avoir envoyé partout ; cela aussi, il l'a inséré (ὅπερ καὶ ἐντέτακται) », comprenez notre historien l'a inséré dans son ouvrage. Cet historien ne peut être que Théodore. Théophane, p. 130, a une autre façon d'indiquer sa source, qui ne provient certes pas de l'*Épitomè* dans sa forme actuelle, puisque ce dernier ignore l'intervention d'Acace : « Alors Zénon composa aussi l'*Hénotikon* et l'envoya partout, à l'instigation d'Acace de Constantinople, à ce que prétendent certains (ὥς φασί τινες). » On doit voir dans ce pluriel la mention d'une pluralité des sources, comprenant très vraisemblablement Théodore, soit dans sa version originelle, soit à travers l'*Épitomè*, et une autre source de nous inconnue.
  - frg. 426 : « Les évêques d'Orient, ayant appris ce qui se passait, écrivirent à Acace pour le blâmer, comme l'indique la lettre de Jean de Tyr à son intention, qui, elle aussi, est insérée (ἥτις καὶ ἐντέτακται) ; elle montre (δηλοῦσα) qu'aucun d'entre eux n'a supporté d'accepter Mongos (Pierre le Monge) en communion. » Ce passage indique nettement que Théodore a eu un accès direct à cette lettre et qu'il la citait. Théophane, p. 131, quant à lui, mentionne bien la lettre des évêques orientaux à Acace, sans toutefois nommer Jean de Tyr, mais il ne semble pas la connaître outre mesure, ce qui prouve que sa source directe est l'*Épitomè*, et non pas Théodore, qui a dû citer la lettre.
  - frg. 431 : « Félix écrivit (à l'empereur et à Acace) de chasser Mongos comme hérétique [...] ; les lettres à Zénon et à Acace ont été insérées (ἐντεταγμέναι δέ εἰσι). » Le texte semble dire que Théodore avait inséré ces lettres dans son *Histoire*, et que l'épitomateur en a pris connaissance. Théophane, p. 131.28-29, mentionne les lettres de Félix à Zénon et Acace (γράψας Ζήνωνι καὶ Ἀκακίῳ ἐκβαλεῖν Πέτρον τὸν Μογγὸν ὡς αἱρετικὸν τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας), mais ne semble pas en avoir eu connaissance par l'intermédiaire de sa source – nouvel indice du fait qu'il a utilisé ici Théodore de manière indirecte, par l'intermédiaire de l'*Épitomè*.
- l'emploi le plus intéressant est celui des expressions ὁ ἱστορικός et ὁ ἱστορῶν. En effet, on trouve une expression similaire dans les fragments attribués par l'épitomateur à Jean Diacrinoménos :
  - frg. 539 : « Cet historien (οὗτος ὁ ἱστορῶν), Jean, fait de grands éloges de Lampétius et des lampétiens... » Lampétius était un messalien, soutenant l'inhabitation de l'homme par le Saint-Esprit au moyen de la seule prière (cf. Photius, *Bibl.*, cod. 52 ; Epiphanius Constantinensis, *Panarion*, dans *Epiphanius. 3*, hrsg. von J. Dümmer [GCS 37], 2. bearb. Aufl., Berlin 2011, § 80 ; Théodoret, *Histoire ecclésiastique* IV, 11 ; Jean Damascène, *De haeresibus* § 98, PG 94, col. 728-737) ; il fut condamné à Éphèse (431) en même temps que le « diphysite » Nestorius ; Jean Diacrinoménos – s'il s'agit bien ici de lui – en tant que monophysite et antichalcédonien, a dû approuver les décisions du concile, que, selon Photius (*Bibl.*, cod. 41), il prend la peine de décrire longuement. Aussi son éloge de Lampétius, sans être extraordinaire, peut-il paraître étrange ; sans doute tient-il aux pratiques ascétiques des lampétiens, et non à leur doctrine. On distingue bien dans ce fragment : d'une part l'épitomateur anonyme, qui s'efface devant sa source, qu'il prend la peine de désigner nommément, sous le nom de Jean ; d'autre part la source elle-même, à savoir Jean, qui mentionne avec les plus grands éloges Lampétius et ses disciples.

Dans l'ensemble des fragments de l'*Histoire tripartite* contenus dans l'*Épitomè*, ces expressions sont employées six fois, et toujours au singulier, pour renvoyer soit à l'un ou l'autre des auteurs compilés, soit au compilateur Théodore, soit à son épitomateur :

- ᾧ καὶ μαρτυρεῖ ὁ ἱστορικός, frg. 73 de l'*Épitomè* (« Eustathe, qui vécut saintement, ce dont témoigne aussi l'historien »), repris du livre II de l'*Histoire tripartite* de Théodore, texte dit

de Venise, non publié, cod. *Marcianus gr.* 344, fol. 89v-90r, recopiant quasiment mot pour mot Soz., III, 14, 31-35 ; bien évidemment, ni le texte de Sozomène ni celui Théodore ne contiennent la mention de la source. Il est donc vraisemblable que l'épitomateur désigne par ὁ ἱστορικός Théodore lui-même.

- ὡς φησι ὁ ἱστορῶν, frg. 77 de l'*Épitomè* : à propos du « mauvais jugement » qui aurait conduit Constance à abandonner l'*homoousion* pour l'*homoion* ; repris du livre II de l'*Histoire tripartite* de Théodore, cod. *Marcianus gr.* 344 fol. 93v, qui ne contient évidemment pas non plus le renvoi à « l'historien » ; celui-ci ne peut donc être le fait que de l'épitomateur ;
- φησὶ δὲ ὁ ἱστορῶν : frg. 138 de l'*Épitomè*, renvoyant à Socr., III, 7, 1-10 ou à Soz., V, 12, 3 ;
- φησὶ δὲ ὁ ἱστορῶν : frg. 193 de l'*Épitomè*, renvoyant à l'*Histoire tripartite* de Théodore et/ou à Théodoret, *Histoire ecclésiastique*, IV, 11-13 ;
- φησὶν ὁ ἱστορῶν : frg. 228 de l'*Épitomè*, renvoyant à l'*Histoire tripartite* de Théodore et/ou à Soz., VII, 5, 1-4 ; ce φησίν au singulier est repris quelques lignes plus bas par un φασί au pluriel, un sûr indice que le dit pluriel ne renvoie pas nécessairement à une pluralité de sources (Théodore + Sozomène), mais plutôt à une source indéterminée, même si, dans ce cas précis, la source est mentionnée plus haut (à savoir ὁ ἱστορῶν) ;
- φησὶ δὲ ὁ ἱστορῶν : frg. 254 de l'*Épitomè*, renvoyant à l'*Histoire tripartite* de Théodore et/ou à Socr., VII, 16, 1 sq.

Ces passages permettent de distinguer :

- l'épitomateur anonyme, qui cite sa source, à savoir Théodore ;
- la source directe de l'épitomateur, c'est-à-dire Théodore, qualifié de ὁ ἱστορῶν, ὁ ἱστορικός.

Il est en revanche plus difficile de dire avec certitude si les documents auxquels fait allusion l'épitomateur, telles les lettres des évêques (frg. 359 ; 426 ; 431) ou du souverain (frg. 350 ; 422), figuraient uniquement dans les sources de Théodore (à savoir Socrate, Sozomène et Théodoret), ou s'ils avaient été repris par Théodore dans sa *Tripartite*. Seuls les livres I et II de la *Tripartite* de Théodore permettent d'en juger. Or, il apparaît manifestement que Théodore reproduisait les lettres qu'avaient insérées les historiens ses prédécesseurs, parfois en mêlant les sources, comme le montrent ces deux exemples :

- Théodoret, *Histoire ecclésiastique*, I, 3, 3 [Alexandre d'Alexandrie écrit aux chefs des Églises pour dénoncer Arius ; la lettre n'est pas insérée] + Socr., I, 6, 4-30 [texte de la lettre d'Alexandre aux évêques d'Asie]. Cités par Théodore, livre I, dans le *Marc. gr.* 344, fol. 23, l. 9 sq. : (l. 9) Τότε τοίνυν ὁ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρέων Ἀλέξανδρος, ὁρῶν τὸν Ἄρειον... διὰ γραμμάτων ἐδήλωσε[ν] [annonce de la lettre d'Alexandre aux évêques d'Asie tirée de Théodoret]. (l. 13) Τοῖς ἀγαπητοῖς καὶ τιμιωτάτοις συλλειτουργοῖς [ἁ]πανταχοῦ τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας Ἀλέξανδρος ἐν Κυρίῳ χαίρειν. Ἑνὸς σώματος [ὄντος] τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας <ὄντος> κ.τ.λ. [citation de la lettre d'Alexandre aux évêques d'Asie tirée de Socrate, Théodoret ne produisant pas cette lettre].
- Théodoret, *Histoire ecclésiastique*, I, 3, 4-4, 1 sq. [Alexandre d'Alexandrie écrit à son homonyme Alexandre ; suit le texte de la lettre d'Alexandre à Alexandre de Byzance]. Cité par Théodore, livre I, dans le *Marc. gr.*, fol. 24, l. 25 sq. (l. 25) : Γράφει δὲ ὁ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρέων <Ἀλέξανδρος> πρὸς τὸν ὁμώνυμον [τὰ ὁμωνύμα αὐτὸν] ταῦτα [annonce de la lettre d'Alexandre à Alexandre de Byzance tirée de Théodoret] : (l. 26) «Τῷ τιμιωτάτῳ ἀδελφῷ καὶ ὁμοψύχῳ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐν κυρίῳ χαίρειν. Ἡ

φίλαρχος τῶν μοχθηρῶν ἀνθρώπων κ.τ.λ. [texte de la lettre d'Alexandre à Alexandre de Byzance tirée de Théodoret].

Mais l'*Épitomè* tel qu'il est actuellement conservé ne contient le texte d'aucune lettre. L'épitomateur a lu de semblables documents chez Théodore, mais il n'a pas jugé bon de les reproduire, ni même de les abréger, se contentant de les mentionner.

On peut en déduire que l'épitomateur n'a pas pris la peine de se référer aux auteurs originels, Socrate, Sozomène et Théodoret, mais que son unique source est l'*Histoire tripartite* de Théodore, autrement plus ample et documentée que l'actuel *Épitomè* pourrait le laisser accroire.

Théophane a-t-il eu un accès direct à l'œuvre de Jean Diacrinoménos ?

Théodore, seule source de l'épitomateur pour la série des fragments 1 à 524 ? Cette conclusion achoppe sur une difficulté : le fragment 499 attribue le récit non pas à Théodore (comme l'ensemble de la série), mais à Jean Diacrinoménos (dont les fragments recensés correspondent seulement à la partie finale de l'*Épitomè* [frg. 525-561]) et sont dûment annoncés comme tels (« de Jean Diacrinoménos tout ce que j'ai identifié de ses (écrits) çà et là comme tout à fait indispensables – De son premier livre »). La question est donc de savoir si l'*Épitomè* a emprunté le passage en question directement à Jean, ou s'il le tient de Jean par l'intermédiaire de Théodore.

Voici le passage en question :

> frg. 499 (B) de Théodore : *Jean Diacrinoménos rapporte* (ἱστορεῖ), *au sujet de Sévère, que l'empereur Anastase obtint de lui que, s'il devenait évêque d'Antioche, il ne s'en prendrait aucunement* (οὐδαμῶς ἅπτεται) *au synode de Chalcédoine par l'anathème, et (il rapporte aussi) que le jour même de son élection, montant à l'ambon, il prononça contre lui l'anathème, à la demande de ses partisans.*

Nous n'avons pas le texte original de Théodore pour effectuer la comparaison, mais seulement celui que l'*Épitomè* attribue directement à Jean Diacrinoménos, précisant qu'il figurait au livre X de son *Histoire ecclésiastique* :

> frg. 561 de Jean Diacrinoménos : *Sévère ayant prêté serment à l'empereur Anastase qu'il ne provoquerait jamais aucun trouble* (οὐδὲν κινήσοι ποτὲ) *contre le synode de Chalcédoine, le jour même où il fut élu, violant son serment, il l'anathématisa.*

Deux solutions s'offrent à nous :

- ou bien la mention « Jean Diacrinoménos rapporte que » du fragment 499 est une précision apportée par l'épitomateur, qui connaissait aussi l'œuvre de Jean Diacrinoménos (il en donne des extraits à la suite de ceux de Théodore, et en les lui attribuant nommément) ;
- ou bien cette mention est le fait de Théodore, et Jean doit être considéré comme l'une de ses sources.

Cette seconde solution n'est pas à exclure, étant donné que plusieurs des fragments de Jean Diacrinoménos ont leur correspondant chez Théodore, qui a fort bien pu les puiser chez son quasi-contemporain, malgré des choix doctrinaux totalement divergents :

Jean Diacrinoménos (d'après l'*Épitomè*)	Théodore, *HE* (d'après l'*Épitomè*)
frg. 525 (M) : l'évêque des Himyarites (Yémen) Sylvain convainc son neveu Jean d'écrire une histoire	absent
frg. 526 (M) : Jean d'Antioche prononce la destitution de Memnon et Cyrille au théâtre d'Éphèse [mention de la source : λέγει, « il dit que »]	absent
frg. 527 (M) : ruse des évêques orthodoxes du concile d'Éphèse pour faire parvenir leurs lettres au clergé de CP	absent
frg. 528 (M B) : Nestorius meurt en exil rongé par la putréfaction (ann. 451) : σηπεδόνι τὸ σῶμα διεφθάρη Νεστόριος καὶ ἀνακληθεὶς ἀπὸ Ὀάσεως ἐφ᾽ ᾧ μεταστῆναι εἰς τόπον τῷ θανάτῳ προέλαβε τὴν ἀνάκλησιν	absent
frg. 529 (M B) : Théodoret rédige (συγγράψαι) son ouvrage condamnant les 12 chapitres de Cyrille [mention : λέγει]	absent
frg. 530 (M B) : Rabboula reproche à André de Samosate d'avoir écrit contre les 12 chapitres	absent
frg. 531 (M) : « Jean l'écrivain » (Ἰωάννης ὁ συγγράφων) reproche au second concile d'Éphèse (le « brigandage » de 449, qui réhabilita Eutychès et imposa les thèses de Dioscore) d'avoir « mal reçu » τὸ <αὐτὸ> Εὐτυχῆ (*sic*), « les doctrines d'Eutychès » [mention : Ἰωάννης ὁ συγγράφων μέμφεται ; Jean D. était un farouche partisan de Dioscore et d'Eutychès]	absent
frg. 532 (M) : Pulchérie fait transférer les reliques de Flavien [mention : λέγει]	cf. frg. 357 de Théodore (formulation différente)
frg. 533 (M) : colère de Dioscore à Chalcédoine à propos de Théodoret [mention : ὡς λέγει]	absent
frg. 534 (M) : citation (par Jean ?) d'une lettre de Théodoret à Soucas de Germanicie [mention : παρατίθεται, « il cite »]	absent
frg. 535 (M B) : les moines d'Égypte rejettent pour la nouveauté de sa pratique (la κίων), puis acceptent de nouveau dans la communion l'ascète Syméon	repris mot pour mot dans la *Souda*, s.v. Συμεών et chez Georges le Moine, 612 ; cf. frg. 375 (texte différent : Syméon premier stylite, πρῶτος τῶν κιόνων ἐπιτήδευμα ἐπενόησεν)
frg. 536 (M B) : visite de Marcien à Syméon	absent de Théodore ; repris mot pour mot dans la *Souda* s.v. Συμεών et chez Georges le Moine, 612

Jean Diacrinoménos (d'après l'*Épitomè*)	Théodore, *HE* (d'après l'*Épitomè*)
frg. 537 (M) : Gennade de CP écrit contre les 12 chapitres de Cyrille [mention : λέγει]	absent
frg. 538 (M B) : controverse entre un évêque orthodoxe et un évêque arien	absent de Théodore ; repris mot pour mot par Sym. Log., 102, 12, p. 136 s. et Nicéphore Calliste, XV, 23, PG 147, col. 68
frg. 539 (M) : louanges adressées par Jean l'historien à Lampétius [mention : Ἰωάννης οὗτος ὁ ἱστορῶν]	absent
frg. 540 (M) : Pierre le Foulon élu évêque d'Antioche par la volonté de Zénon	cf. frg. 443 (récit très différent)
frg. 541 (M) : meurtre à Hiérapolis des émissaires apportant l'édit de l'usurpateur Basiliscos, antichalcédonien [mention : μαρτυρεῖ καὶ μὴ θέλων ὅτι]	absent
frg. 542 (M B) : Pierre le Monge fait exhumer la dépouille de Timothée Salophaciole, Πέτρον φησὶ τὸν Μογγὸν τὸ λείψανον Τιμοθέου τοῦ Σ. ἀνορύξαι, ὅπερ ἱστορεῖ καὶ Θεόδωρος [mention de la source première, φησὶ, à savoir Jean, et d'une source parallèle, καὶ, à savoir Théodore]	frg. 425 (un peu plus développé) Πέτρος ὁ Μογγὸς... Τιμοθέου δὲ τὸ λείψανον ὀρύξας ἐκ τοῦ τάφου τῶν ἱερέων εἰς ἰδιωτικὸν τάφον ἀπέθετο
frg. 543 (M B) : expulsion de Pierre le Monge et élection de Jean (le Tabénessiote) ; Jean chassé à son tour, Pierre revient et promet de ne pas anathématiser le synode	cf. frg. 417 : élection de Jean (texte très différent) cf. frg. 422 : les partisans de Pierre font expulser Jean et rappeler Pierre : οἱ Π. σπουδασταὶ πείθουσι βασιλέα κελεῦσαι ὥστε Ἰωάννην τὸν Τ. ἐξελαθῆναι ὡς παρὰ αὐτοῦ γνώμην προχειρισθέντα, Π. δὲ ἐκ τοῦ προσφυγίου μεταπέμψασθαι
frg. 544 (M B) : Calendion élu évêque de Byzance [mention de la source première, λέγει à savoir Jean, et d'une source parallèle, συμφωνῶν τῷ Θεοδώρῳ, à savoir Théodore]	cf. frg. 421 (= texte de Théophane)
frg. 545 (M B) : addition par Calendion de Χριστὲ βασιλεῦ à la formule du *trisagion*: Καλανδίωνα λέγει προσθέναι τῷ τρισαγίῳ Χριστὲ βασιλεῦ διὰ τοὺς προστεθεικότας ὁ σταυρωθεὶς δι᾽ ἡμᾶς [mention : λέγει]	frg. 427 (texte très proche, mais plus complet) Πέτρου προσθήκην <ἤδη πρότερον> ποιησαμένου ἐν τῷ τρισαγίῳ ὁ σταυρωθεὶς δι᾽ ἡμᾶς Καλανδίων ὁρῶν πολλοὺς σκανδαλιζομένους προσέθηκε Χριστὲ βασιλεῦ ὁ σταυρωθεὶς δι᾽ ἡμᾶς
frg. 546 (M) : Ibas traduit en syriaque les ouvrages de Théodoret [mention : λέγει]	absent
frg. 547 (M B) : Pierre le Foulon introduit quatre nouveautés, dont la récitation du symbole durant les synaxes : Πέτρον φησὶ τὸν Κναφέα ἐπινοῆσαι τὸ μύρον...καὶ τὴν ἐπίκλησιν... καὶ τὴν θεοτόκον... καὶ ἐν πάσῃ συνάξει τὸ σύμβολον λέγεσθαι [mention : φησί]	frg. 428 (mention d'une seule nouveauté) διὰ παντὸς τὸ σύμβολον ἐν ταῖς συνάξεσιν Πέτρος ὁ Κναφεὺς ἐπενόησε λέγεσθαι πρότερον μὴ λεγόμενον

Jean Diacrinoménos (d'après l'*Épitomè*)	Théodore, *HE* (d'après l'*Épitomè*)
frg. 548 (M B) : Zénon fait fermer (καταστρέψαι) l'école d'Édesse pour son enseignement nestorien [mention : λέγει]	cf. frg. 439 : l'école d'Édesse, de tendance nestorienne (mention : ὥς φασιν)
frg. 549 (M B) : seul d'entre tous, Félix de Rome refuse l'*Hénotikon* de Zénon [mention : ὡς λέγει]	cf. frg. 433-434 : Félix dépose ses légats qui ont cédé aux pressions de Zénon et d'Acace
frg. 550 (M) : Xénaias refuse la présence d'images de Dieu ou des anges dans son Église	cf. frg. 444 (de Theoph.)
frg. 551 (M B) : Kabadès (Κωάδης) s'empare du pouvoir en Perse au détriment de son oncle Blassos (Βλάσσος) qu'il fait aveugler	absent
frg. 552 (M B) : Anastase refuse de payer une rançon à Kabadès, qui déclenche la guerre	absent
frg. 553 (M B) : Anastase abolit le *chrysargyrion*, fait cesser les jeux et l'achat des charges	absent
frg. 554 (M) : Anastase, par le don d'un doigt de la dépouille de St Serge, change le nom de la ville de <Resafa> dont il s'était emparé en celui de Sergioupolis	absent
frg. 555 (M B) : séisme à Néocésarée	absent
frg. 556 (M B) : coutume de l'Église de Rome [mention : λέγει]	absent
frg. 557 (M B) : Kabadès (Κωάδης) impose aux Perses la communauté des femmes, ce qui lui fait perdre le pouvoir, qu'il récupère grâce aux Huns	absent
frg. 558 (M B) : fondation de Daras (Mésopotamie) par Anastase, confiée à la garde de St Barthélémy	absent
frg. 559 (M B) : les Himyarites (Yémen), jadis convertis au judaïsme, devenus chrétiens, réclament un évêque	absent
frg. 560 (M) : Kabadès fait couper les jarrets à des chrétiens de Perse	absent
frg. 561 (M B) : Sévère, devenu évêque, malgré le serment fait à Anastase, anathématise le synode : Σευῆρος ὅρκον δοὺς Ἀναστασίῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ ὡς οὐδὲν κινήσαι [illegible] κατὰ τῆς ἐν Χαλκηδόνι συνόδου ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐν ᾗ ἐχειροτονήθη παραβὰς τὸν ὅρκον ἀνεθεμάτισεν	frg. 499 (B) Ἰωάννης ὁ Διακρινόμενος περὶ Σευήρου ἱστορεῖ ὅτι ὅρκον ἔλαβεν ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀναστάσιος τοῦ Σευήρου ὅτι ἐὰν γένηται Ἀντιοχείας ἐπίσκοπος οὐδαμῶς τῆς ἐν Χαλκηδόνι συνόδου διὰ ἀναθέματος ἅψεται καὶ ὅτι ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς χειροτονίας αὐτοῦ ἀνελθὼν ἐπ' ἄμβονος ταύτην ἀνεθεμάτιζεν αἰτηθεὶς ἐκ τῶν σπουδαστῶν αὐτοῦ (repris de Jean D. par emprunt direct, mais non par l'intermédiaire de l'*Épitomè*, qui omet certains détails)

Deux remarques s'imposent :

- tout d'abord, l'épitomateur, selon son habitude, indique plusieurs fois sa source, à savoir l'*Histoire ecclésiastique* de Jean, soit nominalement, soit par la marque du discours rapporté : frg. 526 ; 529 ; 531 ; 532 ; 533 ; 534 (qui tend à prouver qu'il connaît par une lecture directe l'œuvre de Jean, puisqu'il précise que ce dernier citait un document) ; 537 ; 539 ; 541 ; 542 ; 544 ; 545 ; 546 ; 547 ; 548 ; 549 ; 556 ;
- ensuite, l'épitomateur établit un parallèle entre Théodore et Jean : frg. 542 (cod. M et B) ; 544 (cod. M et B), ce qui revient à dire qu'il connaît les deux œuvres.

Mais il n'est pas impossible que Théodore ait lui-même eu connaissance de l'œuvre de Jean, qui est son contemporain, comme tendrait à le montrer le fragment 499, déjà cité, conservé uniquement dans le codex *Baroccianus*, au sein de la série des fragments de l'*Histoire ecclésiastique* de Théodore. L'anecdote figure dans les fragments de Jean sélectionnés par l'épitomateur (frg. 561), mais de façon moins complète. Il serait donc étrange que l'épitomateur ait complété les fragments de Théodore à l'aide de renseignements plus amples que ceux qu'il avait choisis en puisant dans le texte même de Jean. Il paraît donc tout à fait plausible que ce fût Théodore qui ait emprunté à Jean ces détails, et que l'épitomateur ait jugé bon de conserver ce témoignage indirect.

Cette hypothèse d'emprunts de Théodore à Jean peut éventuellement s'appuyer sur la comparaison du texte de Jean avec celui de Théophane.

Jean Diacrinoménos (d'après l'*Épitomè*)	Théophane
frg. 525	–
frg. 526 : Jean d'Antioche prononce la destitution de Memnon et Cyrille au théâtre d'Éphèse	p. 90 (ann. 432/433) texte différent ; le détail du lieu manque
frg. 527	absent
frg. 528 : Nestorius meurt en exil rongé par la putréfaction: σηπεδόνι τὸ σῶμα διεφθάρη Νεστόριος καὶ ἀνακληθεὶς ἀπὸ Ὀάσεως εφ' ᾧ μεταστῆναι εἰς τόπον τῷ θανάτῳ προέλαβε τὴν ἀνάκλησιν	p. 92.3-5 (ann. 432/433) même texte, avec variantes : σηπεδόνι τῶν μελῶν πάντων μάλιστα δὲ τῆς μιαρᾶς γλώσσης περιπεσὼν διεφθάρη τῷ θανάτῳ προλαβὼν τὴν ἀπὸ Ὀάσεως ἀνάκλησιν εἰς ἕτερον τόπον
frg. 529: Théodoret rédige (συγγράψαι) son ouvrage condamnant les 12 chapitres de Cyrille	p. 90 texte différent : Théodoret, par mésinterprétation, « vomit le poison de Nestorius » contre Cyrille
frg. 530	absent
frg. 531	absent
frg. 532 : Pulchérie fait transférer les reliques de Flavien	p. 102 (ann. 449/450) formulation différente
frg. 533	absent
frg. 534	absent
frg. 535 : les moines d'Égypte rejettent pour la nouveauté de sa pratique (la κιών), puis acceptent de nouveau dans la communion l'ascète Syméon	p. 112 texte différent : mort de Syméon, mention de la nouveauté de sa pratique et de sa μάνδρα
frg. 536	absent
frg. 537	absent

Jean Diacrinoménos (d'après l'*Épitomè*)	Théophane
frg. 538	absent
frg. 539	absent
frg. 540 : Pierre le Foulon élu évêque d'Antioche par la volonté de Zénon	p. 121 (ann. 474/475) récit très différent cf. p. 133-134 (ann. 489/490) Zénon réinstalle Pierre
frg. 541 : meurtre à Hiérapolis des émissaires apportant l'édit de l'usurpateur Basiliscos, antichalcédonien	cf. p. 121 (ann. 475/475) récit très différent
frg. 542 : Pierre le Monge fait exhumer la dépouille de Timothée Salophaciole	cf. p. 128 (ann. 480/481) simple mention de la mort de Timothée
frg. 543 : expulsion de Pierre le Monge et élection de Jean (le Tabénessiote) ; Jean chassé à son tour, Pierre revient et promet de ne pas anathématiser le synode	cf. p. 128 (ann. 480/481) ordination de Jean cf. p. 130 (ann. 483/484) reprend mot pour mot Théodore (et non Jean)
frg. 544 : Calendion élu évêque de Byzance	p. 128 (récit beaucoup plus détaillé)
frg. 545 : Calendion ajoute à la formule du *trisagion* Χριστὲ βασιλεῦ	p. 131
frg. 546	absent
frg. 547	absent
frg. 548	absent
frg. 549 : seul d'entre tous, Félix de Rome refuse l'*Hénotikon* de Zénon	cf. p. 132 : Félix dépose ses légats qui ont cédé aux pressions de Zénon et d'Acace
frg. 550 : Xénaias refuse la présence d'images de Dieu ou des anges dans son Église	cf. p. 134 (= frg. 444) même anecdote, beaucoup plus développée et de forme différente
frg. 551 : Kabadès (Κωάδης) s'empare du pouvoir en Perse au détriment de son oncle Blasos (Βλάσσος) qu'il fait aveugler	p. 124 : Kabadès (Καβάδης) fait aveugler Blases-Valas (Βλάσης, Οὐαλᾶς) et s'empare de l'Empire
frg. 552 : Anastase refuse de payer une rançon à Kabadès, qui déclenche la guerre : Ἀναστάσιος ὁ βασιλεὺς Κωάδου χρήματα παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ ζητήσαντος ἀπεκρίνατο εἰ μὲν δανείσασθαι βούλοιτο γραμματεῖον ποιῆσαι εἰ δὲ ἄλλως οὐ δίδωσιν καὶ ὅτι διὰ τοῦτο Κωάδης κατὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐστράτευσεν	p. 144.21-25 : texte plus développé, mais de même origine que celui de l'*Épitomè* : τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει Καβάδης, ὁ τῶν Περσῶν βαλισεὺς χρήματα ἀπαιτεῖ Ἀναστάσιον. ὁ δὲ Ἀναστάσιος εἰ μὲν δανείσασθαι βούλοιτο ἔγγραφον ὁμολογίαν ἔλεγε ποιῆσαι, εἰ δὲ ἄλλῳ τρόπῳ μὴ διδόναι. ὅθεν παρασπονδήσας τὴν γενομένην πρὸς Θεοδόσιον τὸν νέον ἔμπροσθεν εἰρήνην ἐπέρχεται μετὰ πλήθους πολλοῦ Περσικοῦ...
frg. 553 : Anastase abolit le *chrysargyrion*, fait cesser les jeux et l'achat des charges : Ἀναστάσιος ἀνέστειλε τὸ χρυσάργυριον καὶ τὰ κυνήγια. ἔπαυσεν καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς ὠνίους οὔσας προῖκα παρέχειν	p. 143.17-18 : texte quasi identique : τῷ δ᾽ αὐτῷ ἔτει Ἀναστάσιος ἀνέστειλε τὸ χρυσάργυριον καὶ τὰ κυνήγια καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς ὠνίους οὔσας δωρεὰν προεβάλλετο
frg. 554	absent

Jean Diacrinoménos (d'après l'*Épitomè*)	Théophane
frg. 555 : séisme à Néocésarée : ἐν Νεοκαισαρείᾳ σεισμοῦ τηνικαῦτα μέλλοντος γίνεσθαι στρατιώτης τις ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ὁδεύων δύο στρατιώτας ἀπιόντας ἐπ᾽ αὐτὴν ἐθεάσατο καὶ τούτων ὄπισθεν ἕτερον κράζοντα· φυλάξατε τὸν οἶκον ἐν ᾧ ἡ θήκη Γρηγορίου ἐστίν. καὶ ὁ μὲν σεισμὸς ἐγένετο καὶ τὸ πλεῖστον μέρος τῆς πόλεως ἔπεσεν, ὁ δὲ οἶκος τοῦ Θαυματουργοῦ διεσώθη	p. 144.6-10 : texte pratiquement identique : ἐν Νεοκαισαρείᾳ δὲ μέλλοντος γίνεσθαι σεισμοῦ στρατιώτης ὁδεύων ὡς δύο στρατιώτας ἀπιόντας ἐπ᾽ αὐτὴν εἶδε καὶ ὄπισθεν ἄλλον κράζοντα· φυλάξατε τὸν οἶκον ἐν ᾧ ἡ θήκη Γρηγορίου ἐστίν. γενομένου δὲ τοῦ σεισμοῦ τὸ πλεῖστον μέρος τῆς πόλεως ἐπτώθη πλὴν τοῦ ἁγίου Γρηγορίου τοῦ Θαυματουργοῦ
frg. 556 : coutume de l'Église de Rome	absent
frg. 557 : Kabadès (Κωάδης) impose aux Perses la communauté des femmes, ce qui lui fait perdre le pouvoir, qu'il récupère grâce aux Huns : Κωάδης νόμον ἔθετο παρὰ Πέρσαις ὥστε κοινὰς τὰς γυναῖκας ὑπάρχειν· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο διωχθεὶς ἐκ τῆς βασιλείας, διὰ τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Οὔνων ταύτην ἀπέλαβεν	p. 123.13–124.5 : même récit, développé différemment Καβάδης δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ βιαιότερον τῇ ἀρχῇ χρώμενος κοινὰς τὰς γυναῖκας ἐνομοθέτησεν ἔχειν· ὅθεν οἱ Πέρσαι τοῦτον τῆς ἀρχῆς παρέλυσαν καὶ δήσαντες εἰς φυλακὴν ἀπέθεντο, Βλάσην δὲ τὸν καὶ Οὐαλᾶν ἀδελφὸν Περόζου βασιλέα ἐποίησαν διὰ τὸ μὴ εἶναι ἄλλον υἱὸν Περόζου. [long passage absent de l'*Épitomè*] ὁ δὲ Καβάδης σὺν τῷ Οὐννικῷ στρατῷ εἰς Περσίδα εἰσβαλὼν πόνῳ οὐδένι τήν τε βασιλείαν ἐκράτησε καὶ Βλάσην τὸν Οὐαλᾶν ἐξετύφλωσε... τὴν δὲ βασιλείαν ἀσφαλῶς διεφύλαξεν
frg. 558 : fondation de Daras (Mésopotamie) par Anastase, confiée à la garde de St Barthélémy	cf. p. 150 (récit très différent)
frg. 559	absent
frg. 560 : Kabadès fait couper les jarrets à des chrétiens de Perse : Κωάδης τινὰς τῶν ἐν Περσίδι χριστιανῶν ἠγκυλοκόπησεν, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο περιεπάτησαν	p. 160.1-2 : même texte Κουάδης δέ τινας τῶν ἐν Περσίδι Χριστιανῶν ἠγκυλοκόπησεν, οἳ μετὰ τοῦτο περιεπάτησαν
frg. 561 : Sévère, devenu évêque, malgré le serment fait à Anastase, anathématise le synode	absent sous cette forme

Il ne fait guère de doute que Théophane dépend pour plusieurs de ces passages (frg. 528 ; 552 ; 553 ; 555 ; peut-être 557 ; et enfin 560) de Jean Diacrinoménos – et certes pas de Théodore, qui les ignore tous. Mais est-ce directement, ou par l'intermédiaire de l'*Épitomè* ? À défaut d'avoir le texte original de Jean, l'ordre des fragments peut nous renseigner, ainsi que leur développement.

Pour ce qui est de l'ordre, Théophane ne suit pas tout à fait celui de l'*Épitomè*.

ordre de l'*Épitomè*		ordre de Théophane
1	frg. 528	p. 92
2	frg. 552	p. 144
3	frg. 553	p. 143
4	frg. 555	p. 144
5	frg. 557	p. 123-124
6	frg. 560	p. 160

Pour ce qui est du contenu même des fragments, on constate chez Théophane des détails absents de l'*Épitomè* :

	Théophane	*Épitomè*
frg. 528	mention de la langue	détail absent
frg. 552	formules légèrement différentes	
frg. 553	formules légèrement différentes	
frg. 555	formules légèrement différentes	
frg. 557	récit développé avec beaucoup plus de détails chez Théophane	
frg. 560	quasiment le même texte	

Théophane n'utilise donc pas l'*Épitomè* dans sa forme actuelle comme seule et unique source des événements que couvre l'œuvre de Jean Diacrinoménos – soit qu'il ait eu accès à un texte plus complet de l'*Épitomè*, soit qu'il ait puisé directement chez Théodore un texte de Jean plus complet, soit même qu'il ait connu directement l'œuvre de Jean. Il demeure donc envisageable que parmi les sources de Théophane figure l'ouvrage perdu de Jean.

Conclusion

Il est temps maintenant de conclure aussi en ce qui concerne l'utilisation de Jean[8]. Théophane n'a peut-être pas utilisé la partie de l'*Épitomè* consacrée à Jean, trop succincte, ou bien, s'il l'a utilisée, parce que fort commode, il ne s'est pas contenté de ses condensés, mais il a eu entre les mains ou bien le texte même de Jean Diacrinoménos, ou bien une source, inconnue de nous, qui utilisait Jean – peut-être tout simplement une version plus complète de l'*Épitomè* que celle actuellement conservée.

Ce serait certes pure hypothèse que d'identifier cette source secondaire à Théodore le Lecteur, un Théodore utilisateur, voire compilateur de Jean dans son *Histoire ecclésiastique*, comme il a compilé Sozomène, Socrate et Théodoret dans sa *Tripartite*. Ce serait pourtant bien tentant… Mais pour quelle raison Théodore aurait-il refait, au mois en partie, une *Histoire*, celle de Jean, quasiment contemporaine? La raison en serait double : d'une part, fournir un abrégé, là où Jean se serait peut-être trop longuement étendu ; d'autre part, présenter sous un jour « chalcédonien » les événements présentés par l'antichalcédonien militant qu'était Jean. Le caractère profondément antichalcédonien de l'ouvrage de l'Égéate (s'il faut bien confondre Jean Diacrinoménos et le Jean d'Égée mentionné par Photius, *Bibl.* cod. 41) permettrait du moins de comprendre sa disparition au fil de siècles.

Quoi qu'il en soit, cette hypothèse d'une utilisation de Jean par Théodore conduirait à rechercher chez ce dernier d'autres fragments de Jean aujourd'hui restés anonymes, et à réévaluer l'importance de ce dernier dans l'historiographie byzantine – et, pourquoi pas? dans la *Chronique* de Théophane, déjà reconnue comme largement débitrice des deux *Histoires* de Théodore.

8. Notons que, parmi les sources de Théophane, Mango – Scott, p. lxxiv-xcv, ne mentionnent pas Jean Diacrinoménos.

Quant à Théodore, il importe de souligner en dernier lieu que l'*Épitomè* ne rend compte qu'imparfaitement de son œuvre. Ainsi, il savait compléter une œuvre par une autre, il jugeait utile d'insérer des documents importants. La publication intégrale des livres I et II de son *Histoire tripartite* formerait le complément nécessaire à l'édition actuelle des fragments excellemment réalisée par G. C. Hansen. Enfin, le rôle de l'épitomateur anonyme ne doit pas être négligé. Par ses choix, par les compléments qu'il apporte, par ses jugements, il fait lui aussi acte d'historien. C'est donc une réelle chance que le présent colloque, pourtant dédié à Théophane, ait permis de réhabiliter trois des historiens qui lui ont servi de source : Théodore, son épitomateur anonyme, et une source possible de l'un et de l'autre, à savoir Jean Diacrinoménos.

Appendix I – Le codex *Baroccianus gr* 142, témoin de l'*Épitomè*

Le codex *Barocc.* 142 contient successivement :

- fol. 1r-153v : *Histoire ecclésiastique* de Sozomène :
  - fol. 1r, l. 1-3 : πιναξ τῶν ἐννέα λόγων τῆς ἐκκλησιατικῆς ἱστορίας Ἑρμείου Σωζομένου τοῦ Σαλαμινίου συντεθεὶς παρὰ Νικηφόρου Καλλίστου τοῦ Ξανθοπούλου
  - fol. 1r-8v : sommaire
  - fol. 9v, l. 1-3 : titre
  - fol. 9v, l. 4 : incipit : φασὶ τῶν πάλαι αὐτοκρατόρων κ.τ.λ. (= SC 306, p. 92)
- fol. 154r : blanc
- fol. 154v-202v : *Histoire ecclésiastique* d'Évagre le Scholastique
  - fol. 154v : κεφαλαία τοῦ πρώτου τόμου… καὶ… Νικηφόρου Καλλίστου τοῦ Ξανθοπούλου ὁ πίναξ
- fol. 203-204 : blanc
- fol. 205r : raturé (reprise fautive du fol. 224r, d'une main plus tardive)
- fol. 205v-211r : épitomè des *Antiquités juives* de Flavius Josèphe, « rassemblé par le même Nicéphore »
  - fol. 205r, l. 40, repris en fol. 205v, l. 1 : ἐλογαὶ ὅσαι ἔδοξαν ἀναγκαῖα εἶναι ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχαιολογίας Ἰωσήπου ἐκλεγεῖσαι παρὰ Νικηφόπου Καλλίστου τοῦ Ξανθοπούλου
- fol. 211v : blanc
- fol. 212r-261r : l'*Épitomè d'histoires ecclésiastiques* « de la voix (ἀπὸ φωνῆς) de Nicéphore Calliste »
  - fol. 212r, l. 1-2 : συναγωγὴ ἱστορίων διαφόρων ἀπὸ τῆς κατὰ σαρκὰ γεννήσεως τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ ἑξῆς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχουσα ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου λόγου τῆς ἐκκλησιατικῆς ἱστορίας Εὐσηβίου τοῦ Πανφίλου [+ in mg. ἀπὸ φωνῆς Νικηφόρου Καλλίστου τοῦ Ξανθοπούλου]
  - fol. 212r-216r : épitomè de l'*Histoire ecclésiastique* d'Eusèbe, avec des additions publiées par de Boor[9]
  - fol. 216r : extraits d'un anonyme, sans titre (en fait, 6 fragments de l'*Histoire ecclésiastique* de Gélase de Césarée = Theod. Lect., p. 158-159)

9. C. de Boor, *Neue Fragmente des Papias, Hegesippus und Pierius in bisher unbekannten Excerpten aus der Kirchengeschichte des Philippus Sidetes* (Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur 5, 2), Leipzig 1888, p. 169-171.

- fol. 216v-216v : extraits du livre XXIV de l'*Histoire ecclésiastique* de Philippe de Sidè (216v, l. 39, partim in mg. ὥς φη<σι> Φίλιππ<ος > ὁ Σιδ<ήτης> ἐν λόγ<ῳ> κδ´)
- fol. 216v-224r : extraits de l'*Histoire tripartite* de Théodore le Lecteur, tirée de Sozomène, Théodoret et Socrate (216v, l. 16-17 : ἐκ τῶν Σωζομενοῦ οἷς παρέζευξεν ὁ Θεόδωρος τὰ τοῦ Θεοδωρήτου [-ίτου cod.] καὶ Σωκράτους ἐν οἷς εὗρέ τινα τῶν [fortasse τοῦ cod.] δύο ξένων [-νου cod.] τι παρὰ Σωζομενὸν [-νοῦ cod.] ἱστορήσαντα)
  - frg. 1, p. 2 : ἐκ τοῦ πρώτου βιβλίου. Σωζόμενος ὥς λέγει...
  - frg. 2, p. 2-3 : Κωνσταντίνου καὶ Κρίσπου... (ann. 323/325)
  - frg. 333, p. 95 (fol. 224r, l. 33-36) : Πρόκλος ὁ ἐπίσκοπος... τριάκοντα πέντε (ann. 437/438)
- [fol. 224r repris du fol. 205r ; 224v blanc]
- fol. 225r-235r : épitomè de l'*Histoire ecclésiastique* de Théodoret de Cyr : ἐπιτομὴ τῶν εἰρημένων Θεοδωρήτῳ (-ίτῳ cod.) καὶ τῇ παρ' αὐτοῦ ὑπογραφείσῃ βίβλῳ τῆς ἐκκλησιατικῆς ἱστορίας κ.τ.λ.
- [fol. 235v blanc ; 236r raturé = 261r]
- fol. 236v-239r : extraits de l'*Histoire ecclésiastique* de Théodore le Lecteur (ἐκλογαι ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἱστορίας Θεόδωρου Ἀναγνώστου βιβλίον πρῶτον κ.τ.λ. + in marg. ἀπὸ φωνῆς Νικηφόρου Καλλίστου Ξαντοπούλου)
  - frg. 353, p. 100 : Θεοδόσιος ὁ νέος ἐξελθὼν εἰς κυνήγιον...
  - frg. 524, p. 151 : Ἀναστάσιος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐτελευτησεν... ἣν γενομένην Αὐγούσταν Εὐφημίαν οἱ δημόται ὠνομασαν (ann. 518)
- fol. 239v-240r : extraits anonymes (sans titre)
  - frg. 528, p. 153 (Σηπεδόνι τὸ σῶμα...) > frg. 561, p. 157 (Σευῆρος ὅρκον δοὺς ... παραβὰς τὸν ὅρκον ἀνεθεμάτισεν ann. 511/512) ; l'attribution à Jean Diacrinoménos est le fait d'un autre manuscrit, le cod. *Paris. suppl. gr.* 1156 (M)
  - chaîne de succession impériale anonyme de six fragments, jadis attribués à Théodore le Lecteur (PG 86, c. 212-216, frg. 60-65), depuis le règne de Constantin le Grand (ἐβασίλευσε Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ μέγας καὶ φιλόχριστος...) jusqu'à celui de Léon (ἐβασίλευσε <ὁ Λέων Αὔγουστος> ἐνδικτιῶνος δεκάτης ... ἐν τοῖς Δομνιου [i.e. Δομνινου] ἐμβολοις : Constantin le Grand (306-337), Constance (337-361), Théodose le Grand (379-395), Arcadius (395-408), Théodose le Jeune (408-450), Léon Ier (457-474). Les cinq derniers fragments sont en rapport avec des transferts de saintes reliques : Timothée, André et Luc ; Térence et Africanus ; Samuel ; Étienne, Laurent et Agnès, puis Jean Chrysostome ; enfin Anastasie.
- fol. 240r-241v : trois notices bio-bibliographiques, dont les deux premières, sur Jean Diacrinoménos et sur Basile de Cilicie, sont tirées de Photius ; très étrangement, les noms des écrivains ne sont donnés dans aucune, pas plus chez Photius que chez notre épitomateur :
  - cod. 41 : [ἀνεγνώσθη <Ἰωαννου> ἐκκλησιαστικὴ ἱστορία : Photius] οὗτος ἄρχεται ἀπὸ τῆς Θεοδοσίου τοῦ νέου βασιλείας... ;
  - cod. 42 : [ἀνεγνώσθη <Βασιλείου Κίλικος> ἐκκλησιαστικὴ ἱστορία : Photius] ἄρχεται οὗτος ἀπὸ τῆς τελευτῆς Σιμπλικίου τοῦ Ῥώμης...
  - non identifié : οὗτος ἐπὶ τῶν ἡμερῶν ἦν Βασιλείου τοῦ Μακεδόνος καὶ Λέοντος τοῦ Σοφοῦ...
- fol. 242 : manque
- fol. 243r-261r : compendium de l'*Histoire ecclésiastique* de Philostorge « de la voix du patriarche Photius » (ἐκ τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν ἱστοριῶν Φιλοστοργίου ἐπιτομὴ ἀπὸ φωνῆς Φωτίου πατριάρχου)

- fol. 261r recopié du 236r
- fol. 261v : blanc
- fol. 262r-292v : différentes pièces de discipline ecclésiastique, suivies de divers abrégés, d'un catalogue des évêques et patriarches de Constantinople, par Nicéphore Calliste[10].

Appendix 2 – Le codex BnF *Parisinus gr.* 1555 A témoin de l'*Épitomè*

Le *Parisinus gr.* contient successivement :

- fol. A à J (10 folios non numérotés, très mutilés) : fragmenta historica ex VT et NT
- fol. 1r-5r : chronologia brevis ad Adamo usque ad Tiberium II (578)
- fol. 5r-7r : Eustathii Epiphanensis epitome Fl. Josephi
- fol. 7r-23v : Epitome historiarum ecclesiasticarum
  - fol. 7r-9v : abrégé d'Eusèbe (Cramer, Ἐκλογαὶ [cité n. 3], p. 87-91)
  - fol. 9v : abrégé de Gélase (Cramer, Ἐκλογαὶ [cité n. 3], p. 91 = frg. 1, 2 et 6)
  - fol. 9v-20r : abrégé de Théodore le Lecteur, *Histoire tripartite* + *Histoire ecclésiastique*, série incomplète (frg. 5 à 524)
  - fol. 20r-v : abrégé de Jean Diacrinoménos (Cramer, Ἐκλογαὶ [cité n. 3], p. 108-109 : frg. 538-556)
- fol. 20v-23v : suite de l'*Épitomè* (Cramer, Ἐκλογαὶ [cité n. 3], p. 109-114 ; Pouderon, Le codex *Parisinus* [cité n. 3], p. 171-177 ; absent de Hansen)
  - fol. 20va-21rb : première série : de l'accession de Justinien au règne de Phocas, frg. 1-18 : 527-602/610 (Cramer, Ἐκλογαὶ [cité n. 3], p. 109-111 ; Pouderon, Le codex *Parisinus* [cité n. 3], p. 171-175) ;
  - fol. 21rb : la famille de Constantin, frg. 19 (Cramer, Ἐκλογαὶ [cité n. 3], p. 111-112 ; Pouderon, Le codex *Parisinus* [cité n. 3], p. 175) ; parall. Gélase, frg. 1 de Nautin, La continuation (cité n. 3) p. 174
  - fol. 21rb-23rb : seconde série : du règne de Léon Ier (457-467) à celui de Justinien (527-565)
- *fol. 23r : ordre des différents sièges patriarcaux*
- *fol. 28r jusqu'à la fin : différents écrits théologiques et liturgiques*

10. K. Aland, G. Gentz, Die Quellen der Kirchengeschichte des Nikephoros und ihre Bedeutung für die Konstituierung des Textes der älteren Kirchenhistoriker, *Zeitschrift für neutestamentarische Wissenschaft* 42, 1949, p. 104-140, ici p. 114-117.

Appendix 3 – Comparaison des périodes embrassées

auteurs	indications biographiques	périodes couvertes
Jean Diacrinoménos	monophysite, partisan de Dioscore et adversaire de Chalcédoine = Jean d'Égée (Photius, *Bibl.* cod. 41)	*HE* I-V : de Théodose II (408-450) et la déposition de Nestorius (431) jusqu'à Zénon († 491) et la déposition de Pierre le Foulon (471/473) *HE* VI-X : jusqu'au règne d'Anastase († 518) et à l'élection de Sévère d'Antioche (512 : frg. 561)
Théodore le Lecteur	prochalcédonien ; exilé à Gangres, en Paphlagonie (à partir de 511?) ; rédaction de l'*HE* entre 520 et 530	*HT* : depuis Constantin jusqu'à 430 *HE* : continuation jusqu'à la mort d'Anastase en 518
épitomateur	prochalcédonien ; début VIIe s.	518-610 (dans le *Paris. gr.* 1555 A)
Théophane	† 817/8	284-813

THE BATTLE OF SOLACHON OF 586 IN LIGHT OF THE WORKS OF THEOPHYLACT SIMOCATTA AND THEOPHANES*

by Anna Kotłowska & Łukasz Różycki

This study analyses the description of the battle of Solachon in the works of Theophanes and Theophylact. While it is commonly known that Theophanes' account is based on Theophylact's *Historiae*,[1] no comparative study of the two works with regard to the language and the facts has as yet been conducted.[2] By focusing on a single example,[3] we will show, step-by-step, how Theophanes approached his source material, how he interpreted the contents, and why he modified certain facts and omitted others. Such an analysis will permit a more complete and precise interpretation of Theophanes' work, not only with respect to his use of Theophylact. Our analysis follows two distinct paths. An effort to explain Theophanes' selection of material and narrative principles is accompanied by a linguistic study whenever Theophanes changed the meanings of words used by Simocatta or employed phrases not found in his *Historiae*. We will demonstrate that by using different means of argumentation, both in terms of style and semantics, the two authors fashioned a very different presentation of the events.

We also devote much attention to the attitude of both historians to the *strategos* Philippicus. We have identified significant differences between the two texts, which cannot be attributed to the abridged nature of Theophanes' work. Although we have not conducted an in-depth study, we will nevertheless attempt to explain the origin of these differences and to offer their interpretation. This section of our work, naturally, had to go beyond the chronological boundaries of the year 586.

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1. L. M. Whitby, Theophanes' Chronicle source for the reigns of Justin II, Tiberius and Maurice (AD 565–602), *Byz.* 53, 1983, pp. 312–45.
2. Я. Н. Любарский, Феофан Исповедник и источники его *Хронографии* : к вопросу о методах их освоения, *VV* 45, 1984, pp. 72–86, does not deal specifically with the events analyzed here.
3. A similar analysis was conducted from a different perspective by L. M. Whitby, The Great Chronographer and Theophanes, *BMGS* 8, 1982–3, pp. 1–20, here at pp. 4–9.

Studies in Theophanes, ed. by M. Jankowiak & F. Montinaro (Travaux et mémoires 19), Paris 2015, pp. 315–26.

The choice of the event studied is motivated by its very detailed description in Simocatta's *Historiae*, most probably based on official documents and verbal accounts of participants.[4] Theophanes devotes the entry for the year 586 (AM 6078) entirely to the Persian campaign, and gives a detailed account of the actions of the *strategos* Philippicus. He probably relied exclusively on the work of Theophylact. We are thus dealing with abundant source material: the description of the Persian campaign of Philippicus in the work of Theophylact, and of the events in the East leading to the battle of Solachon in Theophanes.

The figure of the Roman *strategos* Philippicus deserves a detailed treatment. At the beginning of Maurice's reign in 582, he became *comes excubitorum*, and a year later he married the emperor's sister Gordia, thus becoming one of the closest associates of the ruler.[5] He is not mentioned before Maurice's ascension to the throne, but we can surmise that he was a soldier closely associated with the future emperor, perhaps his second-in-command when Maurice was the *magister militum per Orientem*. Although we do not know much about his origins, it is probable that similarly to Maurice and Heraclius the Elder he was born in Armenia.[6] Philippicus, responsible for waging war against Persia, was relieved from duty after 587, when he was too sick to take personal command during the campaign. He was replaced by Priscus, but, together with Heraclius the Elder, soon revolted against the new commander (Theoph. Sim., III, 2.11), which allowed him to regain his former position in 588, as the troops did not agree to be led by Priscus.[7] After the usurpation of Phocas and the death of Maurice, Philippicus was forced to become a monk; he returned to the army following the rebellion of Heraclius the Elder and the accession to the throne of Heraclius the Younger. As a result of his close connection with his second-in-command Heraclius the Elder, Philippicus was highly esteemed by Emperor Heraclius (ruled 610–41), who restored him the command of the armies of the East in 612–4. During the Persian campaigns Philippicus proved his energy: he organised a number of raids on enemy territory and drew the opposing forces away from the main theatre of war. He died in 614 and was buried in a monastery in Chrysopolis, which he had built himself and where he lived during the reign of Phocas.[8]

The year 586 in the work of Theophanes is dominated by the Roman victory in the battle of Solachon and its aftermath. Theophanes did not provide the historical context for these events, namely that the previous commander of the eastern armies, John, had been relieved from duty for his ineptitude in waging the war against Persia.[9] Philippicus, then

4. On Theophylact's sources, see Th. Olajos, *Les sources de Théophylacte Simocatta historien*, Leiden 1988. On sources for the eastern campaigns: M. Whitby, *The emperor Maurice and his historian : Theophylact Simocatta on Persian and Balkan warfare*, Oxford 1988, pp. 222–49. It is also worth checking I. V. Krivushin, Theophylact Simocatta's conception of political conflicts, *Byz. Forsch.* 19, 1993, pp. 171–83, who, although mostly interested in political ideas, efficiently characterises Theophylact's methods of work and his classical outlook on history.

5. Joh. Eph., *HE* V, 18.

6. P. Charanis, A note on the ethnic origin of the emperor Maurice, *Byz.* 35, 1965, pp. 412–8; D. Feissel, Trois notes sur l'empereur Maurice, *TM* 16, 2011, pp. 253–72.

7. For more information on these events, see I. V. Krivouchine, La révolte près de Monocarton vue par Évagre, Théophylacte Simocatta et Théophane, *Byz.* 63, 1993, pp. 154–73.

8. See also *PLRE* III, s.v. Philippicus 3.

9. Theoph. Sim., I, 13.1.

the *comes excubitorum* and husband of Gordia, the sister of the emperor, was appointed his successor.[10] It is worth noting that—as opposed to Theophanes—Simocatta often describes Philippicus using laudatory epithets meant to demonstrate that he was worthy of the emperor's sister. He also frequently mentions the names of the members of the government or relatives of the emperor, in order to increase the credibility and the authority of his account.[11]

1. The campaigns of 585–6

Theophanes begins the description of the events of 586 by stating that Philippicus left Constantinople and headed to Amida, where he intended to prepare an army for the campaign. Theophylact gives a classical and erudite commentary on these events. He compares Philippicus to Scipio, who took the war to enemy lands, forcing Hannibal to withdraw from the territory of Rome (I, 14.1–4). This is a subtle praise, with only a few adjectives, but the context makes its purpose clear: the implied comparison of Persians to Hannibal is intended to emphasize the strength and fierceness of the Sassanid state. At the same time, it rejects the old concept of the balance of the two powers, suggesting that the very existence of Persia poses a threat to Rome.

Philippicus is supposed to have returned to the capital after the operations of the previous year due to a severe illness. According to Theophanes, the Roman campaign of 585 was aborted on account of his sickness, which, however, is not specified (νόσῳ δὲ περιπεσών). This lack of precision, although resulting from actual lack of sources, may have given rise to doubts about Philippicus' suitability for the position of the commander. He was, at any rate, forced to withdraw from the Persian territory to Martyropolis,[12] where he divided the command of the army, and returned to Constantinople. At this point Theophanes either did not understand Theophylact's account, or decided to make it more accessible to his contemporaries, taking into account the nature of the chronicle.[13] Theophylact clearly states that Stephen, a former member of the military entourage of Emperor Tiberius *(hypaspistes)*, became the supreme commander, with Apsich the Hun[14] serving as second-in-command. In Theophanes' work not only is the difficult name "Apsich" corrupted into "Anepsich," perhaps by association with the noun ἀνεψιός, "nephew," but Apsich also became the senior commander,[15] while Stephen remained the commander of a *tagma*—a term applied in the 6th century to a detachment of about

10. Theoph. AM 6076, p. 253.26–7; Theoph. Sim., I, 13.2; Evagr., 6.3.

11. E.g. Germanos, whose daughter was married to Maurice's son, Theodosius (VIII, 4).

12. Theoph. AM 6077, p. 254.18–20.

13. For other examples, see: R. Scott, "The events of every year, arranged without confusion": Justinian and others in the *Chronicle* of Theophanes Confessor, in *L'écriture de la mémoire : la littérarité de l'historiographie : actes du IIIe colloque international philologique ΕΡΜΗΝΕΙΑ, Nicosie, 6-7-8 mai 2004, organisé par l'EHESS et l'université de Chypre*, sous la dir. de P. Odorico, P. A. Agapitos, M. Hinterberger (Dossiers byzantins 6), Paris 2006, pp. 49–65, here at p. 59.

14. Theoph. Sim., I, 14.5: διὸ ἐπὶ τὴν Μαρτυρόπολιν ἀφικνεῖται ἐπιτρέψας τὸ στράτευμα Στεφάνῳ τῷ ταγματάρχῃ, (ὑπασπιστὴς δ' οὗτος ἐγεγόνει Τιβερίου τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος), τόν τε Ἄψιχ τὸν Οὖννον τῶν ὅλων ὑποστράτηγον ἐχειροτόνησε τάξεων.

15. Theoph. AM 6077, p. 254.19.

200–300 soldiers[16]—which he indeed was before Philippicus placed the entire army under his command.[17] Theophanes misunderstood the terminology of Theophylact: while in the 6th century the commander of the *tagmata* was a middle-ranking officer, by Theophanes' times this was one of the most important ranks in the military hierarchy. There was thus no need to further "promote" Stephen, already a top general in the eyes of Theophanes, who was clearly unaware of the evolution of military ranks since the 6th century. In this section Theophanes summarises Theophylact, without entering into the details of Stephen's career.[18]

The reader can also be misled by the information about the burning of the outskirts of Martyropolis by the Persian satrap Kardarigan (Theophanes modifies the name to fit in with the Greek declination system: Kardarigas). Simocatta not only specifies that the enemy attack lasted eight days, during which the aggressors did not achieve any success,[19] but also that Philippicus remained in the city with his men, although the actual command was already in the hands of Stephen and Apsich, as the *strategos* was still suffering from illness.[20] Once the Persians had retreated, Philippicus recovered, dispatched the army to winter quarters and returned to Constantinople for an audience with Emperor Maurice.[21] These events are presented differently by Theophanes, according to whom Philippicus left for Constantinople in order to attend to his health throughout the winter, while the army marched off to the camps. This is a simplification, referring back to the preceding events, but it does not result from some hidden agenda of Theophanes, especially since we know that Philippicus was actually still ailing.[22] The description also contains a clever addition, the adverb ἀβλαβῶς, to indicate that the absence of the commander had no impact on the condition of the army.[23]

Both historians agree that in early spring 586 Philippicus returned to his forces stationed near Amida.[24] Theophanes, however, does not mention the peace negotiations. Simocatta, on the other hand, described how Philippicus met in Amida a Persian peace delegation headed by the satrap Mebodes.[25] The talks took place in the presence of Roman commanders and prominent soldiers as well as deployed siege engines.[26] The

16. A *bandon* or *tagma* consisted in the times of Maurice of between 200 and 400 soldiers. This variation aimed at preventing the enemy from easily calculating the size of the Roman army: *Strat.* I.4.32–5. Shlosser averages the number to 300 soldiers per *bandon*, but on unclear grounds: F. K. Shlosser, *The reign of the emperor Maurikios (582–602) : a reassessment*, Athens 1994, p. 119. See further J. F. Haldon, *Byzantine praetorians : an administrative, institutional, and social survey of the Opsikion and tagmata, c. 580–900*, Bonn 1984.

17. Theoph. Sim., I, 14.5: [illegible] Στεφάνῳ τῷ ταγματάρχῃ.

18. Theoph. *sub* AM 6077, p. 254.19–20.

19. Apparently only the suburbs located outside the city walls were burned.

20. Theoph. Sim., I, 14.9–10.

21. *Ibid.*, I, 14.10.

22. Philippicus' illness was chronic: in 587 he was still unable to join the army on account of his health problems.

23. Theoph. *sub* AM 6077, p. 254.23.

24. *Ibid.* *sub* AM 6078, p. 254.27–8; Theoph. Sim., I, 15.1.

25. Theoph. Sim., I, 15.1–10.

26. *Ibid.*, I, 15.2.

Persians demanded significant reparations, blaming the Romans entirely for the war.[27] The soldiers prevented the satrap from finishing his speech, drowning out his voice with cries of indignation and anger. It was only once the peace conditions had been officially delivered through the bishop of Nisibis[28] that Philippicus sent a courier to Constantinople informing the emperor of the Persian demands. In response, Maurice rejected the peace offer and ordered the army to resume military operations.

Theophanes then states that Philippicus gathered his army in Amida to receive oaths confirming the soldiers' high morale and willingness to fight. It was only once he was convinced of the fighting spirit of his subordinates that Philippicus set out to the Arzamon. This is, once again, a summarized version of Simocatta's account, who writes that the *strategos* first relocated his camp to Mambrathon, where the whole army was to gather. It was there that Philippicus met with the troops, who assured their leader of their willingness to fight.[29] The scene is very emotional, presenting the soldiers filled with "manly eros," that is the "love of combat," and the "desire to kill"! After this gathering the Romans marched to Bibas, located not far from the river Arzamon.[30]

Having specified the destination of the Roman army, both authors include an anecdote about the behaviour of the Persian satrap responsible for the war with Rome.[31] Its structure is reminiscent of a traditional model, i.e. the tale of Herodotus about the ambiguous prophecy given to Croesus.[32] The manner of paraphrasing of this tale sheds much light on the mentality of the two Byzantine historians. Although there is no reason to doubt that both authors consulted the same source, the literary qualities of their respective renditions of the same story give us insight into the minds of the chroniclers. Simocatta alludes to the commonly known tale of the king of Lydia.[33] It is obvious to him that the anecdote reflects the old theme of a ruler led astray by a deity: he says that the Magi "were inspired by the spirit Pytho." The Persians have been deceived and

27. W. Treadgold, *A history of the Byzantine state and society*, Stanford 1997, p. 222, thinks, on the basis of Evagr., 5.7, that the war with Persia had been premeditated by Justin II, who extended his protection to a rebellion in the Persian part of Armenia. M. and M. Whitby, *The History of Theophylact Simocatta : an English transl. with introd. and notes*, Oxford 1986, p. 42 n. 81, attribute the peace overtures to the Romans, which is, however, unlikely in the light of the recent Roman victories in the East. Simocatta's version is more plausible also because the peace terms of 586 were less advantageous than those offered by the Persians in 576, perhaps, as conjectured by Whitby, *The emperor Maurice and his historian* (quoted n. 4), p. 280, because the Persians tried to take advantage of the deteriorating situation of the Romans in the Balkans.

28. Theoph. Sim., I, 15.12.

29. *Ibid.*, I, 14.15.

30. The Roman army marched out from Amida, located on the Tigris, and headed south towards Mesopotamia. Although Roman authors considered Amida to be located in Mesopotamia, in terms of administrative geography this important stronghold was actually located in Armenia Maior. After passing the Izala mountain range Philippicus' troops would have to turn east to cross the Arzamon.

31. Theoph. Sim., II, 2.3. A. M. Taragna, "Il me revêtit d'un habit resplendissant" : l'écriture de l'histoire chez Théophylacte Simocatta, in *L'écriture de la mémoire* (quoted n. 13), pp. 67–85, interprets such anecdotes in rhetorical categories, as meant for educated listeners forming a θέατρον (literary circle). Although we should not negate the significance of the author-receiver interaction (declamation of the work), it seems that in this case such interaction was not a priority for the author, i.e. the anecdote has a profound narrative meaning regardless of how the work is experienced.

32. Herodotus, 1.53.

33. Theoph. Sim., II, 2–3.

there was nothing to be done about it. Theophanes, on the other hand, is harsher in his description.[34] He omits the reflections of his predecessor and concentrates on the facts. The Magi, "demon-worshipers" (δαιμόνων θεραπευταί), foretold the Persian victory. Theophanes, with the benefit of hindsight, mocks the joy of the Persians by using the verb σκιρτῶσι, "they jumped with joy." To an educated Greek reader, the word was meaningful: it meant rejoicing in childish manner, not suited to age nor station. It was used by Aristophanes (e.g. *Plut.* 761) to stress the improper behaviour of the elders, which Theophanes may have known. He thus ridicules what Simocatta perceived as a dramatic interplay between man and god.[35]

Kardarigan was so confident that he ordered the preparation of a large number of iron and wooden shackles for the expected Roman prisoners.[36] Simocatta also provides information on the route taken by the Persians. Kardarigan's army was to gather water from the river Bouron and to move towards the Arzamon.[37] Theophanes omits the information about the Roman camp[38] and the plan drawn up by Philippicus, who intended to force the Persians to do battle by keeping them thirsty.[39] The territory between the rivers of Bouron and Arzamon had no other watercourses, which meant that the enemy had either quickly to engage in a pitched battle, or withdraw.[40]

Interestingly enough, Theophanes mentions Philippicus' order regarding the local population inhabiting the Izala mountain, which he, however, does not name.[41] Simocatta reports that Philippicus prohibited his army from harming the inhabitants[42] who, as he earlier specified, were Christians.[43] Theophanes gives this order a more metaphysical, universal significance: Philippicus is said to have been afraid that God would forsake the Romans if they began destroying the possessions of local farmers. He uses the word "justice" (δικαιοσύνη) to show that not everything is allowed in war, even with regard to the enemy.

34. Theoph. AM 6078, p. 255.1–7.
35. The historians of late antiquity often emphasised the importance of divine intervention in history, see R. Dostálová, Frühbyzantinische Historiographie (von Eunapios zu Theophylaktos Simokattes), *Klio* 69, 1987, pp. 163–80, in particular pp. 170–5 and 179, and Z. Udal'cova, Le monde vu par les historiens byzantins du IVe au VIIe siècle, *BSl.* 33, 1972, pp. 208–9.
36. Theoph. AM 6078, p. 255.5–7.
37. Theoph. Sim., II, 2.4.
38. *Ibid.*, I, 1.1–4.
39. *Ibid.*, II, 1.5–6.
40. On the geography of the region, see E. Honigmann, *Die Ostgrenze des byzantinischen Reiches von 363 bis 1071 nach griechischen, arabischen, syrischen und armenischen Quellen*, Bruxelles 1935, p. 25–26.
41. Theoph. AM 6078, p. 255.7–10. Commonly known as Mount Izla, or occasionally as the Nisibis mountain; see D. Jousseaume?, *Monks of Mount Izla : origins of monasticism in Upper Mesopotamia in the 4th–6th centuries : translation and analysis from previously unpublished Syriac manuscripts*, Washington 2004, pp. 6–7; Honigmann, *Die Ostgrenze* (quoted n. 40), pp. 22 and 25.
42. Theoph. Sim., II, 2.5.
43. *Ibid.*, II, 1–3. By then, a monastery established by Abraham the Great of Kashkar in 571 was already active on the mountain. Simocatta does not mention it (perhaps because this was a Nestorian monastery?), although the fortified buildings of the monastery could provide protection to Roman forces. For the life of Abraham of Kashkar, see F. Nau, Histoire d'Abraham de Kaskar et de Babai de Nisibe, *Revue de l'Orient chrétien* 21, 1918-9, pp. 161–72.

The next day Philippicus sent two Saracen leaders to scout the area.[44] At this point Theophanes again simplifies the narrative of Theophylact, who not only gives the names of the allied Arab leaders (Ogyros and Zogomos),[45] but also informs us that they were commanded by a Roman named Sergius.[46] The scouting party was able to capture some Persians and by torturing them[47] gained intelligence about the location of the enemy's camp. Theophanes' summary combines the Roman reconnaissance with Philippicus' plans for the upcoming battle. He adds that the captured prisoners divulged not only the location of the camp, but also the plans of the Persian satrap, who intended to attack on the next day, the Day of the Lord, that is Sunday.[48] No such connection in Simocatta, according to whom Philippicus learned about the Persian positions on the seventh day of the week,[49] that is on Saturday, and himself deduced that the enemy would attempt to lead a surprise attack against the Romans on Sunday.[50] Until this point both accounts are consistent with each other, even if Theophanes simplified his version due to the nature of his work.

2. The battle of Solachon

On the next day, the scouts informed the *strategos* that the enemy was approaching.[51] Theophanes omits this information and attributes the initiative to Philippicus who "early in the morning […] drew up the Romans in three phalanxes and went to meet the enemy."[52] Theophanes also does not devote much attention to the unusual deployment of the Roman army, organised in four bodies, rather than the traditional three (left flank, centre and right flank). Theophylact named the four commanders:[53] the left wing was led by Eiliphredas,[54] with a portion of his forces under Apsich the Hun;[55] the right

44. Theoph. AM 6078, p. 255.10–1.
45. I. Shahîd, *Byzantium and the Arabs in the sixth century. 1, 1, Political and military history*, Washington 1995, pp. 550–3; M. Whittow, Rome and the Jafnids : writing the history of a sixth-century tribal dynasty, in *The Roman and Byzantine Near East. 2, Some recent archaeological research*, ed. by J. H. Humphrey (JRA Supplementary series 31), Portsmouth 1999, pp. 207–24.
46. Theoph. Sim., II, 2.5.
47. Only Simocatta mentions torture; the participle στρεβλώσαντες suggests the rack, "stretching," "straining the muscles," see also II, 2.6. The fact that Theophanes glosses over it is understandable: its inclusion would go against his vision of a "just war," justified also on religious grounds.
48. Theoph. AM 6078, p. 255.12.
49. Theoph. Sim., II, 2.6.
50. *Ibid.*, II, 2.7.
51. *Ibid.*, II, 2.7.
52. Theoph. AM 6078, p. 255.14.
53. Theoph. Sim., II, 3.1–3: ὁ μὲν οὖν Φιλιππικὸς τὸ Ῥωμαϊκὸν διεκόσμησε καὶ τριτταῖς κεραίαις τὸ μάχιμον διετάξατο. καὶ τὴν μὲν κεραίαν τὴν εὐώνυμον τῷ Εἰλιφρέδᾳ ἐπέτρεπεν, (ἄρχων δ' οὗτος ἦν τῆς Ἐμέσης) ναὶ μὴν καὶ Ἀψὶχ ὁ Οὖννος τὴν αὐτὴν περιεβάλετο δύναμιν. τὴν δὲ τοῦ δεξιοῦ Βιτάλιος ὁ ταξιάρχης. ὁ δὲ στρατηγὸς τὸ μεσαίτατον ἀνελάμβανε κέρας, ταὐτὸν δ' εἰπεῖν Ἡράκλειος, ὁ Ἡρακλείου πατὴρ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος.
54. Eiliphredas was *dux Phoenices Libanensis*, see *PLRE* III, s.v., where he is erroneously ascribed the command of the left flank together with Apsich the Hun.
55. He is believed to be of Hunnic origin; he was granted the title of ὑποστράτηγος in 585. He should not be confused with an Avar dignitary of the same name, who during the reign of Justin II conducted negotiations with the Romans and was one of the commanders during the successful siege of Sirmium in 581. See *PLRE* III, pp. 101–2; Gy. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*. 2, Berlin 1983, p. 83.

wing answered to the *taxiarchos* Vitalius;[56] and the command of the centre was assumed by Heraclius the Elder, Philippicus' second-in-command (ὑποστράτηγος).[57] The fourth *meros*, led by Apsich the Hun, must have been intended as a reserve, positioned in the second line and to the left, or as an ambushing *drungos*, as is suggested by the following narrative, where Apsich commands a similar detachment (τὴν αὐτὴν [...] δύναμιν) to that of Eiliphredas, but no mention of the former's involvement is made. The reserve forces were probably directed towards the centre, which required reinforcing and this is why Simocatta does not mention their involvement in the fight.[58]

Each officer thus probably commanded a *meros*. The *taxiarchos* Vitalius led a unit of Optimates, the nominal strength of which was also one *meros*. Given that according to the *Strategikon* the Optimates were usually positioned in the second line as an elite unit,[59] Philippicus may have planned to use them to break through the Persian flank. At the same time, the overall deployment indicates that the flanking force could not have been commanded by Apsich the Hun, since he was in charge of a similar group as Vitalius.[60] The interpretation of the Roman battle line provided by Simocatta[61] presents a typical example of a cavalry army formation consisting of four *meroi*.[62]

This complicated description of the Roman formation is omitted by Theophanes, who only writes about three phalanxes; additionally, he does not mention Heraclius the Elder, father of Emperor Heraclius, who, according to Simocatta, was in command of the centre. Theophanes' account also does not specify who led the Persians (Mebodes commanded the right flank; Aphraates—the left; and the centre was led by Kardarigan).[63]

56. According to *PLRE* III, p. 1381, he held the rank of comes *rei militaris* or dux. In the Roman military nomenclature of the period ταξίαρχος was equal to dux of Optimates, which has been overlooked in *PLRE*. It is, however, not certain if Simocatta recognized the differences between military ranks and took them into account in his work.
57. Theoph. Sim., II, 3.1–2, where, however, Heraclius the Elder is referred to as *strategos*.
58. In such case Apsich would probably have been given under the command of Heraclius, who held the same rank, but was senior in terms of experience. John Haldon thinks that the Roman army was formed in a single line in this battle and rejects Simocatta's account as too rhetorical: J. Haldon, *Warfare, state and society in the Byzantine world, 565–1204*, London 1999, pp. 206–7. See also Id., *The Byzantine wars : battles and campaigns of the Byzantine era*, Charleston 2001, p. 54, mistaken about the position and size of Apsich's unit. If this unit was placed in front of Eiliphredas' and was smaller in number, then Apsich should have been able to rout the enemy's flank. Simocatta does not mention anything of the sort; he provides no further information on Apsich's forces, which suggests that his unit was a mobile reserve, sent into battle in the centre.
59. *Strat.* 2.6. On the Optimates, see C. Zuckerman, L'armée, in *Le monde byzantin. 1. L'Empire romain d'Orient. 330–641*, sous la dir. de C. Morrisson, Paris 2004, pp. 143–80, here at pp. 167–8.
60. Flank units were considerably smaller than a full *meros*, consisting usually of one to three *banda*: *Strat.* 2.4. Simocatta also does not write about the ambushing *drungos*, which consisted of a single *meros* and operated autonomously on the field of battle. Had Philippicus decided to adopt a formation with the ambushing *drungos*, the Persian line would have been broken through at the point where Eiliphredas was stationed.
61. That is assuming that Apsich was not stationed at the flank but rather in reserve.
62. *Strat.* 3.10: Armies between five and ten thousand strong should have two detached *meroi*; larger forces of more than 12 thousand soldiers should have four detached *meroi*. We may presume that, having left a single *meros* in reserve, Philippicus commanded a force of about six thousand, which was a typical cavalry army.
63. Theoph. Sim., II, 3.6.

Just before the engagement, in line with tradition, Philippicus raised the *acheiropoietos* icon.[64] At this point Theophylact explains the theological meaning of the term:[65] "[the image] was not made by a weaver's hand, nor does it shine with painted gold," and its archetype is "inexpressible" (ἄρρητος)[66]. Interestingly, Theophanes did not seize the opportunity to comment on the cult of the icons, but focused only on the practical purpose of the display of the icon, brought forth to invoke the "aid of God."[67] As to the image itself, it was undoubtedly the icon of Camuliana, which had been transferred to Constantinople in 574.[68] It is very telling that Theophanes used the word δύναμις to refer to the icon instead of e.g. πρόνοια. By choosing a non-theological term he gives a clear indication of what is expected of God.

During the battle the icon was entrusted to Symeon, the bishop of Amida, who happened to be in the nearby fort of Mardes (Mardin),[69] but it still had an impact on the battle, as the people in the fort prayed for victory before the image.[70] The *strategos* then marched past the front of the army[71] and gave a speech to the troops,[72] after which trumpets were sounded signifying the impending battle. Theophanes does not mention the speech, but suggests the result of the engagement by stating that the icon would "call forth heavenly legions."[73] This is the language of religious exaltation, so different from Simocatta's down-to-earth reality. Theophylact adds a short note about the troops garrisoned in the fort, who prayed for victory during the battle, and about the recklessness of Philippicus, who only moved to the back under the pressure of his soldiers.[74] Before

64. *Ibid.*, II, 3.4–6.
65. See E. von Dobschütz in his classic and still valid work *Christusbilder : Untersuchungen zur christlichen Legende*, Leipzig 1899, pp. *127–*128.
66. Theoph. Sim., II, 3.4–5.
67. Theoph. AM 6078, p. 255.15–8.
68. Dobschütz, *Christusbilder* (quoted n. 65), pp. 51–2.
69. Honigmann, *Die Ostgrenze* (quoted n. 40), p. 12.
70. Theoph. Sim., II, 3.8–9.
71. Simocatta returns to the topic of religion in the army only once: in 590, Roman soldiers taught their Persian allies the invocation to Mary—probably the Roman war cry *Ave Maria*, even if it remains unclear which language was used, Latin, Greek, or Persian—in order to identify them during the battle with the army of Baram: Theoph. Sim., V, 10.4–5. Rituals prior to battle are described in Book 7 of the *Strategikon*; see also *Strat.* 8.2.2–4: πρὸ τῶν κινδύνων ὁ στρατηγὸς θεραπευέτω τὸ θεῖον θαρρῶν γὰρ ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις ὡς πρὸς φίλον αὐτῷ τὸ θεῖον τὰς ἱκεσίας ποιήσεται.
72. Elsewhere Theophylact follows the example of Thucydides, see S. Efthymiadis, A historian and his tragic hero : a literary reading of Theophylact Simokatta's *Ecumenical history*, in *History as literature in Byzantium : papers from the fortieth Spring Symposium of Byzantine studies, University of Birmingham, April 2007*, ed. by R. Macrides, Farnham 2010, pp. 169–86, here at pp. 176–7. On pre-battle speeches, see H. M. Hansen, The battle exhortation in ancient historiography : fact or fiction?, *Historia : Zeitschrift für alte Geschichte* 42, 1993, pp. 161–80; M. Clark, Did Thucydides invent the battle exhortation?, *Historia : Zeitschrift für alte Geschichte* 44, 1995, pp. 375–6. Although most speeches were certainly not reported in their exact wording, it is generally believed that they reflect the speaker's actual opinions. Their inclusion allowed the authors to provide indirect commentary. Thucydides was, of course, the prime model: H. Flashar, *Der Epitaphios des Perikles : seine Funktion im Geschichtswerk des Thukydides*, Heidelberg 1969, and H. F. Harding, *The speeches of Thucydides : with a general introduction and introductions for the main speeches and the military harangues*, Lawrence 1973.
73. Theoph. AM 6078, p. 255.19.
74. Theoph. Sim., II, 3.9–12.

moving on to describe the battle itself, Simocatta proves his erudition by informing the reader that the name of the Solachon plain is derived from the name of the whole region, and mentions the two most prominent figures originating from it.[75] Theophanes omits this display of knowledge, and instead starts off with the charge of Vitalius,[76] who apparently brushed aside the Persians standing in his way and took the enemy's baggage train, τοῦλδον.[77] This is a noteworthy word, copied without any comment by Theophanes, but introduced by Theophylact with the following erudite gloss, meant as more than a usual apology for a non-classical word: "which Romans in their native tongue are accustomed to call *touldon*."[78] Recent dictionaries do not list this word, but it can be found in Du Cange's *Glossarium* (col. 1589). This loanword was incorporated into the military slang and served as a basis to a bilingual neologism "touldophylax"—camp guard.

The seizure of the Persian baggage train put the outcome of the battle at risk, as Vitalius' troops ceased to fight and turned to looting. Philippicus is said to have reacted by giving his distinctive helmet to Theodore Ilibinus, one of his bodyguards, and ordering him to discipline the troops with his sword. The two accounts differ in the identification of the group that incurred the wrath of the commander: troops deployed in the centre for Theophanes, soldiers led by Vitalius for Theophylact.[79] Once order had been restored, the battle continued for many hours, according to Theophanes.[80] The fierce fighting in the centre made the Romans fight on foot.[81] When the soldiers started trampling on the bodies of the fallen[82] the order was given to target the enemy's mounts. As a result, the Persians broke formation and retreated, and the victory fell to the Romans.

The closing stages of the battle are, again, presented with significant differences. Theophylact attributes the order to attack the horses to divine intervention,[83] although he concedes that the soldiers were later convinced that it had been given by the *lochagos* Stephen who, however, supposedly claimed that he had not given the order and refused to take credit for it.[84] The version of Theophanes is surprising: rather than to attribute the Roman victory to divine power, he simply states that the commander gave this order and as a result the Persians were forced to withdraw. This preference for a rational, and

75. Among them Theodore, son of Peter the Patrician, who was himself probably a native of Thrace, see M. and M. Whitby, *The History of Theophylact Simocatta* (quoted n. 27), p. 47 n. 10.
76. It is difficult to explain why he writes the name as "Vitalian"; perhaps this form in its Greek transliteration was more familiar to him than "Vitalius"?
77. Theoph. AM 6078, p. 255.20–1.
78. The adjective "epichoric" denotes languages or dialects used in specific regions in the presence of a different dominant language, e.g. Greek dialects of Asia Minor from the classical and Hellenic period, only known from inscriptions and from antiquarians such as Theophylact.
79. Theoph. AM 6078, p. 255.22–6; Theoph. Sim., II, 4.3–5.
80. This simplification results again from the abridged nature of Theophanes' work, as Theophylact includes a description of the bodies trampled by the fighters and notes that the clash lasted until sunset.
81. A similar decision had once been made by Belisarius: Proc., *BP* I, 18.41–3, see also *BV* II, 11.24–56.
82. Theoph. Sim., II, 4.6.
83. According to [illegible], *Le monde* (quoted n. 35), p. 213, Theophylact's attitude towards miraculous events heralds the beginning of Middle Ages in literature. A similar view was held by [illegible], *Frühbyzantinische* (quoted n. 35), although she lists Theophylact as the first Byzantine [illegible].
84. Theoph. Sim., II, 4.[illegible]

not "supernatural," explanation is unusual for Theophanes. It seems motivated by his willingness to cast Philippicus as the central figure of the battle of Solachon: the stratagem with the commander's helmet marks the turning point of the battle. This is why the description ends with a few cursory phrases: everything of importance has already been said. Another notable difference is the issue of spoils. Theophylact gives an extensive description of the spoils distributed among the soldiers after the battle, while Theophanes only states briefly that corpses were looted (AM 6078, p. 256.1–2). This may just be an attempt to shorten the narrative,[85] but it is more likely that the brief mention was intended to turn the reader's attention away from the soldiers' dishonourable deeds, which were hard to reconcile with Theophanes' providential beliefs.

Conclusion

The following sections of Theophylact's account were only summarized by Theophanes. He deemed it unnecessary to mention the third Roman detachment, which defeated the opposing Persians and pursued them all the way to the walls of Dara.[86] He describes the clash between the troops commanded by the *lochagos* Stephen and the Persian satrap attempting to break through the blockade as a second victorious battle that took place on the day following the first one, whereas according to Theophylact this happened 3–4 days after Solachon.[87] Interestingly, Evagrius Scholasticus also mentions the battle and the siege of Kardarigan on a hill,[88] although he claims that the Romans let him go free after he swore to persuade his ruler to open peace negotiations.[89]

In conclusion, it appears that Theophanes did not add anything to Theophylact's account of the events of 586, and that the *Historiae* were the only source of the *Chronicle*. Theophanes summarised the narrative of Theophylact: he omitted most proper names and foreign words; the remainder is often corrupt. His narrative focuses on Philippicus; this is why he omits Theophylact's reference to divine intervention and claims that the crucial order was given by his hero. This is not merely a summary of events, but a serious modification of the original text of Simocatta, who first ascribed the order to Stephen and then to divine power. In order to paint Philippicus in a better light, Theophanes highlights his order to target the horses, ignoring the fighting on the other flank, where the fleeing enemy was pursued all the way to the walls of Dara, and the last crucial moment of the battle, namely Kardarigan's retreat from the hill and his clash with the Roman forces. In Theophanes' description the whole engagement is condensed in a single event. The brief description of the second engagement suggests that two separate

85. Cf. Mango – Scott, p. 379 n. 8.
86. Theoph. AM 6078, p. 256.6; Theoph. Sim., II, 4.10.
87. Kardarigan was supposedly surrounded by the Romans for 3–4 days on a hill. When his water supplies ran out, the Persian satrap decided to break through the forces of Stephen: Theoph. Sim., II, 4.14.
88. Evagr., 6.3.
89. Evagrius ends the description of the Roman leaders by stating that other historians have distorted these events because of hatred or for flattery. This may be an allusion to John of Epiphaneia, also showing that public opinion was divided on the issue of the empire's Persian policy, particularly when it came to the personality and actions of Philippicus. What we have are opinions from only one side of this debate. On the approach we should have recourse to reading Evagrius, see V. A. Caires, Evagrius Scholasticus : a literary analysis, *Byz. Forsch.* 8, 1982, pp. 29–51.

battles took place, which cannot be attributed to a poor understanding of the text of Theophylact,[90] but rather resulted from the attempt to present Philippicus as a victorious and able commander. Theophanes, who wrote more than two centuries after the battle, was free from pressures that may have limited his predecessor; the positive but emotionally uninvested presentation of Philippicus thus illustrates the idea of *virtus Romana*. In this context, Philippicus appears as a man able to conduct the state through a difficult period in its history. The particulars of his description are, consequently, of secondary importance: Theophanes does not use any adjectives to describe him; he is rather characterized through his military actions, the success of which is only twice commented with the adverbs ἀθρόως (p. 253.28) and ἀβλαβῶς (p. 254.23; copied from Theophylact, I, 13.4).[91] The only time when Philippicus is mentioned outside of the context of war is the information about his marriage with Gordia (p. 253.27), the significance of which has already been explained. In this regard, Simocatta is the exact opposite: his carefully chosen wording reflected the official propaganda of Emperor Heraclius. That is why he emphasised that Philippicus was the right man for the task: he had the qualities of an army commander (e.g. ἐπιδέξιος, I, 13.2, or the already mentioned comparison to Scipio, I, 14), was φιλομαθέστατος in military treatises (I, 14.2), and displayed exceptional bravery during the deployment of the army. Theophanes sees Philippicus as the epitome of Roman virtues and constructs the narrative around this concept.

Finally, the procedure followed by Theophanes in abbreviating his source needs to be commented upon. His summary is aimed at emphasising Philippicus. He eliminated rhetorical descriptions and erudite comments of Theophylact. The nature of his *Chronicle* required only brief presentations of the events; the less important episodes were accordingly edited out, even if Theophanes also omitted the parts of the narrative that did not comply with the basic assumption of his narrative. Another issue is the vocabulary of Theophanes and his understanding of the Greek of Simocatta. A good example is the word *tagma*, which in Theophylact refers to the army unit commanded by Stephen, but in Theophanes becomes *tagmata*, a formation that did not exist in the 6th century. The simplification of Theophylact's semantics led to several errors, which result from the lack of understanding of the historical realities or from mistakes made when copying proper names.

Modern historians using the work of Theophanes should exercise caution when interpreting this source. As shown above, Theophanes has not only abridged the text of Theophylact, but also omitted passages that did not conform to his ideas and modified selected sections to make them fit better with his viewpoints.[92] Although Theophanes' compendium remains the primary historiographical source for many events, particularly on the so-called Dark Ages of Byzantium, we should always bear in mind his method of work with the sources. His *Chronicle* is more than just a compilation of information, and the author had no qualms about presenting his own interpretations of events, which were sometimes at odds with those of his sources.

90. WHITBY, Theophanes' Chronicle source (quoted n. 1), pp. 325–6, raised the question of whether Theophanes used a supplementary source which stated that the order had been given by Philippicus. One cannot completely exclude this possibility, but it would be the only such instance in the *Chronicle*.

91. Byzantine Greek was fond of adverbs, see S. B. PSALTES, *Grammatik der byzantinischen Chroniken*, Goettingen 1913, pp. 338–42, with examples from Theophanes.

92. See also [illegible] (quoted n. 7), pp. 85–6.

LA PERCEPTION DU DOMAINE ÉCONOMIQUE DANS LA *CHRONOGRAPHIE* DE THÉOPHANE*

par Salvatore COSENTINO

La perspective de lecture de la *Chronographie* proposée ici porte sur la sphère économique. Par cette notion de sphère économique j'entends désigner l'ensemble des informations utiles pour comprendre la relation entre la société, l'environnement physique et culturel et la production de la richesse. L'importance de notre chronique pour la reconstruction de l'histoire politique des VIIe et VIIIe siècles est bien connue[1] ; on pourrait difficilement dire quelque chose de ce qui s'est passé de Byzance à cette époque sans y recourir. La conception des « siècles obscurs » développée au cours des trente dernières années et en particulier après l'irruption de l'archéologie dans l'étude de l'histoire économique et sociale, a fluctué dans l'historiographie entre les deux pôles de la « continuité » et du « changement ». Les partisans de l'une ou de l'autre approche ont reconnu la période allant de la deuxième moitié du VIIe à la première moitié du IXe siècle comme caractérisée par un déclin économique[2]. Il semble justifié, par conséquent, de soumettre la *Chronographie* à une analyse spécifique dans ce sens. Après une présentation des données quantitatives qu'elle contient, nous essaierons de mettre en évidence leurs principales caractéristiques, y compris les sources utilisées pour leur traitement. On essayera ainsi de comprendre si la collecte de ces données révèle une quelconque pensée

* Je tiens à remercier sincèrement Vivien Prigent d'avoir commenté mon texte, corrigé et amélioré mon français, et d'avoir entièrement traduit certaines parties du texte italien en français. La même reconnaissance va à Filippo Ronconi, qui a contrôlé les manuscrits (c'est-à-dire le *Paris. gr.* 1710, le *Vat. gr.* 155 et l'*Oxon., Christ Church, Wake* 5) à ma place et m'a permis de lire son article avant sa publication.

1. Voir, à cet égard, en particulier : ROCHOW, *Byzanz im 8. Jh.* ; MANGO – SCOTT, p. LXXIV-XCIV ; *Théophane de Sigriani le Confesseur* HOWARD-JOHNSTON, *Witnesses*, p. 268-312 ; P. YANNOPOULOS, *(759-818) : un héros orthodoxe du second iconoclasme*, Bruxelles 2013, p. 249-262.

2. Le débat sur cette question a produit une abondante bibliographie, qui a porté principalement autour l'évolution de l'ancien urbanisme. Voir, parmi les œuvres récentes : A. E. LAIOU, C. MORRISSON, *The Byzantine economy*, Cambridge 2007, p. 23-42 ; L. BRUBAKER, J. HALDON, *Byzantium in the iconoclast era, c. 680-850. A history*, Cambridge 2011, p. 453-572 ; *Οι Βυζαντινές πόλεις (8ος-15ος αιώνας). Προοπτικές της έρευνας και νέες ερμηνευτικές προσεγγίσεις*, επιμ. Τ. Κιουσόπουλου, Ρέθυμνο 2012 (en particulier les interventions de H. G. SARADI, Ch. TSIGONAKI et M. VEIKOU) ; *Trade and markets in Byzantium*, ed. by C. Morrisson, Washington DC 2012 (surtout les articles de D. PIERI et J. HALDON).

économique chez le rédacteur de l'œuvre et dans quelle mesure celle-ci pourrait être utile au débat sur la paternité de la chronique. J'étudierai par la suite des cas où l'information de Théophane est particulièrement précieuse pour la compréhension de quelques grands problèmes de l'histoire économique et sociale.

Les informations retenues ici contiennent des références à des valeurs mesurables ou une nomenclature économique spécifique. J'ai ainsi exclu les références génériques à la richesse, quelle qu'en ait été la forme, et j'ai enregistré seulement les passages qui fournissent au lecteur des indications positives, numériques, de caractère monétaire, démographique ou liées à des activités professionnelles données. L'ensemble s'élève à 145 citations. Elles peuvent être divisées en quatre grandes catégories : la première se réfère à la politique monétaire et à la fiscalité, avec 62 témoignages (tableau 1) ; la deuxième, à la composition des armées et à leurs pertes au combat, avec 52 références (tableau 2) ; la troisième, à la démographie, avec 17 citations (tableau 3) ; et la quatrième, enfin, concerne les biens, les objets d'artisanat et les catégories artisanales, avec 14 mentions (tableau 4). Ici, je vais me concentrer uniquement sur les deux premiers domaines, qui sont les mieux représentés. Il convient d'ailleurs de souligner trois éléments communs aux deux premiers tableaux.

Dans l'un et l'autre, sans surprise, les informations de nature économique se font plus fréquentes quand de l'Antiquité tardive nous nous dirigeons vers la période où écrit l'auteur de la *Chronographie*. Dans le tableau 1, 20 passages (32,3 %) se rapportent aux Ve et VIe siècles, comparativement à 67,7 % qui se réfère aux âges suivants, pour être plus précis, 10 au VIIe siècle (16,1 %), 11 au VIIIe (17,7 %) et 21 aux années 800-813 (33,8 %). Encore plus important, en ce sens, est la décomposition du tableau 2. Ici 84 % des références concernent la période entre le début du VIIe et le début du IXe siècle. Plus précisément, 8 citations se réfèrent aux IVe et Ve siècles (15,38 %), 10 au VIIe (19,23 %), 29 au VIIIe (55,76 %) et 3 au début du IXe siècle (5,7 %).

Les données des deux tableaux partagent également un même rapport avec le problème des sources utilisées par l'auteur de la *Chronographie*. En ce qui concerne l'Antiquité tardive, les textes sur lesquels s'appuient les tableaux 1 et 2 sont connus : Malalas (pour la plupart), Procope, Théodore Anagnostes ou Jean Diacrinoménos et Théophylacte Simocatta[3]. Dans le tableau 1, à partir de 633, sur 40 références, seulement 6 se trouvent dans les sources d'origine. Pour la période de 606/607 à 779/780 il est communément admis dans l'historiographie que la *Chronographie* utilise davantage au moins une source orientale, peut-être en particulier la *Chronique* perdue de l'astronome maronite Théophile

3. À la littérature citée à la note 1, on peut ajouter : A. S. PROUDFOOT, The sources of Theophanes for the Heraclian dynasty, *Byz.* 44/2, 1974, p. 367-439 ; T. A. DUKET, *A study in Byzantine historiography : an analysis of Theophanes' Chronographia and its relationship to Theophylact's* History *: the reign of Maurice and the seventh century to 711*, thèse, Boston 1980 (*non vidi*) ; I. ROCHOW, Malalas bei Theophanes, *Klio* 65/2, 1983, p. 459-474 ; И. С. ЧИЧУРОВ, Место «Хронографии» Феофана в ранневизантийской историографической традиции (IV-нач. IX в.), dans *Древнейшие государства на территории СССР 1981*, Moscou 1983, p. 5-146 (*non vidi*) ; P. SPECK, *Das geteilte Dossier : Beobachtungen zu den Nachrichten über die Regierung des Kaisers Herakleios und die seiner Söhne bei Theophanes und Nikephoros* (Ποικίλα Βυζαντινά 9), Bonn 1988 ; *Thesaurus Theophanis Confessoris. Chronographia*, curantibus B. Coulie, P. Yannopoulos (Corpus christianorum. Thesaurus patrum Graecorum), Turnhout 1998, p. XL-LV. Voir aussi les interventions de D. AFINOGENOV, G. GREATREX, B. POUDERON, R. SCOTT et I. TAMARKINA, dans ce même volume.

d'Édesse (ca 695-ca 785)[4]. Or, pour cette période, 6 passages seulement sur 19 ont des parallèles chez les autres utilisateurs présumés de la même source. Dans plusieurs cas, notés par les traducteurs anglais, le récit de Théophane se rapproche de plus ou moins près de celui des sources orientales, dont il diffère toutefois quant aux données positives (AM 6150, 6152, 6176, 6178, 6248, 6251, 6256)[5]. En ce qui concerne le tableau 2, sur 39 passages datées entre 606/607 et 779/780, seulement 9 (c'est-à-dire environ un quart) ont des parallèles dans les sources orientales.

Normalement la *Chronographie* conserve le vocabulaire technique qu'elle trouve dans ses sources. Cela ressort clairement, par exemple, de la façon dont sont reportées les notations économiques de Théophylacte Simocatta à propos de l'impôt payé par Maurice au khagan des Avars. Théophylacte dit que, après la chute de Sirmium vers 583, les Avars demandèrent à l'empereur d'accroître leur tribut de 80 000 à 100 000 monnaies, ce qui implique le terme *nomismata*, une phrase qui se répète sans changement dans la *Chronographie*[6]. On peut aussi penser à la façon dont notre chronique décrit les accords de paix signés avec les musulmans par le patriarche d'Alexandrie, Cyrus, après la bataille du Yarmuk (AM 6126). Théophane dit que Cyrus s'était engagé à verser annuellement 200 000 *dēnarioi*. Comme l'a souligné dans son commentaire Cyril Mango, cette référence anachronique à la pièce d'or musulmane devait être présente dans la source orientale utilisée par Théophane, qui se reflète aussi chez Michel le Syrien et dans la *Chronique de 1234*[7].

On note aussi chez Théophane une utilisation très particulière d'un terme spécifique de l'économie monétaire : le mot *talanton*, « talent ». Un coup d'œil au TLG clarifie que ce mot est fréquent dans la littérature mésobyzantine. Malalas l'utilise 3 fois, le *Chronicon Paschale* 8 fois, Georges le Syncelle 23, la *Souda* 69 fois, Constantin Porphyrogénète l'utilise 99 fois. Mais tandis que ces auteurs utilisent le mot en conformité avec le contexte historique – le terme se rapporte à l'âge classique, hellénistique ou romain – Théophane l'emploie pour des événements plus proches de lui, voire contemporains. On peut recenser douze occurrences. Les 5 premières renvoient à un passé relativement proche : sous l'AM 5998 (505/506), on lit que, pendant les négociations menées par le *magister militum* Celer avec les Perses, les Romains ont proposé de racheter pour trois *talanta* Basile d'Édesse, le *comes Orientis*[8] ; sous l'AM 6021 (528/529), nous apprenons que l'exploitation des mines d'or d'Arménie rapportait un *talanton* de taxes aux Romains et aux Perses[9] ;

4. Sur ce problème, voir les contributions de M. CONTERNO, de M. DEBIÉ et de R. HOYLAND dans ce volume, ainsi que M. CONTERNO, *La « Descrizione dei tempi » all'alba dell'espansione islamica : un'indagine sulla storiografia greca, siriaca e araba fra VII e VIII secolo* (Millennium Studien 47), Berlin – Boston 2014 (qui réduit le poids attribué à Théophile d'Édesse). Voir aussi W. BRANDES, Der frühe Islam in der byzantinische Historiographie : Anmerkungen zur Quellenproblematik der *Chronographia* des Theophanes, dans *Jenseits der Grenzen : Beiträge und frühmittelalterlichen Geschichtsschreibung*, hrsg. von A. Goltz, H. Leppin und H. Schlange-Schöningen (Millennium Studien 25), Berlin – New York 2009, p. 313-343.

5. MANGO – SCOTT, p. 484 ss., 503, 506, 592, 594, 602 s.

6. Cf. Theoph. Sim., I, 6, 4-5 ; Theoph. AM 6075, p. 252.31-34.

7. MANGO – SCOTT, p. 479.

8. Theoph. AM 5998, p. 148.23 et 25.

9. *Ibid.* AM 6021, p. 179.8. Pour le VIe siècle, voir aussi AM 6026 p. 199.23 : l'argent de Gélimer que saisit Bélisaire pesait des milliers de *talanta*.

sous l'AM 6098 (605/606), le *patrikios* Germanos offre un *talanton* au chef du parti des Verts afin de pouvoir compter sur l'aide de cette faction[10] ; sous l'AM 6224 (731/732), l'auteur fixe à trois *talanta* et demi le montant de l'impôt sur le revenu des patrimoines de l'Église romaine en Sicile et en Calabre dont Léon III décrète le retour vers la trésorerie impériale[11] –un passage sur lequel je reviendrai ; sous l'AM 6256 (763/764), 'Isa bin Mūsā voit son échec à s'assurer la succession au califat abbasside compensé par un don de 100 *talanta*[12]. Cinq fois, l'auteur de la *Chronographie* utilise le mot en relation avec des épisodes de son propre temps : sous l'AM 6298 (805/806), on souligne qu'au lendemain de la paix conclue entre Nicephore I[er] et Hārūn al-Rašīd, le calife se réjouit de ce traité très favorable comme s'il avait reçu dix mille *talanta*[13] ; sous l'AM 6303 (810/811), au sujet d'une incursion des troupes sarrasines contre Euchaïte, on raconte comment le salaire du thème des Arméniaques, qui s'élevait à 13 *talanta*, fut volé[14] ; sous l'AM 6303 (810/811), Staurakios, blessé dans la bataille avec les Bulgares qui avait coûté la vie à son père Nicéphore I[er], confesse au patriarche Nicéphore qu'il lui serait impossible de rendre plus de 3 *talanta* des sommes que Nicéphore I[er] avait extorquées[15] ; sous l'AM 6304 (811/812), il est dit que Michael I[er] distribua 5 *talanta* aux veuves de soldats tués dans la guerre contre les Bulgares[16] ; et enfin, sous l'AM 6305 (812/813), l'auteur de la *Chronographie* fait un dernier usage du terme pour relater que Michel I[er] accorda 1 *talanton* à un groupe de chrétiens (moines et laïcs) arrivés en Chypre depuis la Palestine et la Syrie[17].

Dans le monde antique, le *talanton* était une unité de poids dont la valeur variait selon les régions ; le talent romain équivalait quant à lui à 125 livres[18]. Le terme est également utilisé dans l'Évangile dans une célèbre parabole (Mt 25, 14-30). Ici, il semble représenter le devoir de l'homme de faire fructifier les richesses reçues, une vision positive de l'argent tout à fait étrangère à la mentalité ecclésiastique du monde romano-oriental. Théophane utilise *talanton* comme un équivalent de *kentēnarion*, l'unité monétaire et de poids née au cours du V[e] siècle pour désigner la valeur de 100 livres, c'est-à-dire 7 200 *nomismata*. Cette équivalence est confirmée par le passage déjà cité relatif aux salaires du thème des Arméniaques : on y précise, en effet, que les 13 *talanta* dérobés par les musulmans correspondaient à 1 300 livres, soit 93 600 *nomismata*.

Je reviens ainsi au passage déjà mentionné sur les mesures prises en l'AM 6224 (731/732) par l'empereur Léon III en relation avec la Sicile et la Calabre. Ce passage a été très discuté par les chercheurs[19]. Après avoir raconté que la flotte envoyée par Léon III

10. *Ibid.* AM 6098, p. 293.14.
11. *Ibid.* AM 6224, p. 410.15.
12. *Ibid.* AM 6256, p. 436.8.
13. *Ibid.* AM 6298, p. 482.16.
14. *Ibid.* AM 6303, p. 489.21.
15. *Ibid.* AM 6303, p. 492.18.
16. *Ibid.* AM 6304, p. 494.4.
17. *Ibid.* AM 6305, p. 499.30.
18. Voir E. Schilbach, *Byzantinische Metrologie* (Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft 12/4), München 1970, p. 171.
19. Theoph., p. 410. Voir, en dernier lieu, V. Prigent, Un confesseur de mauvaise foi : notes sur les exactions financières de l'empereur Léon III en Italie du Sud, dans « L'Italia bizantina : una prospettiva economica », sous la dir. de S. Cosentino, *Cahiers de recherches médiévales et humanistes* 26, 2014, p. 279-304.

dans l'Adriatique, sous le commandement de Manès, stratège des Cibyrréotes, avait fait naufrage, Théophane dit que l'empereur lui-même, possédé d'un « esprit musulman », avait soumis au *phoros kephalikos* – je traduis littéralement – « la troisième partie de la population de la Sicile et de la Calabre » (φόρος κεφαλικὸς τῷ τρίτῳ μέρει Σικελίας καὶ Καλαβρίας τοῦ λαοῦ ἐπέθηκεν). Par ailleurs, le même Léon avait ordonné que les revenus des *patrimonia* des Apôtres, qui produisaient 3 *talanta* et demi, ne soient plus payés à l'ancienne Rome (c'est-à-dire à son Église), mais au trésor impérial ; et enfin, continue le passage, il avait ordonné une inspection approfondie en Sicile et Calabre afin que les nouveau-nés soient enregistrés[20]. Dans une importante étude, Constantin Zuckerman a soutenu une interprétation de ce passage selon laquelle, pour l'essentiel, l'imposition du *phoros kephalikos* serait connectée à l'appropriation des revenus des *patrimonia* de l'Église de Rome[21]. Le sens final de l'action de Léon III aurait été la saisie des biens-fonds de celle-ci en Sicile et en Calabre et la prise en charge directe par les autorités byzantines de la procédure fiscale pesant sur les paysans y résidant : ceux-ci auraient représenté précisément un tiers « des habitants de ces régions » comme Théophane l'écrit. Cette interprétation a été acceptée dans la récente synthèse sur l'histoire politique, sociale et culturale de l'âge iconoclaste écrite par L. Brubaker et J. Haldon[22]. Mais, comme il est souligné par Vivien Prigent, l'élément faible de cette interprétation réside dans le montant des d'impôts tirés des *patrimonia* de l'Église romaine dans le sud de l'Italie : trois talents et demi, seulement 25 200 *nomismata*[23]. Dans un passage aussi célèbre du *Liber pontificalis* de l'Église de Ravenne nous apprenons que vers le milieu du VII[e] siècle, l'Église de Ravenne recevait de ses possessions en Sicile 31 000 *solidi*, plus 50 000 *modii* de blé[24], qui, au taux de 1 *solidus* pour 30 *modii*[25], s'élève à 1 666 *solidi*. De la partie perçue en or, 15 000 *solidi* allaient dans les caisses de l'État, 16 000 restaient à l'Église. Or le chiffre de trois talents et demi chez Théophane représenterait, selon Zuckerman, le revenu net (« the net rental income ») que l'Église romaine tirait de ses patrimoines en Sicile et en Calabre ; si c'est le cas et si les impôts constituaient, comme à Ravenne, le 48 % du revenu, le revenu total de ces patrimoines s'élèverait à environ 50 000 *nomismata*, étant donné que la taxe représentait environ 48 % du revenu total. Mais 50 000 *nomismata* semble être un chiffre vraiment

20. Theoph. AM 6224, p. 410.11-14.
21. Voir C. Zuckerman, Learning from the enemy and more : studies in the "Dark Centuries" Byzantium, *Millennium* 2, 2005, p. 79-135, particulièrement p. 103 s.
22. Brubaker, Haldon, *Byzantium in the iconoclast era* (cité n. 2), p. 81.
23. Prigent, Un confesseur de mauvaise foi (cité n. 19).
24. *Tunc praedictus Benedictus diaconus venit iterum in Siciliam, exinde boneratis dromanibus quinquaginta vilia modiorum tritici, sine quavis aliis aristis aut legumina, pelles arietum rubricatas et iacintinas casulas et pluviales syrias exornatas, laenas et cetera indumenta, vasa de auricalco et argentea, solidorum aureorum triginta unum milia. Ex his quindecim milia in palatio Constantinopolitano et sedecim milia in archivo ecclesia deportavit. Haec pensio omni anno solvebatur, triticum vero semper ad mensa unde pontifex vescebatur : Agnelli Ravennatis Liber pontificalis Ecclesiae Ravennatis*, cura et studio D. Mauskopf Deliyannis (Corpus christianorum, continuatio mediaevalis 199), Turnhout 2006, p. 281.41-43, 282.44-52, § 111.
25. Un *solidus* pour 30 *modii* est considéré comme le coût moyen du blé dans le IV[e] siècle par L. Cracco-Ruggini, *Economia e società nell'« Italia annonaria » : rapporti tra agricoltura e commercio dal IV al VI secolo*, Torino 1961, p. 416 et pour le début du VI[e] siècle par J. Durliat, *De la ville antique à la ville byzantine : le problème des subsistances* (Collection de l'École française de Rome 136), Rome 1990, p. 407.

trop faible pour un complexe de domaines qui, sur la base du *Registrum epistolarum* de Grégoire le Grand, en Sicile seule était administré (à partir de 593) par deux responsables différents (sis à Syracuse et à Palerme) et incluait une troisième gestion séparée pour les possessions de la *Lucania et Bruttii*[26]. Il faudrait en effet admettre que le patrimoine romain en Sicile et en Calabre n'ait pas été sensiblement plus grand que celui de l'Église de Ravenne – sur l'importance globale et l'organisation duquel nous sommes privés d'informations – et que, au début du VIIIe siècle, il ait connu une telle réduction de sa main-d'œuvre paysanne que sa productivité ait chuté de façon drastique par rapport à l'époque de Grégoire. Mais une telle conclusion peine à remporter l'adhésion, étant donné que l'économie rurale de la Sicile au VIIe siècle semble avoir été encore assez prospère.

Selon P. Yannopoulos, l'édition de Boor reflète une normalisation linguistique artificielle du texte de la *Chronographie*[27]. En effet, le travail du philologue allemand dépend essentiellement de deux témoins, le *Barberinus* V. 49 et le *Vaticanus gr.* 155, qui représentent une réécriture de la version primitive du texte de « Théophane »[28]. Néanmoins, la leçon « trois talents et demi » est commune non seulement aux manuscrits qui descendent de *a* et *b* (je fais ici usage des sigles du *conspectus* de de Boor), mais également – à deux exceptions près – aux manuscrits d'une deuxième branche de la tradition, dont les têtes de file sont représentées, d'une part, par le modèle grec dont fit usage Anastase le Bibliothécaire et, de l'autre, par le *Paris. gr.* 1710. La traduction d'Anastase devrait refléter la version la plus proche, parmi celles conservées, du texte laissé par l'auteur de la *Chronographie*, quelle qu'en ait été la forme originelle[29]. Celle-ci est en effet apparentée, tant par sa structure que par son contenu, avec le manuscrit parisien, avec lequel elle partage l'absence de tables chronologiques et d'arbres généalogiques, lesquels sont au contraire présents dans les autres témoins les plus anciens de la *Chronographie*, le *Vat. gr.* 155 et l'*Oxon., Christ Church, Wake* 5[30]. Il revient également à Yannopoulos d'avoir attiré l'attention sur un autre élément commun à l'antigraphe grec d'Anastase et au manuscrit de Paris : la présence dans les deux, sous l'AM 6177 (684/685), d'une scholie, à l'origine marginale ou inscrite sur une feuille séparée, relative à la date du concile *In Trullo* (691/692). La scholie offre également une chronologie des patriarches

26. Sur le patrimoine de l'Église de Rome en Sicile et en Calabre, l'étude la plus détaillée demeure celle de V. RECCHIA, *Gregorio Magno e la società agricola* (Verba seniorum n. s. 8), Roma 1978. Voir aussi E. CALIRI, *Società ed economia della Sicilia di VI secolo attraverso il* Registrum epistularum *di Gregorio Magno* (Charybdis 1), Messina 1997.

27. Voir P. YANNOPOULOS, Les vicissitudes historiques de la *Chronique* de Théophane, *Byz.* 70, 2000, p. 527-553, surtout p. 533-538 ; ID., *Théophane de Sigriani* (cité n. 1), p. 294-297. Sur l'édition supposée de Constantin VII, voir J. SIGNES CODOÑER dans ce volume.

28. YANNOPOULOS, Les vicissitudes historiques (cité n. 27), p. 535 s.

29. Anastase a dû obtenir le manuscrit au cours de son séjour à Constantinople à l'occasion du VIIIe Concile œcuménique entre janvier et mars 870. Pour les dates, voir *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, 3, Roma 1961, p. 25-37, s.v. Anastasio Bibliotecario (G. ARNALDI). Certains auteurs ont cru que l'archétype de la *Chronographie* n'était pas un manuscrit, mais un ensemble indistinct de matériaux laissés après 818 : SPECK, *Das geteilte Dossier* (cité n. 5), p. 499 s. ; YANNOPOULOS, Les vicissitudes historiques (cité n. 27), p. 552 ; YANNOPOULOS, *Théophane de Sigriani* (cité n. 1), p. 281.

30. Pour une analyse détaillée de ces trois manuscrits, voir F. RONCONI, La première circulation de la « Chronique de Théophane » : notes paléographiques et codicologiques, dans ce volume. Je remercie l'auteur de m'avoir permis de lire sa contribution avant la publication.

de Constantinople à partir de Georges Ier (679-686)[31]. Mais tandis que dans la traduction d'Anastase, ce catalogue s'arrête à Taraise (784-806), dans le manuscrit de Paris, il se poursuit jusqu'à Jean VII (838-843). On peut en somme penser que le modèle qui servit à la traduction d'Anastase fut copié entre 806 et 870, date à laquelle le bibliothécaire romain dut se procurer le manuscrit lors de son séjour à Constantinople ; ensuite, le *Paris. gr.* 1710 fut produit de façon certaine après 843. Toutefois, si l'on prend en considération la partie finale de la scholie, qui liste les patriarches par leur seul nom et années d'épiscopat, on peut supposer – surtout si la scholie fut rédigée par plusieurs personnes – que le modèle de la traduction d'Anastase fut copiée entre 806 et 815 (c'est-à-dire durant le patriarcat de Nicéphore Ier, absent du catalogue), tandis que le manuscrit parisien pourrait avoir été réalisé entre 843 et 847 (sous le patriarcat de Méthode). Si l'on accepte cette hypothèse, il faudrait en conclure que le manuscrit utilisé par Anastase a été copié très peu de temps après que le moine Théophane, si l'on en croit la préface de la *Chronographie* (laquelle est toutefois absente chez Anastase), a cessé de travailler à l'œuvre que lui avait laissée son ami Georges le Syncelle. La copie peut donc avoir été effectuée vers 814 ou 815 dans le monastère même de Megas Agros[32]. Quant au *Paris. gr.* 1710, même si l'on écarte la possibilité qu'il ait été produit entre 843 et 847, ce qui ne peut effectivement être pleinement démontré, il n'en offre pas moins l'un des exemples les plus précoces de minuscule livresque. D'un point de vue paléographique, il daterait de la seconde moitié du IXe siècle, avec un *terminus post quem* fixé à 843[33]. Il a déjà été mentionné que la leçon τάλαντα τρία ἥμισυ se retrouve dans les plus anciens manuscrits qui transmettent la version de la *Chronographie* contenant les tableaux chronologiques et les arbres généalogiques, c'est-à-dire le *Vat. gr.* 155 et l'*Oxon., Christ Church, Wake* 5. Ceux-ci, auparavant considérés œuvres d'une même main[34], sont aujourd'hui attribués à deux copistes distincts, peut-être actifs dans un même centre de copie bithynien[35]. Ces deux exemplaires présentent également des différences de nature codicologique qui plaident en faveur d'une valeur supérieure du *Wake*. Tous deux reflètent le public restreint et élitaire de la *Chronographie* aux premiers temps de sa diffusion. À la branche de la tradition dont relèvent le *Wake* et le *Vaticanus* 155, mais issus d'un apographe distinct,

31. Theoph., p. 361 s. Cf. YANNOPOULOS, *Théophane de Sigriani* (cité n. 1), p. 284 s., avec la référence aux travaux antérieurs de cet auteur. Je ne vois pas de raisons de penser que cette scholie a été écrite dans un milieu stoudite.

32. La santé de Théophane périclite en 813 ou 814 : MANGO – SCOTT, p. LVII ; YANNOPOULOS, *Théophane de Sigriani* (cité n. 1), p. 208. Après juin 815, déjà gravement malade, il fut convoqué à Constantinople par l'empereur Léon V. Là, d'après sa biographie par Méthode, il fut enfermé quelque temps dans le monastère d'Hormisdas pour être ensuite transféré dans une petite cellule dans le palais d'Éleuthère, où il demeura quelques années ; enfin, il fut exilé à Samothrace où il mourut le 12 mars 818 : MANGO – SCOTT, p. XLIX et, sur la date de sa mort, p. LI.

33. RONCONI, La première circulation (cité n. 30). À la lumière des recherches récentes, doivent être rejetées tant la datation du *Paris. gr.* 1710 des années trente du IXe siècle, soutenue par Б. ФОНКИЧ, О датировке и происхождении парижского списка «Хронографии» Феофана (*Cod. Paris. gr.* 1710), dans *Византийские очерки*, Москва 1996, p. 183-186, que celle du Xe siècle, soutenue, du moins implicitement, par N. WILSON, A manuscript of Theophanes in Oxford, *DOP* 26, 1972, p. 357-360, part. p. 358.

34. Voir E. FOLLIERI, La minuscola libraria dei secoli IX e X, dans *La paléographie grecque et byzantine*, Paris 1977, p. 139-165, part. p. 144.

35. Voir RONCONI, La première circulation (cité n. 30).

appartiennent les deux seuls manuscrits à transmettre la leçon 57 *talanta* au lieu de 3½ : le *Monac. gr.* 391 (XVIᵉ siècle) et le *Vat. Palat.* 395 (XVIᵉ siècle)[36].

Au terme de ce succinct examen de la tradition manuscrite de la *Chronographie*, le problème qui nous intéresse présente une contradiction marquée. D'un côté, l'indication « trois talents et demi » (25 200 *nomismata*) ne fait pas sens, à mon avis, d'un point de vue économique, contrairement aux données quantitatives de Théophane qui, généralement, sont plutôt précises ; de l'autre, il s'agit de la leçon transmise, à deux uniques exceptions près, par toute la tradition manuscrite à partir des témoins les plus anciens de la chronique. Si, en conséquence, nous voulions, pour remédier à cette contradiction, faire l'hypothèse d'une erreur née de la transmission manuscrite, nous devrions accepter qu'elle soit intervenue de façon très précoce. Les deux versions chronologiquement les plus proches à l'archétype (quelle qu'ait été sa forme) sont, comme on l'a vu, le manuscrit grec utilisé par Anastase et le *Parisinus graecus* 1710. Le premier, malheureusement, ne nous est pas parvenu ; on ne peut que prendre acte du fait que lorsqu'Anastase entreprit de rédiger sa *Chronographia tripertita* à Rome, après 871, il interpréta les indications contenues dans sa source comme *auri dimidium et tria talenta*. Le second témoin – le manuscrit de Paris – indique le nombre qui nous intéresse à l'aide d'un étrange signe en forme de *pi* majuscule, sans surlignage ou éléments sommitaux saillants, et présentant un troisième trait assez développé et infléchi vers la droite : ΓΊ. Un signe aussi ambigu aura très bien pu être compris comme un *gamma* lié au symbole exprimant la fraction ½ (ἥμισυ), qui devait présenter la forme d'un L majuscule, ou d'un sigma lunaire faiblement concave (∟ ∠)[37]. Telle est en effet la lecture qu'en donna le copiste du manuscrit parisien, de même que les scribes qui prirent sa suite. Mais puisqu'une telle lecture semble incompatible avec les revenus des patrimoines siciliens et calabrais de l'Église de Rome durant le premier tiers du VIIIᵉ siècle, il est permis de se demander si l'original de la *Chronographie* ne contenait pas une indication différente. Il n'est pas improbable que le modèle du manuscrit parisien ait transcrit les nombres avec des majuscules surlignées ; cet usage est par ailleurs normalement suivi par le copiste du manuscrit parisien lui-même[38], mais pas dans le cas de l'étrange signe en forme de *pi* avec son second jambage allongé. Pour expliquer l'origine de cette dernière graphie, on peut avancer l'hypothèse que l'antigraphe du manuscrit parisien ait présenté un *iota* majuscule, surligné et suivi du signe de fraction. Si le surlignage avait été trop serré à l'extrémité supérieure du *iota*, le signe qui en aurait résulté aurait pu être interprété comme un *gamma* majuscule, et non un *iota* surligné (ΓL), suivi du signe de fraction. Une telle erreur de lecture pourrait rendre compte tant de l'étrange graphème présent dans le manuscrit parisien, que du fait que les autres copistes aient lu le nombre comme un *gamma* majuscule associé au signe de fraction, plutôt que comme *iota* majuscule (surligné), plus fraction. En bref, si l'on suit cette hypothèse, les

36. Theoph., p. 410.11 ; sur les manuscrits voir de Boor dans Theoph. 2, p. 394 s.

37. Sur les graphèmes pour exprimer les signes de fractions voir V. Gardthausen, *Griechische Palaeographie. 2. Die Schrift, Unterschriften und Chronologie im Altertum und im Byzantinischen Mittelalter*, Leipzig 1913², p. 342 et 372 s. Sur les numéraux et les erreurs causées par les numéraux voir F. Ronconi, *La traslitterazione dei testi greci* (Quaderni della Rivista di bizantinistica 7), Spoleto 2003, p. 143-165.

38. Je dois cette information à l'amabilité de Filippo Ronconi.

revenus siciliens et calabrais de l'Église de Rome revendiqués par le fisc byzantin en 732 auraient représenté 10½ *talanta* et non 3½ *talanta* : 75 600 et non 25 200 *nomismata*.

La relecture proposée contribue à donner un sens économique plus acceptable à mon avis aux informations fournies par la *Chronographie*, puisque les revenus monétaires encaissés par les patrimoines romains de l'Italie méridionale seraient donc très supérieurs à ceux de l'Église de Ravenne. Je crois, toutefois, comme d'autres avant moi, que la somme de 75 600 *nomismata* ne comprend pas la partie que l'Église de Rome, du fait de l'autopragie, était tenue à reverser au trésor public : on ne comprendrait pas autrement les plaintes du pape. Enfin, pour déterminer ce que l'Église de Rome verserait au fisc, on peut avoir recours au taux de prélèvement que l'on a déjà déduit du passage d'Agnellus de Ravenne sur les revenus que l'Église de Ravenne percevait sur ses biens siciliens du temps de l'archevêque Maurus : ce taux s'élevait précisément à 48,38 % (15 000 *solidi* sur 31 000). Le revenu monétaire du patrimoine sicilien et calabrais de la papauté aux alentours de 732 était donc de 146 454 *nomismata* dont 70 854 (48,38 % de 146 454) étaient versés au fisc byzantin. Cette somme ne représente que le seul revenu en espèces des domaines du patrimoine. S'y ajoutaient des quantités impossibles à préciser d'autres produits en nature – céréales, vêtements, étoffes, objets précieux – comme l'indique clairement l'analogie avec la composition des revenus de l'Église ravennate en Sicile. En fait, les successeurs d'Apollinaire tiraient de leurs possessions dans l'île – à côté de leur revenu monétaire – 50 000 *modii* de grain, auxquels s'ajoutaient d'autres produits de luxe. Agnellus liste ces données sans leur assigner d'équivalent monétaire. Pour se faire une idée très approximative de ce que devait être la production céréalière des patrimoines romains en Sicile et en Calabre il est possible de réfléchir en termes de simples rapports de proportions. Comme on l'a dit, la somme de 75 600 *nomismata* doit correspondre à la rente monétarisée perçue par la papauté sur les *massae* siciliennes et calabraises sous Léon III, revenu net du prélèvement fiscal en espèces. Si l'on confronte cette somme à celle de mêmes nature et origine dont bénéficiait l'Église de Ravenne, on constate qu'elle est cinq fois supérieure. En postulant un rapport identique pour les céréales, on serait amené à multiplier par 5 les 50 000 *modii* obtenus par Ravenne pour déterminer le revenu céréalier de Rome : 250 000 *modii*. Si l'on tente d'en déterminer la valeur monétaire en utilisant un prix de 1 *nomisma* pour 30 *modii*, on en arrive à la somme de 8 333 *nomismata* supplémentaires. Dans la première moitié du VIIIᵉ siècle, la rente foncière des patrimoines des coryphées des Apôtres, comme les appelle Théophane, devait correspondre à un revenu monétarisé atteignant environnant 154 787 *nomismata*.

Dans le passage en question de la *Chronographie*, le versement au trésor impérial des revenus monétaires antérieurement perçus par l'Église de Rome est précédé de l'affirmation selon laquelle Léon III « soumit à la taxe de capitation la troisième partie de la population de la Sicile et de la Calabre ». Ce passage, nous l'avons vu, a fait l'objet de lectures divergentes. Elles ont toutes été plus ou moins conditionnées par le fait qu'elles se sont basées sur les 25 200 *nomismata* de l'édition de Boor. Mais si l'on accepte les hypothèses présentées ici, les reconstructions peuvent être sensiblement différentes.

Il faut toutefois ajouter que V. Prigent a interprété l'imposition de la capitation par Léon III sur un tiers de la population de la Sicile et de la Calabre dans une perspective complètement nouvelle, une perspective indépendante du montant exact de la rente

foncière des deux patrimoines[39]. Selon lui, Théophane ne ferait pas ici référence à une « augmentation » de la partie de la population soumise à l'impôt, ni à une augmentation du barème fiscal, mais à une réforme de caractère métrologique. Partant du fait que, depuis Justinien II, le poids du *solidus* sicilien était descendu à 22 carats et que son poids de fin s'était abaissé entre la fin du VIIe siècle et le premier quart du VIIIe siècle, l'empereur Léon III aurait établi un système d'équivalence entre 1 *nomisma* de Constantinople et 1 *nomisma*, plus 1 *tremisis* siciliens, afin de permettre une application unifiée des barèmes fiscaux de Constantinople à la monnaie qui courait dans l'île. En termes de carats nominaux, cette décision aurait effectivement comporté un accroissement théorique d'un tiers de l'impôt (32 carats au lieu de 24), mais en termes du poids de fin des métaux utilisés pour le règlement des taxes, la valeur des taxes serait demeurée identique.

Il est utile d'attirer ici l'attention sur d'autres passages – évidemment de nature économique – de la *Chronographie*. L'un de ceux-ci est l'évocation de la confrontation survenue en 794/795 entre Constantin VI et un groupe de pilleurs musulmans à Anousa. Ce lieu demeure à identifier, mais devait se trouver dans le district des Thracésiens, puisque la chronique nous informe que l'empereur, après la bataille, se rendit au sanctuaire de Saint-Jean-l'Évangéliste à Éphèse, pour rendre grâce au saint de la victoire obtenue[40]. En cette occasion, Constantin VI τὸ κωμέρκιν τοῦ πανηγυρίου, ρʹ λιτρῶν χρυσίου ὄν, ἐκούφισε πρὸς θεραπείαν τοῦ ἁγίου ἀποστόλου καὶ εὐαγγελιστοῦ Ἰωάννου. Mango comprend ce passage comme il suit : « [Constantin] remitted the customs dues of the fair (which amounted to 100 lbs. of gold) in order to win the favour of the holy apostle, the evangelist John. »[41] Dans son excellent commentaire, il souligne l'ambiguïté du verbe κουφίζω qui peut signifier tantôt « to reduce », tantôt « to cancel ». Néanmoins, tant dans le passage qui nous intéresse que dans d'autres, Théophane – comme Mango lui-même semble le penser – emploie le verbe (ou sa forme substantivée κουφισμός) dans le sens de « suppression totale ». Sous l'an du monde 6293 (800/801), la *Chronographie* mentionne davantage une décision d'Irène, qui τῆς τε Ἀβύδου καὶ τοῦ Ἱεροῦ τὰ λεγόμενα κωμέρκια ἐκούφισεν[42]. Dans ce cas, s'il s'agissait simplement d'un allégement du *kommerkion* et non de sa suppression totale, on s'attendrait à ce que l'auteur de la chronique spécifie le montant de la réduction fiscale. Dans le passage relatif à la foire de Saint-Jean-le-Théologien, je comprends que Constantin VI, par dévotion, c'est-à-dire par gratitude (comme je me plairais à traduire πρὸς θεραπείαν, plutôt que « in order to win the favour ») envers saint Jean, fit don à l'Église d'Éphèse du montant total du *kommerkion* de l'année : la perception de la taxe relevait des autorités publiques et non épiscopales ; un simple allégement aurait moins d'intérêt pour le siège épiscopal d'Éphèse[43]. La somme

39. [illegible], Un continuateur de [illegible] (cité n. 19).
40. Theoph. AM 6287, p. 469 s.
41. Mango – Scott, p. 645.
42. Theoph. AM 6293, p. 475,17.
43. N. Oikonomidès, The role of the Byzantine state in the economy, dans *EHB*, p. 973-1058, part. p. 986, pensait que l'Église percevait les taxes pour le compte de l'État, étant le propriétaire [illegible] de la foire, alors que ce fait n'est pas explicité dans le texte. Pour d'autres analyses voir : H. Antoniadis-Bibicou, *Recherches sur les douanes à Byzance : l'« octava », le « kommerkion » et les commerciaires*, Paris 1963, p. 107 ; P. Speck, *Kaiser Konstantin VI. : die Legitimation einer fremden und der Versuch einer eigenen Herrschaft*, vol. 1, München 1978, p. 260 (qui pense que la somme n'allait pas au trésor impérial, mais au trésor du saint Jean) ; C. Foss, *Ephesus after antiquity : a late antique,*

de 100 livres d'or – équivalente à 7 200 *nomismata* – ne semble pas exagérée[44]. Si elle représente une taxe *ad valorem* de 10 % sur les biens échangés, cela implique que le volume total des transactions de la foire d'Éphèse s'élevait à un total de 72 000 *nomismata*. Si l'on postule une transaction moyenne de 2 *nomismata* (ce qui impliquait le versement d'un *kommerkion* de 0,2 *nomismata*), le total des transactions aurait été d'environ 36 000. Rien d'exagéré pour l'un des marchés interrégionaux annuels les plus importants de l'Empire, qui devait durer plusieurs jours[45]. Le revenu du *kommerkion* de la foire de Saint-Jean-le-Théologien est compatible avec le montant que la taxe aura dans d'autres centres de l'Empire : au Xe siècle à Attalia, elle rapportait entre 21 000 et 30 000 *nomismata* et à Trébizonde son montant était à peu près de 72 000 *nomismata* ; à Selymbria au XIe siècle, elle assurait 4 320 *nomismata*[46].

Parmi les informations qui concernent la vie économique de l'Empire, les dix « vexations » de Nicéphore présentent un intérêt particulier. Il s'agit, comme on le sait, d'une série de mesures qui frappèrent la société byzantine dans son ensemble et en particulier, l'armée et l'Église avec ses propriétés[47]. Je voudrais ajouter ici quelques observations aux analyses qui ont déjà été proposées au sujet de la deuxième de ces *kakōseis*[48]. Celle-ci est décrite juste après le récit que fait Théophane de la mesure prise par Nicéphore Ier pour punir l'armée – sa première « vexation ». L'empereur avait obligé certains hommes de diverses unités micrasiatiques à vendre leurs biens et à se transférer dans les *Sklaviniai*, c'est-à-dire en Grèce, Macédoine et Thrace. Ce processus de transfert forcé des soldats et de leurs familles eut lieu entre septembre 809 et Pâques 810. Simultanément, l'empereur ordonna aussi que les πτωχοί, probablement les petits propriétaires appauvris, soient enrôlés dans l'armée et armés par les membres des communautés villageoises, lesquels auraient dû verser au trésor 18½ *nomismata* et faire face collectivement aux taxes du conscrit :

Byzantine and Turkish city, Cambridge 1979, p. 110 ; W. Brandes, *Die Städte Kleinasiens im 7. und 8. Jahrhundert* (Berliner Byzantinische Arbeiten 56), Berlin 1989, p. 163 ; Rochow, *Byzanz im 8. Jh.*, p. 261 s.

44. *Contra* Mango – Scott, p. 646, selon qui la somme « appears incredible ».
45. A. Laiou, Exchange and trade, seventh-twelfth centuries, dans *EHB*, p. 709, a sans doute raison de croire que la foire était organisée par l'épiscopat local. Les autres foires de l'Empire attestées après le VIIIe siècle sont celles de Saint-Eugène à Trébizonde, de Saint-Phocas à Sinope, de Saint-Théodore à Euchaïte, de Saint-Georges en Paphlagonie, de Saint-Michel-Archange à Chonaï, de Saint-Démétrius à Thessalonique et de Saint-Nicholas à Myra : Brandes, *Die Städte Kleinasiens* (cité n. 43), p. 158.
46. Voir M. F. Hendy, *Studies in the Byzantine monetary economy, c. 300-1450*, Cambridge 1985, p. 174.
47. Theoph. AM 6302, p. 486 s.
48. Voir P. J. Alexander, *The patriarch Nicephorus of Constantinople : ecclesiastical policy and image in the Byzantine empire*, Oxford 1958, p. 117 s. ; H. Ahrweiler, Recherches sur l'administration de l'Empire byzantin aux IXe-XIe siècles, *BCH* 84, 1960, p. 1-109, réimpr. dans Ead., *Études sur les structures administratives et sociales de Byzance*, London 1971, n° VIII, part. p. 19 s. ; P. E. Niavis, *The reign of the emperor Nicephorus I (AD 802-811)* (Historical monographs 3), Athens 1987, p. 68-74 ; P. Lemerle, *The agrarian history of Byzantium from the origins to the twelfth century : the sources and problems*, Galway 1967, p. 62 s. ; Rochow, *Byzanz im 8. Jh.*, p. 291 s. ; M. Kaplan, *Les hommes et la terre à Byzance du VIe au XIe siècle : propriété et exploitation du sol* (Byzantina Sorbonensia 10), Paris 1992, p. 237 s. ; Oikonomides, The role of the Byzantine state (cité n. 43), p. 983 ; Brubaker, Haldon, *Byzantium in the iconoclast era* (cité n. 2), p. 747 s.

δευτέραν σὺν ταύτῃ κάκωσιν, προσέταξε [sc. Nicéphore] στρατεύεσθαι πτωχοὺς καὶ ἐξοπλίζεσθαι παρὰ τῶν ὁμοχώρων, παρέχοντας καὶ ἀνὰ ὀκτωκαίδεκα ἡμίσους νομισμάτων τῷ δημοσίῳ, καὶ ἀλληλεγγύως τὰ δημόσια[49].

En outre, il fit une deuxième vexation, et ordonna que les pauvres soient enrôlés et armés aux dépens des habitants de leur communauté, en payant 18 ½ nomismata pour chaque homme au fisc et les taxes en responsabilité collective.

Or, à cette même pratique de recrutement me semble faire allusion un passage du *De cerimoniis* de Constantin VII Porphyrogénète :

ἰστέον, ὅτι ὁ καβαλλαρικὸς στρατιώτης ὀφείλει ἔχειν περιουσίαν ἀκίνητον, ἤγουν τοπία, λιτρῶν ε΄, ἢ τὸ ἔλαττον λιτρῶν δ΄. ἰστέον, ὅτι ὁ βασιλικὸς πλόϊμος στρατιώτης ὀφείλει ἔχειν περιουσίαν ἀκίνητον, ἤγουν τοπία, λιτρῶν γ΄. χρὴ εἰδέναι, ὅτι τύπος παρηκολούθησεν κατὰ τὸν καιρόν, ὅτε γίνεται στρατία, μὴ δίδοσθαι τοῖς στρατευομένοις τήρωνας συνδότας ὡς περιουσίοις, ἀλλ᾽ εἶναι μονοπροσώπως στρατιώτας. ὅτε δὲ πτωχεύσωσι, δίδονται αὐτοῖς συνδόται πρὸς τὸ δι᾽ αὐτῶν ἔχειν τὸ ἱκανὸν καὶ δουλεύειν τὴν ἰδίαν στρατίαν[50].

Il faut savoir qu'un soldat de la cavalerie doit disposer d'un patrimoine immobilier – c'est-à-dire de propriétés – de 5 livres [= 360 *nomismata*], *ou au moins de 4 livres* [= 288 *nomismata*]. *Un marin de la flotte impériale doit avoir un patrimoine immobilier – c'est-à-dire des propriétés – de 3 livres* [= 216 *nomismata*]. *Il faut savoir que la règle que l'on observait au moment de lancer une campagne militaire était de ne pas fournir aux combattants, s'ils étaient à l'aise matériellement, de co-contributeurs pour leur entretien* [litt. « des contributeurs-tecrues »], *mais ils étaient tenus de servir de façon autonome. Mais lorsqu'ils s'appauvrissent, alors il convient de leur assigner des co-contributeurs, afin que, par l'entremise de ceux-ci, ils disposent d'une surface économique suffisante pour assurer leur service.*

Le modèle *(typos)* d'organisation auquel fait référence Constantin VII renvoie à une décision passée qui était encore d'actualité du temps du docte empereur. La question de savoir à quand remontait ce modèle peut être éclairée par le passage de Théophane : la pratique de répartir entre divers contribuables les dépenses d'entretien d'un soldat ne disposant pas de moyens économiques suffisants pour se financer était en vigueur déjà au moins du temps de l'empereur Nicéphore Ier. Dans une synthèse récente, J. Haldon considère la mesure prise par Nicéphore Ier comme une innovation vis-à-vis des usages administratifs byzantins. Plus généralement, l'historien britannique voit dans la politique de cet empereur un changement radical dans l'histoire institutionnelle de l'Empire[51]. Les soldats seraient devenus pour la première fois, grâce à leur installation dans les *Sklaviniai* et à la participation de la communauté à l'enrôlement des individus les plus pauvres, un « coût direct pour les communautés dont ils étaient issus et dans lesquelles ils étaient insérés »[52]. Que la mesure prise par Nicéphore ait représenté une innovation a également été soutenu

49. Theoph. *am* 6302, p. 486.23-26.
50. *De cer.*, II, 49, p. 695 s.
51. Brubaker, Haldon, *Byzantium in the iconoclast era* (cité n. 2), p. 747.
52. *Ibid.*, p. 748.

par P. Lemerle et M. Kaplan[53]. Or il me semble qu'il n'a pas été relevé jusqu'ici que le monde carolingien contemporain connaissait une pratique similaire à celle décrite par la *Chronographie*. En vertu de celle-ci, les éléments les moins aisés de la population libre recevaient durant les campagnes militaires l'assistance d'un certain nombre d'individus de même condition sociale, lesquels participaient au paiement de l'armement du combattant partant en campagne[54]. En 806, en Frise, lorsqu'un guerrier de basse extraction sociale part à la guerre, six personnes contribuent ainsi à son financement[55]. Mais en d'autres zones de l'Empire, ce rapport est différent et dépend de la distance que l'armée était censée parcourir pour rejoindre le théâtre des hostilités (pour l'Espagne ou le pays des Avars on a cinq contributeurs pour un partant; pour la Bohême, deux)[56]. En 807, les hommes libres (ceux que l'on appelle *bharigildi*) qui possédaient 3 ou 4 *mansi* étaient tenus à s'armer seuls ; mais – comme dans le *De cerimoniis* de Constantin VII – ceux dont les terres n'atteignaient pas ce seuil recevaient l'aide d'autres hommes libres[57].

Nous ne connaissons pas les origines de cette procédure chez les Francs, mais elle est attestée dans les sources à partir du IXe siècle. Doit-on envisager que Nicéphore en ait subi l'influence ? C'est une possibilité. Il est toutefois bon de rappeler que les systèmes de recrutement tardoantiques prévoyaient la *praebitio tironum*, dont le fonctionnement présente des affinités certaines avec la deuxième « vexation » de l'empereur Nicéphore[58]. En vertu de la règle en vigueur dans l'Empire romain tardif, les petits propriétaires (c'est-à-dire ceux qui ne pouvaient pas se permettre de payer entièrement une part fiscale à même de financer l'entretien d'une recrue) étaient tenus à se réunir en consortia appelés *temones* ou *capitula* dont la contribution globale atteignait la somme à même d'entretenir un soldat. Celle-ci fut fixée par l'empereur Valens en 375 à 36 *solidi*[59].

Il ne s'agit pas ici d'affirmer une continuité directe entre l'institution tardoantique et le procédé mis au point par Nicéphore, mais de souligner que la culture administrative byzantine avait hérité des instruments nécessaires pour concevoir un système rattachant directement la charge de l'entretien du soldat aux capacités économiques des individus. Le témoignage de la *Chronographie*, la coutume de répartir les coûts de recrutement appliquée dans l'Empire carolingien au début du IXe siècle et la *praebitio tironum* offrent des points de départ pour rouvrir une discussion sur le rapport entre terre et service militaire à Byzance avant même l'époque de Nicéphore Ier. L'attitude qui prévalut depuis le IXe siècle fut certainement de concevoir l'obligation militaire comme une forme de taxation. Aussi, comme on l'a écrit, « it must surely predate that time, though we do not know by how much »[60].

53. Voir ci-dessus, note 48.
54. Voir F. L. Ganshof, L'armée sous les Carolingiens, dans *Ordinamenti militari in Occidente nell'alto medioevo* (Settimane CISAM 14), Spoleto 1968, vol. 1, p. 109-130.
55. *Capitularia regum Francorum*, 1, ed. A. Boretius (MGH LL. 2, 1), Hannoverae 1883, p. 135, n° 49, § 6.
56. *Ibid.*, § 2 et 5.
57. *Ibid.*, p. 134, n° 48, § 2.
58. Sur la *praebitio tironum* voir A. H. M. Jones, *The later Roman Empire, 284-602 : a social, economic and administrative survery*, Oxford 1964, vol. 2, p. 615 s.
59. *CTh* VII, 13, 7.
60. Ainsi Oikonomides, The role of the Byzantine state (cité n. 43), p. 983. J'ai fait moi-même quelques réflexions sur le service militaire dans la législation carolingienne par rapport à Byzance dans

Les données quantitatives que fournit la *Chronographie* mettent en évidence deux grandes tendances. D'une part, elles montrent une sensibilité à la force numérique des armées, à la spécification des grandes sommes d'argent, à toutes sortes de mesures fiscales, à l'annotation de la dynamique des populations sur le territoire de l'Empire. Cette sensibilité se fait d'autant plus prononcée que, de l'Antiquité tardive, le lecteur descend vers l'époque à laquelle vécut l'auteur de l'œuvre. D'autre part, le travail est basé, en ce qui concerne la sphère de l'économie, sur la consultation de sources dont le nombre, pour les VII[e] et VIII[e] siècles, semble être assez important et l'horizon de l'auteur dépasse en tout cas la contribution de la seule *Chronique* de Théophile d'Édesse.

La mentalité économique de la *Chronographie* est traditionnelle et aristocratique. Elle révèle une idéologie dans laquelle le bon usage des richesses de la part du pouvoir public est lié aux valeurs de la munificence et de la générosité en tant que caractéristiques éminentes de la *basileia* et, dans une moindre mesure, signe d'affirmation de la suprématie sociale des *archontes*, par le biais de l'émulation du comportement impérial. Les empereurs ne doivent pas administrer les finances de façon aveuglément impartiale et égalitaire, mais viser à assurer le maintien des équilibres sociaux, ceux-ci l'emportant sur le développement économique. Les puissants donnent pieusement, les faibles reçoivent en conformité avec la position hiérarchique que Dieu leur a assignée sur la terre. La planification économique et la redistribution des ressources ne doivent pas niveler les hiérarchies cautionnées par la *taxis*, l'ordre céleste de l'univers qui se reflète dans l'articulation de la structure sociale au sein de laquelle chaque individu est appelé à agir en fonction de la position qu'il occupe.

Les églises et les institutions monastiques s'affirment en tant qu'organismes sociaux spéciaux, dont les représentants sont prêts à monter au créneau dès que le gouvernement impérial, comme sous Léon III et sous Nicéphore I[er], oblige tout un chacun à contribuer financièrement à l'entretien de l'appareil public sur une même base. Notre auteur est bien informé, comme nous l'avons vu, au sujet de la diminution de *kommerkion* accordé par Constantin VI à la foire de Saint-Jean-l'Évangéliste à Éphèse. Il analyse la politique de Nicéphore I[er] dans un chapitre dense et bien informé (les dix « vexations », sous l'AM 6302) et il est capable de rapporter avec précision le montant des dons faits par Michel I[er] au patriarche et au clergé de Constantinople au moment de sa proclamation impériale[61], ainsi que les montants dépensés par son fils Théophylacte, toujours au bénéfice du clergé de la capitale, quand il accéda au rang de co-empereur[62]. Il sait également que Michel I[er] et son épouse Procopia vont en pèlerinage au monastère de Taraise, ornant la tombe du saint patriarche avec une couverture qui pesait plus de 310 kilos d'argent[63].

L'auteur de la *Chronographie* semble être en contact avec les milieux monastiques iconodoules actifs dans la capitale et avec leur réseau de propagande en province. Ces

S. Cosentino, Land and military service in the middle Byzantine period : notes on *De cerim.* II, 49, dans *Festschrift für Ralph-Johannes Lilie*, sous presse. Pour une perspective très différente, voir J. F. Haldon, *Recruitment and conscription in the Byzantine army, c. 550-950 : a study on the origins of the stratiotika ktemata* (Sitzungsberichte der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch.-historische Klasse 357), Wien 1979; Id., Military service, military land and the status of soldiers : current problems and interpretations, *DOP* 47, 1993, p. 1-67.

61. Theoph. AM 6304, p. 493.13 : 50 livres d'or au patriarche et 25 livres au clergé.

62. *Ibid.*, p. 494.29-32.

63. *Ibid.*, AM 6305, p. 500.13.

caractéristiques peuvent se rapporter tant à Georges le Syncelle qu'à son ami Théophane. Vue dans une perspective économique, l'œuvre ne fournit donc pas d'éléments susceptibles de trancher le débat sur l'identité de son auteur[64]. Pour ma part, je ne vois aucune raison impérieuse pour refuser le contenu historique de la préface et imaginer que les choses se soient passées différemment de la façon dont elles y sont exposées. Certes, dans le manuscrit utilisé par Anastase (qui, comme nous l'avons vu, est le plus proche de l'archétype), la préface est absente, mais la différence entre le travail de Georges et celui de Théophane est marquée par une note sans équivoque : *abhinc Hisaacius qui et Theophanes*[65]. Or dans son analyse du *Paris. gr.* 1710, F. Ronconi a avancé avec de très bons arguments l'hypothèse que la présence de la préface dans ce manuscrit résulte d'un remaniement de la partie initiale du manuscrit. À l'origine, le codex aurait juxtaposé, sans aucune forme de solution de continuité, les sections de la chronique antérieures et postérieures à Dioclétien. La préface aurait été ajoutée par l'insertion d'un cahier[66]. Si cette hypothèse est correcte, elle me semble renforcer et non réfuter le contenu historique de la préface.

Il est enfin logique de penser que, parmi les moines de Megas Agros (et peut-être aussi dans d'autres milieux monastiques de la Bithynie ou de la capitale), on devait savoir que Théophane avait retravaillé et amélioré le texte qui lui avait été laissé par Georges le Syncelle. Mais puisque ce même Théophane était mort avant d'avoir pu préparer une rédaction finale de l'œuvre, quelqu'un éprouva, pendant la première phase de la transmission de ce long récit historique courant d'Adam à Michel I[er], le besoin de clarifier ce qui s'était passé : d'où la naissance de la préface. Si tel était bien le cas, je ne pense pas qu'il y ait eu une tentative délibérée de manipulation, mais, bien au contraire, une tentative pour transmettre la mémoire de la genèse du texte à travers son contenu le plus authentique. Les caractéristiques du modèle d'Anastase, les similitudes entre ce manuscrit perdu et le *Parisinus* (interpolations, absence de tableaux généalogiques et chronologiques), la possible insertion tardive en ce dernier de la préface, tout ce complexe d'indices suggère de placer ces deux témoins de la *Chronographie* dans un milieu culturel très proche de celui dans lequel Théophane avait travaillé; et il est peut-être

64. Voir l'article célèbre de Mango, Who wrote the Chronicle, selon qui la *Chronographie* fut écrite presque entièrement par Georges le Syncelle, Théophane agissant en simple copiste et éditeur. *Contra* И. С. Чичуров, Феофан Исповедник–публикатор, редактор, автор?, *VV* 42, 1981, p. 78-87, suivi par Я. Н. Любарский, Феофан Исповедник и источники его «Хронографии», *VV* 45, 1984, p. 72-87, part. p. 86; I. Ševčenko, The search for the past in Byzantium around the year 800, *DOP* 46, 1992, p. 279-293, ici p. 287, soulignant les différences stylistiques entre Georges et Théophane; Rochow, *Byzanz im 8. Jh.*, p. 40; R. Maisano, Il « sistema compositivo » della Cronaca di Teofane, dans *Σύνδεσμος : studi in onore di Rosario Anastasi*, Catania 1994, vol. 2, p. 275-287; Y. N. Ljubarskij, Concerning the literary technique of Theophanes the Confessor, *BSl.* 56, 1995, p. 317-322. A. Kazhdan, The monastic world chronicle : Theophanes the Confessor, dans Id., *A history of Byzantine litarature (650-850)*, in collab. with L. F. Sherry and C. Angelidi, Athens 1999, p. 205-234, ici p. 217 s., demeura aussi sceptique. Voir aussi Yannopoulos, Les vicissitudes historiques (cité n. 27), p. 529 s.; Howard-Johnston, *Witnesses*, p. 274. Une position particulière a été prise par P. Speck, Der « zweite » Theophanes : eine These zur *Chronographie* des Theophanes, dans *Varia*. 5 (Ποικίλα βυζαντινά 13), Bonn 1994, p. 433-483, qui croit que l'auteur de la *Chronographie* ne fut le Théophane mort en 818, mais un homonyme actif dans les années 80 du IX[e] siècle. Cf. dernièrement Yannopoulos, *Théophane de Sigriani* (cité n. 1), p. 237-246.

65. Anast., p. 77.

66. Voir Ronconi, La première circulation (cité n. 30).

plus convaincant d'identifier ce milieu avec le monastère de Megas Agros lui-même, ou d'autres monastères de la Bithynie, plutôt qu'avec le *scriptorium* de Saint-Jean de Stoudios[67].

Tableau 1 – Les finances publiques.

N° de citation	AM	Ère chrétienne	Régeste
1	5942	449/450	Théodose II envoie une ambassade à Attila lui promettant 6 000 livres (432 000 *nomismata*) s'il se retire des territoires occupés (Ratiaria, Naissos, Plovdiv, Arcadiopolis, Constantia). Il lui offre également un tribut annuel de 1 000 livres (72 000 *nomismata*) pour qu'Attila reste en paix avec l'Empire.
2	5943	450/451	Rêve prémonitoire des frères Julius et Tatianus sur le destin impérial de Marcien. Ce dernier leur promet qu'il les fera sénateurs, si le rêve se réalise. Puis les deux frères lui donnent 200 *nomismata* et l'envoient à Constantinople.
3	5961	468/469	Léon I[er] envoie une flotte puissante (100 000 bateaux) pour reconquérir l'Afrique vandale. On dit qu'il aurait dépensé 130 000 livres d'or (= 7 920 000 *nomismata*) dans cette expédition.
4	5998	505/506	Pendant les négociations de paix entre Celer et les Perses, 3 *talanta* sont offerts pour la libération de Basile d'Édesse, détenu en otage.
5	6002	509/510	200 moines monophysites vont à Constantinople avec Sévère d'Antioche; Jean, évêque d'Alexandrie, offre 2 000 livres (144 000 *nomismata*) à Anastase s'il répudie les décisions du concile de Chalcédoine.
6	6005	512/513	Un certain Anastase promet à l'empereur Anastase de convaincre Jean, évêque de Jérusalem, d'entrer en communion avec Sévère d'Antioche; en cas d'échec, il s'engage à donner à l'empereur 300 livres d'or (= 21 600 *nomismata*).
7	6007	514/515	Vitalien, *magister militum*, vend pour insulter l'empereur Anastase chaque soldat fait prisonnier pour le prix d'1 *follis*.
8	6011	518/519	Lorsque Paul, *xenodochos*, remplace Sévère en tant que patriarche d'Antioche, l'empereur Justin fait un don de 1 000 livres (72 000 *nomismata*) à la ville.
9	6017	524/525	Apparaît dans l'Empire une femme grande comme un géant, qui dépassait tout homme d'un « cubite »; à chaque ville qu'elle visite, elle reçoit 1 *follis*.
10	6018	525/526	Un incendie détruit Antioche; suite à la médiation du patriarche Euphraïos, l'empereur accorde 2 *kentenaria* (= 14 400 *nomismata*) à la ville.
11	6019	526/527	Tremblement de terre dévastateur à Antioche : l'empereur envoie le *comes* Carinus avec 5 *kentenaria* d'or (36 000 *nomismata*) pour déblayer les décombres.

67. Un rôle des stoudites dans la première phase de circulation de la *Chronographie* a été supposé par Φουσκας, Ο χρονογράφος (cité n. 33), p. 183-186; Yannopoulos, *Théophane de Sigriani* (cité n. 1), p. 283-286.

N° de citation	AM	Ère chrétienne	Régeste
12	6021	528/529	Khusraw aspire à conquérir Jérusalem, une ville pleine d'innombrables *kentenaria* d'or et de pierres précieuses.
13	6021	528/529	L'exploitation des mines d'or de l'Arménie donnait un *talanton* de taxes aux Romains et aux Perses.
14	6031	538/539	Constantin, peut-être *magister militum*, a été capturé sur le champ de bataille par les Bulgares; sa rançon est payée d'une somme de 1 000 *nomismata*.
15	6057	564/565	Décès du *patricius* Bélisaire, ses propriétés sont acquises par la *domus* de Marina.
16	6060	567/568	L'augusta Sophia ordonne aux banquiers *(argyropratai)* et aux changeurs d'argent *(sêmadarioi)* de restituer aux débiteurs de Constantinople tous leurs titres de créance.
17	6064	571/572	L'empereur romain versait habituellement 500 livres d'or (= 36 000 *nomismata*) au roi de Perse, afin que les soldats de ce dernier établissent des garnisons dans les fortifications du Caucase pour contrer les incursions des populations ennemies; Justin II refuse de payer le tribut, provoquant une guerre entre les deux Empires.
18	6075	582/583	Après la prise de Sirmium (Sremska Mitrovica), les Avars demandent à l'empereur Maurice de porter de 80 000 à 100 000 *nomismata* le tribut, ce que l'empereur accepte. En conséquence, leur khagan demande 1 éléphant et 1 lit d'or, ainsi qu'une nouvelle augmentation du tribut de 20 000 *nomismata*. Maurice rejette cette demande provoquant l'attaque des Avars et la destruction de Singidunum (Belgrade).
19	6080	587/588	Le général perse Baram défait les Turcs en Souania (région méridionale du Caucase) et exige d'eux un tribut de 40 000 pièces d'or.
20	6092	599/600	Le khagan des Avars marche contre Constantinople, quand une épidémie de peste décime son armée; Maurice lui demande de libérer ses prisonniers, mais le khagan demande en échange 1 *nomisma* par tête, puis ½ *nomisma* et, enfin, 4 *keratia*; l'empereur rejette ces conditions et, en représailles, le khagan fait tuer tous les prisonniers byzantins et exige une augmentation du tribut de 50 000 pièces d'or.
21	6098	605/606	Le *patrikios* Germanos offre un *talanton* au chef du parti des Verts afin qu'il puisse compter sur leur aide.
22	6126	633/634	Après la défaite du Yarmuk, Cyrus, patriarche d'Alexandrie, conclut des accords avec les musulmans, leur promettant de payer 200 000 deniers (= dinars).
23	6128	635/636	Trêve conclue entre Iad et Jean, gouverneur *(epitropos)* de l'Osrhoène, aux termes de laquelle chaque année seront payés 100 000 *nomismata* pour que les Musulmans ne passent pas l'Euphrate.
24	6131	638/639	Oumaros ordonne d'entreprendre un recensement prenant en compte les personnes, les animaux et les cultures dans tous les territoires sous son pouvoir.
25	6150	657/658	La paix est conclue entre les Romains et les Arabes après que Mauias a envoyé une ambassade assurant que les Arabes paieront un tribut de 1 000 *nomismata* par jour, 1 esclave et 1 cheval.

N° de citation	AM	Ère chrétienne	Régeste
26	6152	659/660	Suite à l'apparition de l'hérésie des « Charourgites », Mauias les poursuit, humiliant les hommes de Perse et exaltant ceux de Syrie. Les salaires des Isamites (Syriens) passent à 200 *nomismata*, ceux des anciens Herakites (les Irakiens) sont ramenés à 30 *nomismata*.
27	6169	676/677	Jean Pitzigaudes conclut une paix avec Mauias sur la base d'un paiement par les Arabes de 3 000 livres d'or (216 000 *nomismata*) par an, 50 otages et 50 beaux chevaux.
28	6176	683/684	Abimélek (ʿAbd al-Malik) monte sur le trône dans une situation difficile; il envoie des ambassadeurs à Byzance, demandant que la trêve signée au temps de Mauias soit renouvelée; l'empereur y consent contre paiement de 365 000 *nomismata* annuel, 365 esclaves et 365 chevaux.
29	6178	685/686	Abimélek envoie des émissaires à Justinien II pour ratifier la trêve. Elle comprend les clauses suivantes : 1) le transfert de 12 000 Mardaïtes du Liban vers les terres des Romains, 2) un versement de 1 000 *nomismata* par jour, 1 cheval et 1 esclave, 3) la division en parts égales des revenues de l'Arménie et l'Ibérie.
30	6183	690/691	Rupture de la trêve entre Abimélek et Justinien II. Le *basileus*, en effet, déplace la population de Chypre et refuse d'accepter les pièces d'Abimélek, car il s'agit d'un nouveau type, jamais frappé auparavant. Le calife répond qu'il ne pouvait pas accepter la monnaie avec légende et figuration romaine; puisque l'or était payé au poids, les Romains – affirme-t-il – n'auraient subi aucun tort de la monnaie tout juste frappée.
31	6199	706/707	Oualid interdit que les registres administratifs publics soient tenus en grec.
32	6209	716/717	Les Alains se rendent et acceptent de recevoir 6 000 *nomismata*, ainsi que de libérer le spathaire Léon qu'ils détenaient prisonnier.
33	6211	718/719	Nicétas Xylinitès écrit à Artémios à Thessalonique, l'incitant à se rendre auprès de Tervel dans le but de monter une attaque contre Léon III avec l'aide des Bulgares; Artémios accepte, obtenant une armée, ainsi que 50 *kentenaria* d'or (360 000 *nomismata*), mais Constantinople ne l'accepte pas pour empereur.
34	6224	731/732	Léon III impose une taxe de capitation sur ⅓ des habitants de Sicile; ce que l'on appelle les *patrimonia* des Apôtres – dont le revenu était de 3 ½ talents d'or – et qui depuis les temps anciens étaient versés aux églises, il ordonna qu'ils soient payés au trésor public.
35	6232	739/740	Suite à un violent tremblement de terre, Léon ordonne qu'un impôt additionnel soit levé pour la réparation des murs : 1 *miliaresion* de plus pour chaque *nomisma*.
36	6249	756/757	Abdelas intensifie la taxation des chrétiens; il taxe même les moines, ermites et stylites.
37	6251	758/759	Les Arabes expulsent les chrétiens des charges gouvernementales, mais sont ensuite contraints de leur confier diverses fonctions, car ils sont incapables d'écrire les nombres.

N° de citation	AM	Ère chrétienne	Régeste
38	6256	763/764	Abdelas écarte ʿIsā b. Mūsā de la succession par un stratagème, mais lui donne 100 *talanta* d'or de compensation.
39	6260	767/768	Pour le couronnement de sa troisième femme, Eudoxie, et la proclamation au césarat des fils qu'il a eus d'elle, Constantin se rend en procession vers Sainte-Sophie et distribue des dons sous forme de *tremisses*, *semisses* et *nomismata* tout juste frappés.
40	6274	781/782	Une trêve ayant été établie entre Irène et Aaron, il est prévu de verser le moment venu aux Arabes un tribut (selon al-Tabari, éd. Williams, II, 213, il se serait élevé à 70 000 *nomismata* ou 90 000 dinars par an).
41	6287	794/795	Constantin VI mène une expédition victorieuse contre les musulmans dans une localité appelée Anousan. Il se rend ensuite à Éphèse et, après avoir prié sur la tombe de l'Évangéliste, il fait remise du *kommerkion* de la foire de Saint-Jean-l'Évangéliste, lequel était de 100 l [ce qui signifie que le montant total des transactions de la foire était de 1 000 l, ou 72 000 *nomismata*].
42	6293	800/801	En mars de la IX[e] indiction, Irène ordonne la rémission des impôts dus par les habitants de Byzance et « diminue » le (ou « fait remise » du) *kommerkion* levé à Abydos et à Hiéron.
43	6298	805/806	Nicéphore conclut une paix avec Aaron, après de longues négociations : doivent être versés 30 000 *nomismata* chaque année, ainsi qu'une taxe de 3 *nomismata* pour l'empereur et de 3 *nomismata* pour son fils (al-Tabari parle de 50 000 dinars, 4 [dinars] pour l'empereur et 2 pour son fils).
44	6301	808/809	Alors que l'armée du Strymon recevait sa paye, les Bulgares les attaquent et s'emparent de 1 100 l (= 79 200 *nomismata*).
45	6302	809/810	Nicéphore ordonne que même les pauvres soient enrôlés dans l'armée et armés par leurs voisins, ceux-ci devant 18 ½ *nomismata* au fisc.
46	6302	809/810	Nicéphore envoie les inspecteurs du fisc mettre à jour le cadastre, afin de percevoir les impôts de tous; un paiement de 2 *keratia* par tête est institué pour payer les frais d'enregistrement.
47	6302	809/810	Nicéphore ordonne l'abolition de tout allégement fiscal.
48	6302	809/810	Nicéphore ordonne que les *paroikoi* des institutions caritatives, des *orphanotropheia*, des *xenōnes* et des *gērokomia*, des églises et des monastères impériaux payent *ta kapnika* à partir de la première année de son règne; les grands domaines devront être confiés à la gestion des *kouratoria* impériales, mais leurs *paroikoi* doivent payer leurs taxes.
49	6302	809/810	Nicéphore ordonne aux stratèges de surveiller ceux qui sortent soudainement de la pauvreté, comme s'ils avaient trouvé un trésor.
50	6302	809/810	Nicéphore ordonne que quiconque ait trouvé, dans les vingt dernières années, une jarre ou de la vaisselle précieuse soit privé de leur valeur [ou des monnaies qui y étaient contenues].
51	6302	809/810	Nicéphore ordonne que tous ceux qui dans les vingt dernières années se sont divisés l'héritage d'aïeux ou de leurs parents soient soumis à taxation; il ordonne également que tous ceux qui, hors d'Abydos, ont acheté des *sōmata oiketika* (esclaves domestiques?), spécialement dans le Dodécanèse, payent une taxe de 2 *nomismata* par tête.

N° de citation	AM	Ère chrétienne	Régeste
52	6302	809/810	Nicéphore oblige les *naukleroi* qui vivent le long des côtes, spécialement en Asie Mineure, à acheter certains des domaines confisqués par lui, afin qu'ils soient « évalués » *(hôs an ektimêthôsi)* par lui.
53	6302	809/810	Nicéphore convoque les *naukleroi* les plus éminents de Constantinople et donne à chacun un prêt de 12 l d'or, au taux d'intérêt de 4 *keratia* par *nomisma* en sus de la taxe de douane habituelle à laquelle ils étaient tenus.
54	6303	810/811	Au mois de février de la IV[e] indiction, les Sarrasins surprennent à Euchaïta le stratège des Arméniaques, Léon, avec la paye du thème, dérobant un montant de 13 talents, soit 1 300 l.
55	6303	810/811	Avant de partir de la cité impériale en campagne contre les Bulgares, Nicéphore ordonne d'accroître les taxes des églises et des monastères et de lever 8 ans d'arriérés d'impôt sur les *oikoi* des dignitaires.
56	6303	810/811	Avant d'entrer en Bulgarie, le serviteur favori de Nicéphore, Byzantios, fuit auprès de Kroummos avec le vestiaire impérial et 100 l d'or.
57	6303	810/811	Staurakios, blessé après la bataille contre Kroummos, dit au patriarche Nicéphore – qui l'incitait à se concilier Dieu, en restituant ce que son père avait pris – qu'il lui serait impossible de donner plus de 3 *talanta*, qui n'était qu'une petite partie de ce que Nicéphore avait extorqué.
58	6304	811/812	Lors de sa proclamation, Michel I[er] donne 50 l au patriarche et 25 l au clergé.
59	6304	811/812	Michel I[er] donne 5 *talanta* d'or aux veuves des soldats tués en Bulgarie.
60	6304	811/812	Lors du couronnement de son fils Théophylacte, Michel donne à Ste-Sophie de la vaisselle d'or et 4 tentures d'or et de pourpre de fabrication ancienne, ainsi que 25 l au patriarche et 100 l au clergé.
61	6305	812/813	Émigration des chrétiens de Palestine et de Syrie vers Chypre pour fuir les musulmans ; une partie des émigrés se rend à Constantinople et l'empereur leur fait don d'un important monastère ; à ceux qui restent à Chypre – moines et laïcs – l'empereur donne 1 *talanton*.
62	6305	812/813	Michel I[er] et sa femme Procopia se rendent en pèlerinage au monastère de Taraise et après le service commémoratif, ils couvrent sa tombe d'un revêtement d'argent pesant 95 l.

Tableau 2 – L'armée.

N° de citation	AM	Ère chrétienne	Régeste
1	5985	492/493	Anastase expulse les Isauriens de Constantinople. L'ex *mag. mil* Longinus recrute une force de 150 000 hommes.
2	6005	512/513	Le *mag. mil.* Vitalianus se rebelle : il tue 65 000 hommes envoyés contre lui.
3	6020	527/528	Tzitas nommé *mag. mil. per Armeniam* avec 4 *numeri*.



N° de citation	AM	Ère chrétienne	Régeste
4	6020	527/528	Une femme appelée Borex (Bo rex) mène une force de 100 000 Huns Sabirs, gouvernant leur territoire après la mort de son mari, Balach. Elle défait Styrax et Glones qui, commandant 20 000 hommes, s'étaient alliés avec Kavad.
5	6024	531/532	Durant la sédition Nika, Mundus dispose d'une force de 3 000 hommes pour protéger le Palais ; 35 000 sont déployés dans la répression de la révolte.
6	6026	533/534	• Bélisaire mène une expédition contre les Vandales : 500 navires, 30 000 marins, 90 dromons. • Solomon tue successivement 10 000 et 50 000 Maures.
7	6074	581/582	Tibère II forme une nouvelle unité militaire de 15 000 hommes à laquelle il donne son nom.
8	6079	586/587	Komentiolos divise l'armée à Anchialos : 40 000 (non-effectifs) sont affectés à la protection de la cité ; des troupes d'élite (6 000 hommes), sont divisées entre Castus (2 000), Martinus (2 000) et Komentiolos lui-même (2 000).
9	6093	600/601	Priscus engage le combat contre les Avars aux environs de Viminacium : 300 Romains sont tués contre 4 000 barbares. Le second jour, meurent 8 000 barbares. Successivement, d'autres batailles sont livrées contre le khagan, au cours desquelles Priscus, avec 4 000 hommes, parvient à anéantir 30 000 Gépides et 5 000 autres barbares.
10	6117	624/625	Nouvelle levée orchestrée par Khusraw et placée sous les ordres de Sain ; s'y ajoutent 50 000 hommes d'élite du contingent de Sarbaros.
11	6117	624/625	Les Khazars s'allient à Héraclius ; leur commandant, Ziebel, mène un contingent de 40 000 hommes.
12	6118	625/626	Khusraw envoie 3 000 hommes en renfort à l'armée de Razates.
13	6118	625/626	Les Perses dans leur ultime résistance désespérée alignent 200 éléphants.
14	6125	632/633	Héraclius abandonne la Syrie et envoie Baanès et Théodoros de Damas à Émèse, à la tête de 40 000 hommes.
15	6126	633/634	40 000 morts dans l'armée impériale lors de la bataille du Yarmuk.
16	6140	647/648	Mauias envahit Chypre avec 1 700 navires et dévaste l'île.
17	6159	666/667	Phadalas et Izid conquièrent Amorion, y laissant une garnison de 5 000 hommes ; la cité est reconquise par le cubiculaire André qui tue tous les Arabes.
18	6165	672/673	Souphian (Sufyān b. 'Awf) engage la bataille contre une armée romaine commandée par Phloros, Pétronas et Cyprianos : 30 000 musulmans sont tués.
19	6196	703/704	Azidos (Yazid b. Hunain) mène une expédition contre la Cilicie, assiégeant la forteresse de Sision ; le frère de l'empereur, Héraclius, s'abat sur lui et tue 12 000 Arabes sur le champ de bataille.
20	6203	710/711	La flotte envoyée punir les habitants de Cherson coule à son retour : 73 000 morts.

N° de citation	AM	Ère chrétienne	Régeste
21	6203	710/711	Justinien II envoie contre le spathaire Elias et Bardanès, Georges le Syrien, logothète du *génikon*, le préfet Jean et Christophore, tourmarque des Thracésiens, avec 300 hommes.
22	6208	715/716	Léon, stratège des Anatoliques, rencontre Souleiman et Bakcharos avec 300 cavaliers aux environs d'Amorion ; on apprend ensuite que se trouvaient à Amorion 1 000 soldats.
23	6209	716/717	La flotte musulmane arrive à proximité de Constantinople avec 1 800 navires, navires de transport, transports de troupes et navires de guerre mêlés.
24	6209	716/717	Renforts de l'Égypte : la première expédition compte 400 navires avec du grain et des dromons ; la seconde rassemble 360 navires de transport.
25	6209	716/717	Déroute des Arabes : les Bulgares les assaillent et en massacrent 22 000.
26	6209	716/717	Une armée de Romains et d'Arméniens envahit la Lazique et assiègent Archaiopolis, mais à la nouvelle de l'arrivée des Sarrasins se retire ; de cette armée, 200 hommes se détachent et saccagent la région d'Apsilie et le Caucase.
27	6209	716/717	Marinus, commandant des Apsiliens, sachant que le fort de Sideron est assiégé, propose à un spathaire (le futur Léon III) de l'accompagner avec 300 hommes en territoire romain.
28	6218	725/726	Les Sarrasins attaquent Nicée de Bithynie : Amer, avec 15 000 hommes, occupe la région autour de la cité ; Mauias suit avec 85 000 hommes supplémentaires – ils ne parviennent pas à conquérir la cité.
29	6231	738/739	Souleiman envahit le territoire romain avec 90 000 hommes (d'abord Gamer, avec 10 000 troupes de reconnaissance ; puis Batal, avec 20 000 cavaliers dans la région d'Akroinos ; puis Souleiman lui-même, avec 60 000 hommes).
30	6235	742/743	Guerre civile entre Izid et Marouam ; Izid meurt et lui succède son frère Abraim à Damas ; confrontation entre Marouam et Souleiman, au cours de laquelle ce dernier est vaincu, laissant 20 000 hommes sur le champ de bataille.
31	6236	743/744	Rébellion contre Marouam, lequel capture les insurgés et en tue 12 000 ; à Émèse, il empale 120 *Chalbenoi*.
32	6237	744/745	Souleiman rassemble une autre armée et affronte à nouveau Marouam : il est vaincu et perd 7 000 hommes.
33	6238	745/746	Le stratège des Cibyrrhéotes attaque la flotte musulmane dans la baie de Keramaia (Chypre) : on dit que sur 1 000 dromons musulmans, seuls 3 auraient échappé au désastre.
34	6240	747/748	Chiffres relatifs aux affrontements dans le califat : Aboumouslim capture 100 000 *Kaisinoi* ; puis, il fait mouvement contre Bissoubeira (Ibn Hubaira), lequel dispose de 200 000 hommes, et le défait ; finalement, il l'emporte sur Marouam qui disposait de [illegible] soldats.

N° de citation	AM	Ère chrétienne	Régeste
35	6246	753/754	Aboumouslim arrive avec 100 000 cavaliers et affronte Abdelas : ce dernier prend le dessus et le tue de ses propres mains.
36	6248	755/756	Salim (Sâlih b. 'Alî) envahit le territoire romain avec 80 000 hommes et parvient jusqu'en Cappadoce.
37	6251	758/759	Les Arabes envahissent le territoire, tuent le stratège Paul et capturent 42 personnages importants.
38	6254	761/762	Les Bulgares tuent leurs chefs héréditaires et élisent Teletz ; Constantin V entreprend une expédition contre lui : 800 *chelandia*, chacune avec 12 chevaux ; Teletz recrute 20 000 hommes ; bataille près d'Anchialos qui voit la victoire des Romains.
39	6255	762/763	Abdelas envoie une armée contre les deux chefs qui commandent les habitants du désert de Basrathon ; ceux-ci sont tués avec 80 000 personnes.
40	6257	764/765	Constantin IV entame une expédition contre les Bulgares : il envoie à Anchialos 2 600 *chelandia* armés avec des troupes de tous les *themata*.
41	6261	768/769	Abdelas assiège Kamachon avec 80 000 hommes, sans succès.
42	6264	771/772	Abdelas envoie Moualabitos en Afrique ; Al-Fadl b. Dinār envahit le territoire romain et fait 500 prisonniers, mais les habitants de Mopsueste livrent bataille et tuent 1 000 Arabes.
43	6265	772/773	Constantin V envoie contre les Bulgares 2 000 *chelandia*, mais conclut ensuite avec eux des accords de paix ; peu après, il rompt la trêve et avec une armée de 80 000 hommes obtient une grande victoire.
44	6266	773/774	Constantin V arme une grande flotte sur laquelle embarquent 12 000 cavaliers ; lorsqu'elle rejoint Mesembria, cette flotte est frappée par une tempête et l'expédition échoue.
45	6270	777/778	Léon IV envoie en Syrie une armée de 100 000 hommes ; on dit que 2 000 Arabes furent tués.
46	6271	778/779	Une grande armée musulmane envahit l'Anatolie et avance jusqu'à Dorylée ; Léon IV donne l'ordre de ne pas l'affronter, mais qu'elle soit suivie de contingents de 3 000 hommes pour éviter que les forces ennemies ne razzient le territoire.
47	6272	779/789	Aaron envahit le *thema* des Arméniaques et assiège le fort de Semalous (Cemele, entre Césarée et Ancyre) ; auparavant, il avait envoyé une armée de 50 000 hommes en Asie.
48	6274	781/782	Les Arabes envahissent l'Anatolie et arrivent jusqu'à Chrysopolis ; une armée de 30 000 hommes affronte à Darenos les forces de Lachanodrakon, commandant du *thema* des Thracésiens ; les Arabes tuent 15 000 Romains.
49	6289	796/797	Constantin VI part en campagne contre les Arabes, accompagné du *patrikios* Staurakios et de 20 000 cavaliers.

N° de citation	AM	Ère chrétienne	Régeste
50	6298	805/806	Aaron mène une grande expédition contre le territoire romain, composée de Mourophoroi, de Syriens, de Palestiniens, de Libyens, pour un total de 300 000 hommes; il conquiert Tyane, puis envoie une force de 60 000 hommes jusqu'à Ancyre.
51	6301	809/809	Kroummos conquiert Sardique et tue 6 000 soldats romains.
52	6304	811/812	Thebith (Thabit b. Nasr) mène une incursion contre les chrétiens; il affronte Léon, stratège des Anatoliques, et le vainc, tuant 2 000 hommes.

Tableau 3 – La population.

N° de citation	AM	Ère chrétienne	Régeste
1	5817	324/325	Persécution contre les chrétiens en Perse, provoquée par les accusations des juifs et des Perses : 18 000 sont torturés.
2	6021	528/529	Un fort séisme à Antioche provoque 4 870 morts.
3	6025	532/533	Théodora fait un séjour aux thermes de Pythia (Yalova), accompagnée du *patricius* Ménas (préfet), du *patricius* Helias, comte des *largitiones* et d'autres *patricii* et *cubicularii*, pour un total de 4 000 personnes.
4	6106	613/614	Les Perses conquièrent la Palestine, la Jordanie et Jérusalem, tuant – selon certains – 90 000 personnes.
5	6130	637/638	Iad traverse l'Euphrate et conquiert Édesse; puis, il conquiert Constantina (Tella, mod. Viranşehir) tuant 300 hommes.
6	6133	640/641	Mauias conquiert Caesarea en Palestine, après 7 ans de siège : 7 000 Romains sont tués.
7	6142	649/650	Les Arabes envahissent l'Isaurie et reviennent dans leurs terres avec 5 000 prisonniers.
8	6156	663/664	Abderacham, fils de Chaled, envahit l'Empire des Romains, dévastant de nombreux territoires; les Sklavènes s'unissent à lui, au nombre de 5 000. Ils sont installés dans le village de Séleukobolos, dans la région d'Apamée.
9	6161	668/669	Les Sarrasins envahissent l'Afrique, y faisant – dit-on – 80 000 prisonniers.
10	6178	685/686	Paix entre Justinien II et Abimélek : les accords prévoient, entre autres choses, le transfert de 12 000 Mardaïtes en territoire impérial.
11	6184	691/692	Justinien II recrute 30 000 hommes parmi les Slaves et les installe dans l'Empire des Romains; mais 20 000 d'entre eux, par la suite, passeront dans le camp musulman.
12	6192	699/700	Les Romains envahissent la Syrie, arrivant jusqu'à Samosate; on dit qu'ils tuèrent 200 000 Arabes.
13	6237	744/775	Constantin V envahit la Syrie et la Doulichia, conquiert Germanicée et en transfère la population en Thrace.
14	6242	749/750	Les habitants de Chalkis se rebellent contre les *Maurophoroi* et 4 000 d'entre eux sont tués dans le territoire d'Émèse.

N° de citation	AM	Ère chrétienne	Régeste
15	6247	754/755	Constantin V transfère en Thrace les Syriens et les Arméniens qu'il avait faits prisonniers à Théodosiopolis (Erzurum) et Mélitène; il diffuse ainsi dans l'Empire l'hérésie des Pauliciens.
16	6302	809/810	Nicéphore Ier ordonne à tous les chrétiens de s'installer dans les *Sklaviniai*, après avoir vendu leurs propriétés (*hypostaseis*).
17	6305	812/813	Émigration des chrétiens de Palestine et de Syrie à Chypre, pour fuir les Arabes; certains d'entre eux atteignent Constantinople.

Tableau 4 – Les subsistances et l'artisanat.

N° de citation	AM	Ère chrétienne	Régeste
1	5824	331/332	Grande famine dans tout l'Orient; 1 *modius* de grain en vient à coûter 400 pièces d'argent; l'Église d'Antioche reçoit 36 000 *modii* de grain de Constantin.
2	5849	356/357	Constance II, en colère pour l'assassinat du *mag. mil.* Hermogène par les habitants de Constantinople, diminue les rations de pains distribuées à la cité, les réduisant de 80 000 (concédées par Constantin) à 40 000.
3	5855	362/363	Julien ordonne que soit reconstruite une synagogue, confiant cette tâche à un païen du nom d'Alypios; durant les travaux, toutefois, un violent ouragan détruit 200 000 *modii* de mortier déjà préparé.
4	6038	545/546	Une pénurie de vin et de grain, accompagnée d'un grand séisme, frappe Constantinople; il y eut une erreur dans le calcul de Pâques, en raison duquel les gens s'abstinrent de manger de la viande dès le 4 février, mais l'empereur ordonna aux bouchers de continuer à en vendre durant encore une semaine. Les bouchers, en conséquence, tuèrent des animaux et en mirent en vente la chair que personne n'acheta.
5	6113	620/621	L'empereur Héraclius, le 4 avril de la Xe indiction, se mit en marche à travers la Perse. Pauvre en ressources, il prit en prêt les fonds des églises, ainsi que les *candelabra* et la vaisselle liturgique de Ste-Sophie; de cette façon, il frappa une grande quantité de monnaies d'or et d'argent.
6	6118	625/626	Les Romains vainquirent les troupes de Razates et celui-ci fut tué durant la bataille; sur le champ de bataille, on trouva de nombreuses épées d'or et des ceintures ornées de perles. On récupéra aussi le bouclier de Razates, qui était entièrement en or et comptait 120 *laminae*, de même que sa cuirasse, elle aussi d'or.
7	6118	625/626	Le palais de Dastagerd livre un grand butin : 300 étendards de l'armée romaine; de grandes quantités d'aloès, de grands morceaux de bois d'aloès, chacun d'un bois de 70 ou 80 livres, de la soie (grège), du poivre, du lin, du sucre, du gingembre, de l'argent, des vêtements de soie, des tapis de laine; enfin, on y trouve également une grande quantité d'animaux sauvages (voir la source).

Nº de citation	AM	Ère chrétienne	Régeste
8	6145	652/653	Mauias conquiert Rhodes et abat le Colosse après 1 360 ans; celui-ci fut acheté par un marchand juif d'Édesse, qui chargea le bronze récupéré sur la statue sur 900 chameaux.
9	6209	716/717	Léon, le futur empereur, pour se réconcilier avec Justinien II, lui fait don de 500 moutons lorsqu'il le rencontre; l'empereur le fait alors *spatharios*.
10	6209	716/717	Les Arabes assiègent Constantinople : 400 navires chargés de grain arrivent, accompagnés par des dromons; un second convoi de 360 navires de transport les rejoint.
11	6235	742/743	Famine à Constantinople durant le siège de la cité mené par Constantin V contre Artavasde : 1 *modios* d'orge coûte 12 *nomismata*; 1 *modios* de légumes, 19 *nomismata*; 1 *modios* de millet, 8 *nomismata*; 1 pinte de vin, 1 *semissis*; pour l'huile, 5 mesures valent 1 *nomisma*.
12	6258	765/766	Constantin V veut restaurer l'aqueduc de Valens; il fait venir dans la ville les artisans suivants : 1 000 maçons et 200 plâtriers d'Asie et du Pont; 500 céramistes de Grèce et des îles; 5 000 travailleurs de Thrace et 200 briquetiers.
13	6259	766/767	Constantin rend bon marché les denrées et, tel un nouveau roi Midas, accumule l'or et dépouille les paysans, lesquels en raison des levées fiscales continuelles étaient forcés de vendre leur production à vil prix.
14	6302	809/810	Nicéphore demande à un marchand de chandelles du forum de Constantinople d'avouer combien d'or il possède; celui-ci répond 100 livres. Alors l'empereur lui répond qu'il ne doit pas prendre sur lui une telle préoccupation et l'invite à ramener chez lui dix livres.

AGAPIUS, THEOPHILUS AND MUSLIM SOURCES

by Robert G. Hoyland

For two centuries Byzantinists have known and written about an "eastern source" that was used by the three Christian chroniclers Theophanes the Confessor (d. 818), Dionysius of Tellmahre (d. 845) and Agapius of Menbij (wr. 940s) for some of their information on events in the realm of the Muslim caliphate.[1] In recent times this "eastern source" has come to be identified with the historical work of Theophilus of Edessa (d. 785), who served as an astrologer in the court of the caliphs al-Manṣūr (754–75) and al-Mahdi (775–85). Dionysius and Agapius actually cite him as a source for their own compositions and so it looks like an open and shut case. I have contributed to that idea by giving to my translation of the common material found in the three aforementioned chroniclers the title of "Theophilus of Edessa's Chronicle".[2] However, my intention in making this material available was not to say that the question is now solved and that we can reconstruct the "original" text of Theophilus' chronicle, but rather to highlight the complexity of the transmission of this shared body of historical information and to provide an aide to further investigation of its nature and scope.

It is evident that there is a common "eastern source" underlying the chroniclers of Theophanes, Dionysius and Agapius, and to my mind still the best contender for its author is Theophilus. Yet it is equally clear that each of them substantially reworked it—abbreviating, expanding, refashioning and supplementing it—and so it is very difficult to determine its exact content. Many aspects of its format are also unclear. What language was it in—Syriac or Greek? Did it principally treat secular events or also church affairs? Why are its contents so diverse: short notes about natural phenomena and long anecdotes about political and military machinations, pro-Byzantine propaganda and insider insights on the third Arab civil war. It has been asserted that it possessed a detailed chronology,[3]

1. For references and further discussion of the issues raised in this paragraph see the introduction to my *Theophilus*, pp. 1–38.

2. I would have called it something along the lines of "A translation of notices common to the chroniclers Theophanes, Dionysius and Agapius," but that would not have appealed to the marketers of the book.

3. J. Howard-Johnston, The Mardaites, in *Arab-Byzantine coins and history*, ed. by T. Goodwin, London 2012, pp. 27–38, here at pp. 28–9; M. Jankowiak, The first Arab siege of Constantinople,

Studies in Theophanes, ed. by M. Jankowiak & F. Montinaro (Travaux et mémoires 19), Paris 2015, pp. 355–64.

and yet the three later dependent chroniclers tend to employ their own dating systems and their dates often do not tally.[4] Given these uncertainties Muriel Debié and Maria Conterno are right to urge caution and to insist on a more circumspect approach towards the "eastern source" until there has more careful investigation of its contents and transmission.[5]

I have said most of what I want to say on this subject in the introduction to my aforementioned book, but I still have some unfinished business in connection with Agapius that I would like to conclude here. Firstly, the Florence manuscript (Biblioteca Laurenziana, Orientali 323) that is the unique witness to the Islamic period of Agapius' chronicle has been restored since 1912, when Alexander Vasiliev and Louis Cheikho used it to produce their editions. Folios that were stuck together because of humidity, and so "could not be transcribed nor photographed" and were "illegible," can now be read once more with relative ease.[6] This particularly concerns folios 98ᵛ–100ᵛ and 104ʳ–106ᵛ, which deal with the reigns of Mu'āwiya I (661–80) and 'Abd al-Malik (685–705) respectively. I edited and translated these folios in an appendix to my book on Theophilus, but there are other places in the manuscript where water damage, though less extensive, obliged Cheikho and Vasiliev to omit sentences and which can now be reinstated from the restored manuscript. This is particularly the case for folios 97ʳ–98ᵛ, which treat the first six years of Mu'āwiya's caliphate, and so I edit and translate them below. Another reason for singling out this section is that it serves to illustrate an important point about Agapius, namely that the "eastern source"/Theophilus is by no means his sole informant. In these folios in particular, but also at other points in his narrative, he makes heavy use of one or more Muslim sources, presumably because Theophilus had little to offer at these points. We cannot precisely identify this Muslim material, for though almost every notice has a counterpart in a Muslim source (and often close correspondence in

TM 17, 2013, pp. 237–320, whose table on p. 261 illustrates nicely that Theophanes, Dionysius and Agapius mostly use their own dating systems (Theophanes principally uses the Annus Mundi, Dionysius Seleucid years, and Agapius Hijri dates and regnal years of caliphs), even where their dates tally. It is worth pointing out that Marek Jankowiak's masterly study on the siege of Constantinople ca. 670 was only required because the dating of it in Theophanes, Dionysius and Agapius was so awry.

4. This problem is ignored by Howard-Johnston, Mardaites (quoted n. 3), and Jankowiak, Siege (quoted n. 3). Howard-Johnston presents Theophilus as faced with the choice of using either an "annalistic format" or a "sloppy dating system," but of course there were other options available to him (I have suggested elsewhere—*Seeing Islam as others saw it*, Princeton 1997, pp. 406–7—that Theophilus may have wanted to write a secular classicising history, like his contemporary Nicephorus, and this genre did not use an annalistic format). As for Howard-Johnston's point that it is hard to explain why Dionysius would have used Theophilus' history if it was not annalistic, it is well known that historical works are few for the period 630–750, so it may have been a case of faute de mieux (Dionysius does explicitly accuse Theophilus, among others, of chronological inexactness).

5. See their contributions in this volume and M. Conterno's recent book *La "descrizioni dei tempi" all'alba dell'espansione islamica : un'indagine sulla storiografia greca, siriaca e araba fra VII e VIII secolo*, Berlin 2014.

6. Agapius Episcopus Mabbugensis, *Historia universalis*, ed. L. Cheikho (CSCO. Scriptores Arabici. Ser. 3, 5), Paris 1912, pp. 350 and 355; *Kitab al-'Unvan, histoire universelle écrite par Agapius (Mahboub) de Menbidj*, éd. et trad. par A. Vasiliev (PO 7), Paris 1911, p. 458. The same lacunae also feature in the abbreviated version produced by 'Umar 'Abd al-Salām al-Tadmurī (*Al-muntakhab min Ta'rīkh al-Manbijī*, Tarablus 1986), since he is relying on Cheikho's edition.

wording), it does not conform as a whole to any one of our extant texts. All we can say with some confidence is that its focus and stance suggest that it is of Syrian provenance and exhibits some pro-Umayyad tendencies.[7]

Secondly, a close comparison of Agapius (A) and Theophanes (T) reveals that there are many occasions when they share information that is not in Dionysius (D). In the extract I edit below this is true of the reports about Mu'āwiya's favourable treatment of the westerners over the easterners and the raids of Busr ibn Arṭāt and 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Khālid, including the latter's settlement of Slavs in the region of Apamaea. There are also many times across the period 630–750 when Theophanes and Agapius differ in details from Dionysius:

- Capture of Arwad: T and A start by saying that on hearing of Roman forces moving against him Mu'āwiya sails to Arwad to besiege it (Hoyland, *Theophilus*, pp. 134–5).
- Battle of Phoenix: T and A say that relatives of a trumpeter[8] destroy Arab ships (not in D) and that the sea was dyed with blood whereas D speaks of dense spray (*ibid.*, pp. 141–4).
- Constantine V and Artabasdus send envoys to the caliph Walīd II in Damascus: in T and A, but not in D (*ibid.*, pp. 239–40).
- Yazīd III is called Deficient by T (*ho leipsos*) and A (*al-nāqiṣ*), but tyrant by D (*ibid.*, pp. 245, 248–29).
- 'Umar II writes a letter to Leo III on religion: in T and A, but not in D (*ibid.*, p. 216).

What is significant here is not so much that Dionysius differs on all of these points, but that Theophanes and Agapius agree on all of them. It may be that this shared material comes from Theophilus' chronicle and Dionysius chose to omit it or to go his own way, or it may be that Theophanes and Agapius used a different version of Theophilus to Dionysius, or even that they both had access to a minor additional source not available to Dionysius. As with so much else to do with these crucial Christian chroniclers, further study will be required before a solution can be proffered.

7. Consider, for example, the notice about 'Abd al-Malik commanding a raid when he was only sixteen years old (see note 31 below), which is not found in any extant Muslim source. However, there is implied criticism of Mu'āwiya in the notices about his use of a *minbar* and his dealings with the family of 'Alī.

8. Theophanes has "two Christ-loving brothers, sons of the trumpeter," whereas Agapius has "two brothers of a man called the trumpeter." It looks like Agapius has conflated "Christ-loving brothers, sons" into just "brothers."

Edition of Agapius, MS Laurenziana, Orientali 323, fol. 97r-98v[9]

(97r)[10] بويع الحسن بن علي في سنة احدى واربعين للعرب. سار معوية <الى> العراق وخرج اليه الحسن بن علي فالتقيا بمسكن من ارض السواد ناحية الأنبار واصطلحا بكتاب وشروط وشهود. ودخل معوية الكوفة وخطب بها وبايعه الناس. واستخلف على الكوفة ورجع الى الشام. وأقر معوية فضالة بن عبيد على قضايه. ورجع الحسن بن علي الى المدينة فقيل له ما فعلت. فقال كرهت الدمار. رايت اهل الكوفة قوما لا يثق بهم أحد. وقد لقي أبي منهم أمورا وما انتفع بهم في شيء ولا يصلحون لشيء. وحج بالناس عتبة بن ابي سفيان. فلما استوثق الملك (97v) معوية وتقلد من يثرب الى دمشق واستولى على الدنيا كلها بعد ان كان عاملا عشرين سنة وذلك في سنة اثنين وسبعين وتسع مائة لذي القرنين واحدى واربعين للعرب وتسع عشرة سنة لقسطوس ملك الروم. وظهرت الحرورية وعمار من رأي ساير المسلمين وان من خالفهم على ضلالة وانهم احق بالملك من غيرهم. ولما استولى الملك لمعوية قدم على اهل المشرق أهل المغرب لطاعة أهل المغرب له ومناصبة اولئك كانبا له.

وفي السنة الثامنة كانت غزوة اللان من ارمينية. وفيها هزمت الروم هزيمة عظيمة وكان صاحب الغزو بسر بن ارطاة فقتل عدة من البطارقة وسبا (sic) واستباح المسلمين من دار الروم وهي أول سبية سبوها. واستعمل معوية على ال<شاتية> عبد الملك بن مروان وهو يوميذ ابن ست عشرة سنة. فركب عبد الملك البحر وامر معه علي جميع الناس عبد الرحمن بن خالد بن الوليد ويقال بسر بن أرطاة. وفيها ولي مروان بن الحكم المدينة وجعل على القضا عبد الله بن نوفل بن الحارث بن عبد المطلب. وفيها سار بسر بن أرطاة الى المدينة ومكة واليمن. (98r) وقتل عبد الرحمن وقثم ابني عبد الله بن العباس بن عبد المطلب. وفيها قتل ابو ليلا (sic) الخارجي بسواد الكوفة. وفيها حج عتبة بن أبي سفيان بالناس.

وفي السنة الثالثة لمعوية كانت غزوة بسر بن ارطاة الروم دفعة ثانية وسبا بها وهزمت الروم وبلغوا قسطنطينية. وفيها كتب معوية الى مروان بن الحكم بان يستعد الحج بالناس فحضر الموسم وقام به. وفيها مات عمرو بن العاص بمصر يوم الفطر وكان قد عمل على مصر في خلافة عمر بن الخطاب اربع سنين وفي خلافة عثمن ثلث سنين وعشرة اشهر وفي خلافة معوية سنتين ونصف. فولى معوية ابنه عبد الله بن عمرو بن العاص مكانه سنتين.

وفي السنة الرابعة لمعوية سبا عبد الرحمن بن خالد بن الوليد بارض الروم وبلغ المسلمون القونية من ارض الروم. وفيها عمل معوية المقصورة بالشام وعملها مروان بن الحكم بالمدينة. وفيها أخرجت المنابر الى المصلا (sic) في العيدين وكان الأمر يخالف هذا لان الخلفاء كانت تخطب في الاعياد في المصليات على ظهر الارض. وفيها حج بالناس معوية ونزل المدينة في داره. (98v) فأتاه الحسن بن علي وعبد الله بن جعفر وابن عباس يسلونه الوفا بما كان ضمنه للحسن وشرطه على نفسه فقال لهم اما ترضون يا بني هاشم وقد أقرر لكم وقد قتلتم عثمان. فذهب ابن عباس يتكلم فمنعه الحسن. ثم عاوده الكلام فاعاد القول الاول. فلما رآه ابن عباس غير منتهي اقبل عليه فقال أما ما تلقيتنا به من سوء فهو فيما بين مرافقك

9. Agapius writes hamzas sparingly and erratically, and I only insert them where he has done so. Agapius is also a little erratic in his (mis)placing of diacritical marks; I have omitted vowel marks since it would clutter the text too much (Agapius does use them, though again erratically), and I have put the dots that distinguish letters in the correct places unless it is evident that Agapius has actually made an error rather than just been neglectful/careless.

10. The beginning of the Arabic text here corresponds to line 7 of folio 97r; before this the MS is perfectly legible.

في خلفتك وأنت والله أولى به منا. واما قولك انا قتلنا عثمن فأنت والله قتلته وأنت الان توهم الناس انك تطالب بدمه. وانكسر معوية وانقطع من الجواب.

وفي السنة الخامسة لمعوية وقع الخلف بين النصارى في أمر المسيح له المجد وكان فيهم من يقيمه من الشعانين وفيهم من يقيمه الاحد الجديد. وفي هذه السنة غزا عبد الرحمن بن خالد الروم وسبا سبيا كثيرا وأخرج معه من الصقالبة الذين كانوا بارض الروم خلقا وأسكنهم رستاقا من رساتيق فامية.

وفي السنة السادسة لمعوية غزا بسر بن ارطاة الروم وسبا منهم خلقا واستباح مدنهم ثم عاد في السنة التي بعدها وسبا ايضا سبيا كثيرا.

Translation

(97r) Allegiance was given to al-Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī.[11] In the year forty-one of the Arabs Muʿāwiya travelled to Iraq and al-Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī went out to him. They met at al-Maskin, in the province of al-Sawād, in the region of al-Anbār.[12] They came to an agreement with a written text, conditions and witnesses; Muʿāwiya then entered Kufa and delivered a sermon there.[13] The people gave allegiance to him and he, having left a deputy in Kufa, returned to Syria. Muʿāwiya placed Faḍāla ibn ʿUbayd in charge of his judiciary.[14] Al-Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī returned to Medina. He was asked what he had done and he said: "I hated (to spill) blood and I saw that the men of Kufa were a people not even one of whom could be trusted, and indeed my father encountered trouble from them. He derived no benefit from them at all and they were of no good for anything."[15] ʿUtba ibn Abī Sufyān led the people in pilgrimage.[16] When Muʿāwiya was sure of the rule, (97v) he relocated it[17] from Yathrib to Damascus;[18] he was now in control of the whole world

11. This is the last entry in Agapius for year AH 40/AD 660-61 (cf. Tab 2.1; Mas 300). Al-Ḥasan was the eldest son of ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib, son-in-law of the prophet Muḥammad. ʿAlī was portrayed by later Islamic tradition as the fourth legitimate caliph, although his opponent Muʿāwiya retained control of most of the reins of power during ʿAlī's putative reign (656–60). Some of ʿAlī's supporters hoped that his son al-Ḥasan would continue the struggle, but he was disinclined to do so.

12. IK 187(summer 41/661). Tab 2.2-7 narrates the deal between al-Ḥasan and Muʿāwiya across the years AH 40 and 41; he agrees that al-Ḥasan returned, with his brother al-Ḥusayn, to Medina.

13. Tab 2.9; Yaq 2.256; Mas 300–1.

14. Tab 2.205; Mas 302.

15. Tab 2.3 and 2.9 has al-Ḥasan give a speech deriding the Iraqis while still in Iraq.

16. IK 189; Tab 2.16; Yaq 2.284. Oddly al-Tadmurī, *Muntakhab* (quoted n. 6), p. 67, emends ʿUtba to ʿAnbasa.

17. It is not clear what the main clause is, since the sentence starts "when…" but then each subsequent verb is preceded by "and." Al-Tadmurī, *Muntakhab* (quoted n. 6), p. 65, solves the problem by adding the word *jalasa* ("sat down," so Muʿāwiya sat down [on his throne] and […]), but it is not present in the MS. I have translated "relocated it" on the assumption that *taqallada* is a copyist's mistake for *naqala-hu* (the *hu* referring to *al-mulk*) and because it fits the sense.

18. That Muʿāwiya relocated the headquarters of Muslim rule to Damascus is reported also by Theophanes and Dionysius (Hoyland, *Theophilus*, p. 148) and by a Maronite chronicle (Muʿāwiya "placed his seat in Damascus and refused to go to the seat of Muḥammad": *SCWSC*, p. 32).

after having been governor for twenty years. This was in the year nine hundred and seventy-two of Dhū l-Qarnayn,[19] forty-one of the Arabs and year nineteen of Constans, king of the Romans.

There appeared the Harurites.[20] They were those who thought that the rest of the Muslims and whoever opposed them were in error[21] and that they were more deserving of the kingship than anyone else. Mu'āwiya, when he took charge of the kingdom,[22] favoured the people of the west over the people of the east because of the obedience of the westerners to him and the open enmity towards him of those (the easterners) in their writing to him.[23]

In the second[24] year (42/662–3) there was a raid of the Alans from Armenia.[25] Also in it[26] the Romans suffered a major defeat; the commander of the raid was Busr ibn Arṭāt[27] and he killed a number of patricians. He took captives and let the Muslims take plunder

19. This is the Islamic name for Alexander the Great, thus indicating the Seleucid era. Year 972 in this era equates to October 660 – September 661, which overlaps with AH 41 (May 661 – April 662) and year 19 of Constans. The Maronite chronicle (*SCWSC*, pp. 31–2) places Mu'āwiya's accession in July (probably 661, for though it says AG 971/660, it records a frost on Wednesday 13th April of "the following year," and this would only be correct for 662). Muslim sources give a slight range of spring-summer 661 (late 40 to early 41), which probably reflects the fact that different groups recognised him at different times. There is a preference for Dhū l-Qa'da 40 (March 661) for his acclamation in Kufa (e.g. Yaq 2.256) and Rabī' I 41 (July 661) for his acclamation in Palestine/Syria (e.g. Mas 301).

20. These were originally supporters of 'Alī, but then, according to Muslim sources, they become disenchanted with him and at a place called Harūrā' in southern Iraq they deserted him *(kharaja 'an-hu)*, and hence the names of Harurites and Kharijites. For further details and references see *EI*, Ḥarūrā' and Khāridjites. Tab 2.17–21 also treats the Kharijites at this point, as do Theophanes and Michael the Syrian (HOYLAND, *Theophilus*, pp. 149–50).

21. This sentence as it is in the MS *(wa-ammār man ra'ā sā'ir al-muslimīn wa-anna man khālafahum 'alā ḍalāla)* does not make sense. So as to give a clear English rendering I have read it as *wa-hum man ra'ā anna sā'ir al-muslimīn wa-man khālafahum 'alā ḍalāla*, but this is probably not exactly what the original said.

22. Al-Tadmurī, *Muntakhab* (quoted n. 6), p. 66, emends to *istawā*, i.e. "when the kingdom had stabilised," which reads more naturally in the Arabic.

23. The MS clearly has *kitāban la-hu*, which does not seem to fit here either grammatically or semantically, but it is difficult to think what is intended. Possibly it was a marginal note that subsequently became incorporated into the text. This notice has a parallel in Theophanes, pp. 347–8: "He humiliated the men of Persia while exalting those of Syria [...] The wages of the Syrians he raised to 200 gold coins while those of the Iraqis he lowered to 30 gold coins."

24. Reading *al-thāniya* rather than *al-thāmina* ("eighth") as appears in the MS.

25. Tab 2.16 (42/662–3), though he says that it was the Muslims who raided the Alans. The latter were a people speaking an East Iranian language in the northern Caucasus region; see *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, online edition, s.v. Alans.

26. In my *Theophilus*, p. 152, I took the *fī-hā* to refer to the raid *(ghazwa)* of the Alans, but it is more likely that it refers to the year *(sana)*, meaning that this was another event of that second year of Mu'āwiya. Note that Tab 2.16 records these same two events together in the same notice and with similar wording ("In this year the Muslims raided the Alans and they also raided the Romans, inflicting a terrible defeat on them and killing several patricians").

27. Agapius always writes this man's name incorrectly as Bishr ibn Arṭāt rather than Busr ibn Abī Arṭāt; he was of the Qurayshi clan of Banū 'Āmir, a staunch ally of the Umayyads and a renowned general. See *EI*, Busr b. Abī Arṭāt.

from the abode[28] of the Romans. It was the first captives they took.[29] Mu'āwiya appointed over the winter campaign[30] 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān,[31] who was at that time sixteen years old, and he then took to the sea. Together with him, Mu'āwiya put in command of all the soldiers 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Khālid ibn al-Walīd,[32] and some say Busr ibn Arṭāt. Also in it Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam[33] became governor of Medina and he appointed over the judiciary 'Abdallāh ibn Nawfal ibn al-Ḥārith ibn 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib.[34] Also in it Busr ibn Arṭāt travelled to Medina, Mecca and Yemen,[35] (98r) and he killed 'Abd al-Raḥmān and Qutham, two sons of 'Abdallāh ibn al-'Abbās ibn 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib.[36] Also in it Abū Laylā the rebel was killed in the Sawād of Kufa.[37] Also in it 'Utba ibn Abī Sufyān led the people in the pilgrimage.[38]

In the third year of Mu'āwiya (43/663–4) there was a second raid of Busr ibn Arṭāt against the Romans in which he took prisoners; the Romans were defeated and they (the Muslims) reached Constantinople.[39] Also in it Mu'āwiya wrote to Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam that he should prepare to lead the people in pilgrimage and so he attended and organized the season.[40] Also in it 'Amr ibn al-'Āṣ died in Egypt, on the day of the Fiṭr;[41] he had

28. There is damage to the MS at this point and the words "from the abode" *(min dār)* are not certain.

29. Perhaps this means that it was the first captives taken during that year's raiding expedition or the first of many that Busr and his men were going to take in the course of their raids.

30. This word is missing in the MS after the definite article (except for a hint of an ascendant letter, perhaps an *aliph*), and *shātiya* / "winter campaign" is only a guess based on the fact that one campaign has already been mentioned for this year, and if this was the summer campaign then only the winter one is left. However, other words are possible; Marek Jankowiak suggested to me *al-baḥr*, meaning the naval forces, which recurs at the end of the sentence.

31. This is the future caliph 'Abd al-Malik (685–705). This is not mentioned by the extant Muslim chroniclers and may reflect the fact that Agapius made use of a pro-Umayyad/Syrian source no longer extant.

32. This is the son of the famous conquest-period general Khālid ibn al-Walīd (d. 642); he is described as "commander of the Arabs of Emesa" in the Syriac Maronite chronicle (*SCWSC*, p. 33).

33. This is the future caliph Marwān I (684–5) and father of 'Abd al-Malik.

34. Tab 2.16. He was known as the first judge of Medina and called by some "the first judge of Islam" (Ibn Qutayba, *Ma'ārif*, ed. T. 'Ukasha, Cairo 1992, 1.558).

35. There is space for another line here, and there are traces of letters, but they look as though they are simply the imprint from the bottom line of the facing page resulting from the water damage that this manuscript suffered. As regards the sense of the passage it is not evident that any words are missing.

36. This should read 'Ubaydallāh ibn al-'Abbās; thus Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'rīkh Dimashq* (ed. 'A. al-'Amrawī, Beirut 1995), 10.151: "He (Busr) killed 'Abd al-Raḥmān and Qutham, two sons of 'Ubaydallāh ibn 'Abbās." Cf. Tab 2.22: "Busr ibn Abī Arṭāt travelled to Medina, Mecca and Yemen [...] He killed everyone who was said to have helped against (the caliph) 'Uthmān."

37. This may refer to Abū Laylā ibn 'Umar ibn al-Jarrāḥ (nephew of Abū 'Ubayda ibn al-Jarrāḥ, the first Muslim governor of Syria), who fought for the caliph 'Alī at the Battle of the Camel, but it is unknown whether he subsequently revolted. The word for rebel here is *khārijī*, which can mean rebel in general or specifically one of those who turned against 'Alī at Ḥarūrā' (see note 20 above).

38. Yaq 2.284, but IK 190 and Tab 2.27 say it was 'Utba's brother, 'Anbasa ibn Abī Sufyān, who led the pilgrimage in this year.

39. IK 190; Tab 2.27 (al-Wāqidī specifies that Busr reached Constantinople); Yaq 2.285; Theoph., p. 348.

40. IK 190; Tab 2.27; Yaq 2.284.

41. I.e. the day on which the end of the fast of Ramadan is celebrated (in AH 43 = 6 January, 664).

governed Egypt during the caliphate of 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb for four years and during the caliphate of 'Uthmān for three years and ten months and during the caliphate of Mu'āwiya for two and a half years. Mu'āwiya appointed his son, 'Abdallāh ibn 'Amr ibn al-'Āṣ, (as governor of Egypt) in his place for two years.[42]

In the fourth year of Mu'āwiya (44/664–5) 'Abd al-Rahman ibn Khālid ibn al-Walīd took prisoners in the land of the Romans and the Muslims reached Koloneia[43] of the land of the Romans.[44] Also in it Mu'āwiya made the *maqṣūra* in Damascus and Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam made it in Medina.[45] Also in it the *manābir*[46] were brought out to the prayer-place *(al-muṣallā)* on the two feasts;[47] the (customary) way was contrary to this, for the caliphs (before Mu'āwiya) used to give the sermon on the feasts in the prayer-places on the surface of the ground.[48] Also in it Mu'āwiya led the people in pilgrimage[49] and stayed at Medina in his residence.

(98r) Al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī, 'Abdallāh ibn Ja'far and Ibn 'Abbās[50] came to him asking him to be true to[51] what he had vouchsafed to al-Ḥasan and what he had stipulated on himself. He said: "Are you not satisfied, o sons of Hāshim, when I ensure for you (your

42. Yaq 2.264; Mas 303. Tab 2.27–8 has almost the same wording as Agapius for the whole of this notice except that he has 'Amr serve "two years minus one month" under Mu'āwiya. He notes that al-Wāqidī estimated 'Abdallāh's governorship at "about two years."

43. *qlwnyh*: modern Şebinkarahisar in Pontus, which is the Black Sea region of modern Turkey. After this notice about Koloneia the editions of Cheikho, Vasiliev and al-Tadmurī, which had been patchy, now halt completely, since the MS was for them, as Vasiliev states in a footnote here, "totally illegible."

44. IK 191; Tab 2.67; Yaq 2.285 *(qlwnyh/'qlwnyh)*. There is a long account of a campaign that 'Abd al-Raḥmān led in Anatolia in year 4 of Mu'āwiya (AG 975) in the Maronite chronicle (*SCWSC*, pp. 33–5); see also Theoph., p. 348.

45. This is also stated by Tab 2.70 and Yaq 2.265 ("Muāwiya made the *maqṣūra* in the mosque [of Damascus]"), but without comment. A *maqṣūra* is usually explained as a separate enclosure in a mosque established for the use of the ruler. Muslim sources mostly agree that Mu'āwiya was the first to deploy one, but al-Balādhurī (*Futūḥ al-buldān*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, Leiden 1866, pp. 347–8) says that Ziyād ibn Abīhi, Mu'āwiya's governor of Basra, was the first to do so and he implies that it allowed Ziyād to pass from his palace directly to the mosque (of Basra) without having to pass through his subjects. This is likely to have been the purpose of Mu'āwiya's *maqṣūra* in Damascus too (F. B. Flood, *The great mosque of Damascus: studies on the makings of an Umayyad visual culture*, Leiden 2001, pp. 120–1, 149–50, 169–71). Muslim sources tend to explain the adoption of the *maqṣūra* as a response to a specific incident, such as infiltration of the mosque by a rebel or a dog (Ibn Qutayba, *Ma'ārif*, 1.553).

46. *Minbar* is usually translated as pulpit, but it is a borrowing from Ge'ez *(manbar/mabbar)*, where it appears in late antique royal inscriptions with the meaning of seat/throne, and so it is possible that minbars were initially for sitting rather than standing.

47. Yaq 2.265 has almost the same wording: "He brought out the pulpits to the prayer-place (al-muṣallā) on the two feasts." Presumably this refers to *'īd al-aḍḥā* and *'īd al-fiṭr*, the two principal Muslim feasts which come at the end of the pilgrimage *(hajj)* and of the fast of Ramadan respectively.

48. Yaq 2.283 says that Mu'āwiya made his pulpit *(minbar)* five steps higher than that of Muhammad's.

49. IK 191; Tab 2.70; Yaq 2.284.

50. These were the three leading men of the Hashimite clan of Quraysh. 'Abdallāh ibn Ja'far was a nephew of 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib and 'Abdallāh ibn 'Abbās was a cousin of the prophet Muḥammad.

51. It looks like there are two dots over the middle letter, i.e. *al-waqā'* ("protection"), but it is more natural to read *al-wafā'*.

lives),[52] even though you killed 'Uthmān?" Ibn 'Abbās was about to speak, but al-Ḥasan stopped him. Then he (Mu'āwiya) resumed speaking and reiterated his original statement. When Ibn 'Abbās saw that he was not going to stop, he went up to him and said: "As for the evil that you (claim to) have received from us, it is for you to look into your own nature,[53] but you, by God, are more appropriate (to be accused of it) than us. As for your statement that we killed 'Uthmān, rather it is you, by God, who killed him and now you are making people believe that you are seeking (vengeance) for his blood".[54] Mu'āwiya was subdued (by this) and he refrained from answering.[55]

In the fifth year of Mu'āwiya (45/665–6) dissension occurred among the Christians on the subject of Christ, glory be to Him. Some of them celebrated the Resurrection on the Feast of Hosannas (Palm Sunday), and some celebrated the Resurrection on the day of the New Sunday (the first Sunday after Easter).[56] Also in this year 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Khālid raided the Romans and took many prisoners, and he brought out with him a great number of the Slavs who were in the land of the Romans and settled them in one of the villages of Apamaea.[57]

In the sixth year of Mu'āwiya (46/666–7) Busr ibn Arṭāt raided the Romans and took captive a number of them and plundered their cities;[58] then he returned the next year and also took many captives.[59]

52. Both Ya'qūbī and Ibn Ṭāhir al-Maqdisī (see note 55 below) have "your blood" *(dimā'akum)*, i.e. your lives, which makes good sense here, and it is likely that this word has dropped out of Agapius. One should probably also assume that Agapius' verb here should be in the fourth form *(tuqirr)* rather than the second *(uqarrir)*; cf. Ya'qubi in note 55 below.

53. There is a kink in the pen stroke linking the "q" and the "k" of this word, so I have read *khilqatika*; but there are no dots above the kink, so one could disregard it as a letter and read *khulqika*.

54. This last statement would suit better the time before Mu'āwiya became caliph, when his justification for standing against 'Alī was that he was seeking justice for his kinsman 'Uthmān.

55. Cf. Yaq 2.264–5: "Mu'āwiya went on pilgrimage in the year 44 [...] and when he went to Medina a group of the sons of Hāshim came to him and addressed him about their affairs. **He said: 'Are you not satisfied, o sons of Hāshim, that we safeguard** *(nuqirr)* **for you** your blood **even though you killed 'Uthmān?'** [...] Ibn 'Abbās said to him: 'All that you say to us, Mu'āwiya, (comes) from the malice within you, but that (evil you attribute to us) **is, by God, more appropriate** (to attribute) **to you. You killed 'Uthmān** and then you set about lying to the people that **you were seeking his blood.' Mu'āwiya was subdued by this."** Ibn Ṭāhir al-Maqdisī (*Kitāb al-bad'*, ed. C. Huart, Paris 1899–1919), 6.5: "When Mu'āwiya was on pilgrimage, al-Ḥasan, al-Ḥusayn and Ibn 'Abbās came to him and **asked him to fulfil what he had vouchsafed. He said: 'Are you not satisfied, o sons of Hāshim,** that we have spared *(nuwaffir)* you your blood **even though** you are killers of 'Uthmān.'" Bold type indicates the same words or words of the same root.

56. This notice is from the eastern source (Hoyland, *Theophilus*, p. 153).

57. That 'Abd al-Raḥmān raided the Romans in this year is known to Muslim sources (e.g. IK 192; Tab 2.81; Yaq 2.285), but only Agapius and Theophanes mention the Slavs and their settlement in the region of Apamaea (Hoyland, *Theophilus*, p. 152).

58. Cf. Theoph., p. 353: "Bousour made an expedition and, after taking many captives, returned home." This is not recorded by Muslim sources, though Fasawi 1.34 says that he raided Adana (*al-Ma'rifa wa-l-ta'rikh*, ed. A. D. al-'Umari, Beirut 1981).

59. There now follows a very lengthy account of the rebellion of Shapur against Constans and Mu'āwiya's involvement in it, which I edited and translated in my *Theophilus*, pp. 156–8 and appendix 3.

Abbreviations

IK = Ibn Khayyâṭ, Khalîfa (d. 240/854), *Ta'rikh*, ed. Akram Ḍiyâ' al-'Umarî, revised ed., Beirut 1977.

Mas = Mas'ûdi, 'Alî ibn al-Ḥusayn al- (d. 345/946), *Kitâb al-tanbîh wa-l-ishrâf*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Bibliotheca geographorum Arabicorum 8), Leiden 1894.

SCWSC = *The seventh century in the West-Syrian chronicles*, introd., transl. and annotated by A. Palmer, including two seventh-century Syriac apocalyptic texts introd., transl. and annotated by S. Brock, with added annotation and an historical introd. by R. Hoyland (Translated texts for historians 15), Liverpool 1993.

Tab = Ṭabarî, Muḥammad ibn Jarîr al- (d. 310/923), *Ta'rikh al-rusul wa-l-mulûk*, ed. M. J. de Goeje *et al.*, Leiden 1879–1901.

Theoph. (d. 818) = *Theophanis chronographia* rec. C. de Boor, Lipsiae 1883–1885.

Yaq = Ya'qûbi, Aḥmad ibn Abî Ya'qûb al- (d. 284/897), *Ta'rikh*, ed. M. T. Houtsma, Leiden 1883.

THEOPHANES' "ORIENTAL SOURCE": WHAT CAN WE LEARN FROM SYRIAC HISTORIOGRAPHY?

by Muriel Debié

Theophanes' chronicle displays a strong interest in the Near East. The range of its information on the Eastern provinces at the time of the great Arab conquests when these provinces were actually cut off from the empire comes as a surprise to a Byzantine historian, especially when compared to the relative silence of other sources for the period. Since the eighteenth century, two major assumptions have influenced the way the presence of Oriental material in the chronicle has been explained: first, that no major historical text was produced in Greek during the so-called "Dark Centuries," thus roughly between the *Chronicon Paschale* (ending in 628/9) and the works of George Syncellus, Theophanes himself—who claimed to be continuing George's work—and the patriarch Nicephorus. The latter works, in fact, have been seen as the outposts of a renaissance in historiography at the dawn of the ninth century and of a more general Byzantine "renaissance" in the ninth century.[1] The second assumption has to do with Theophanes himself who was supposedly a man of little culture who knew no other language than Greek—and for that matter a rather crude Greek that could not be compared to the high standard of classicising historians—, and who, moreover, was very ill, with a kidney disease, at the supposed time of composition of his chronicle. These two elements—a void in the historiographical tradition during the "Dark Centuries" on the one hand, and a deficiency of Theophanes as an "author" on the other hand—have been the interpretative positions from which unfurled all the tentative *Quellenforschung* for the Oriental material in the chronicle. As a consequence it became common assumption that Theophanes' source could not be Greek and had to be translated into Greek so that Theophanes could make use of it. The sometimes very literal parallels found in Syriac chronicles for this Oriental material pointed to a Syriac source translated into Greek, especially since no such gap

1. See P. Lemerle, *Le premier humanisme byzantin : notes et remarques sur enseignement et culture à Byzance des origines au xe siècle*, Paris 1971. C. Mango, The tradition of Byzantine chronography, Harvard Ukrainian studies 12-13, 1988-1989, pp. 360–72. L. Brubaker and J. Haldon, *Byzantium in the Iconoclast era (ca 680–850) : the sources* (Birmingham Byzantine and Ottoman monographs 7), Aldershot 2001, pp. 168–71.

Studies in Theophanes, ed. by M. Jankowiak & F. Montinaro (Travaux et mémoires 19), Paris 2015, pp. 365–82.

existed in the Syriac historiographical tradition as in the Greek. It seemed that the writing of history went on unabated in that language. Since translations from Syriac into Greek are little short of inexistent in the period in question, George Syncellus, who is often credited with a hypothetical Palestinian background, was regarded as the translator of this "Oriental source," which he would have transmitted to Theophanes—if, indeed, he was not the real "author" of Theophanes' chronicle. The limited evidence we have on George from his own chronicle shows that he might have spent time in Palestine, possibly in Saint Chariton Monastery. Since he was an "Oriental" himself, it was assumed that he was more likely to have known Syriac than Theophanes and to have had access to Oriental historiographical material.

Based on this reconstruction of the transmission of the Oriental material, the conjecture that a Syriac source lay behind the shared common material slowly materialised into certainty when the perfect candidate for the transmission of the material into Greek was identified in the person of Theophilus of Edessa. It is this process of the construction of a scholarly consensus and the passage from hypothesis to admitted truth that can be questioned through the study of the Oriental historiographical tradition in the light of a better understanding of the genre of chronicles on the one hand, and of the situation in the eastern provinces on the other, lost for Byzantium but perhaps not plunged in the same literary darkness that overshadowed Byzantium.

Theophilus: the ghost of Syriac historiography becomes the "Oriental Source"

It seems taken for granted in recent scholarship that the now lost chronicle of Theophilus of Edessa (695–780) is the common source shared by Theophanes—who supposedly had access to it through a translation into Greek—, by the Syriac chronicle of Michael the Syrian (Mich. Syr.) and the anonymous *Chronicle of 1234* (*Chron.* 1234), and by Agapius of Menbidj (Agap.) who read it in Syriac and integrated it in his Arabic chronicle. A reconstruction of Theophilus' text and even a tentative study of its sources has been attempted,[2] and countless publications on the period talk about Theophilus and his chronicle as if we knew his text, its sources and posterity and could get a reasonable idea of what it looked like and of the historical material it transmitted. Theophilus however was nothing more than a mere hypothesis when the existence of a Syriac common source was posited in order to explain the common material shared by the various historiographical traditions about the events in the Middle East during the seventh and eighth centuries. A mix and match operation consisted in trying to put a name on this common source from the scattered information available in the extant sources.

E. W. Brooks was the first to try to identify the author of the common source. Two names among those cited in Dionysius of Tellmahre's preface to his now lost chronicle could match the period: John bar Samuel and Theophilus of Edessa. Of John nothing is known apart from his place of activity, namely "the Western regions and the islands." He

2. See Hoyland, *Seeing Islam*, pp. 631–71 and *Theophilus*; Howard-Johnston, *Witnesses*, where chap. 7 is dedicated to Theophilus' chronicle.

is not cited anywhere else and nothing's survived of his chronicle. According to Brooks though, Theophilus was the less likely candidate of the two.[3]

The ghost of Theophilus was conjured up by Islamicists, who found in him a likely candidate for the transmission of Byzantine as well as Arabic historical material.[4] Theophilus, contrary to John, is rather well known as an astrologer and it is as such that he is remembered by Barhebraeus.[5] His works were transferred to Constantinople by Pseudo-Stephanus and entered the imperial library;[6] they were translated into Arabic in Baghdad. They have thus been widely influential in both spheres.[7] Henceforth, Theophilus is a more familiar character to the Byzantinists and Islamicists than the other Syriac chronographers who were all monks, bishops or patriarchs of the "heterodox"—in the eyes of the Byzantine "Orthodox" Church—but self-referred Syrian "Orthodox" Church. A Maronite himself, he was the chief astrologer of Caliph al-Mahdi (775–85) and as such was part of the Islamic court. As a composer of military horoscopes, he was also an eyewitness to the caliphs' campaigns, as is confirmed by the only securely attributed fragment—preserved in the work of Agapius (below)—describing the battle of Marwan II against the army of Khurasan in January 750.

Theophilus seemed a more suitable candidate for the so-called "intercultural" transmission than the obscure John bar Samuel, the candidate preferred by E. W. Brooks. The very term "intercultural," which became somewhat fashionable in the 1980's, can be misleading, since it suggests that the Christian or Jewish authors did not actually partake of the same "culture" as the Muslims. This is only partly true; it cannot be forgotten

3. W. E. Brooks, The sources of Theophanes and the Syriac chroniclers, *BZ* 15/2, 1906, pp. 578–87.

4. L. I. Conrad, Theophanes and the Arabic historical tradition, *Byz. Forsch.* 15, 1990, pp. 1–44; Hoyland, *Seeing Islam*, pp. 428-432, 631-671; Id., Arabic, Syriac and Greek historiography in the first Abbasid century : an inquiry into inter-cultural traffic, *Aram* 3, 1991, pp. 211–33, and Id., *Theophilus*.

5. Barhebræus, *Ktābā d-eqlesiasṭīqī d-sīm la-Grigōriyōs mapryānā d-madnḥā d-hū Abū al-Farag* = *Gregorii Barhebraei, Chronicon ecclesiasticum*…, ed. J. B. Abbeloos & T. J. Lamy, vol. 1, Lovanii 1872, vol. 2–3, Parisiis – Lovanii 1874–7, pp. 126–7 ; *The Chronography of Gregory Abû'l Faraj, the son of Aaron, the Hebrew physician, commonly known as Bar Hebraeus, being the first part of his political history of the world*, transl. from the Syriac by E. A. W. Budge (Gorgias historical texts 6–7), London 1932, repr. Piscataway 2003, pp. 116–7; *Ta'rīḫ muḫtaṣar al-duwal* = *Historia compendiosa dynastiarum, authore Gregorio Abul-Pharajio*, Arabice ed., et Latine versa ab E. Pococke, Oxoniae 1663, pp. 219–20 T, 147 V.

6. F. Cumont & F. Boll, *Catalogus codicum astrologorum Graecorum (CCAG)*, 20 vols, Brussels, 1898–936. For a list of the extracts from Theophilus found in the astrological manuscripts edited in the CCAG, A. Tihon, L'astronomie à Byzance à l'époque iconoclaste, in *Science in Western and Eastern civilization in Carolingian times*, ed. by P. L. Butzer and D. Lohrmann, Basel – Boston 1993, pp. 181–203, here at p. 191, n. 40.

7. See D. E. Pingree's numerous articles on astrology where Theophilus' works are mentioned: Astrology, in *Religion, learning and science in the 'Abbasid period*, ed. by M. J. L. Young, J. D. Latham, and R. B. Serjeant, Cambridge 1990, pp. 291–300; Id., Classical and Byzantine astrology in Sassanian Persia, *DOP* 43, 1989, pp. 227–39; Id., From Alexandria to Baghdād to Byzantium : the transmission of astrology, *International journal of the classical tradition* 8/1, 2001, pp. 3–37; Id., Historical horoscopes, *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 82, 1962, pp. 487–502; Id., Sasanian Astrology in Byzantium, in *La Persia e Bisanzio* (Atti dei convegni lincei 201), Roma 2003, pp. 539–53; Id., *The Yavanajātaka of Sphujidhvaja* (Harvard Oriental series 48/2), Cambridge Mass. 1978, vol. 2, pp. 208–19 and 225–6. None is cited in the monograph on Theophilus' chronicle by R. G. Hoyland.

that they all belonged to the same region, were part of the same events, occupied similar positions in the new Arab-Muslim administration. It is now believed that it was one of the striking features of the Abbasid period that scholars of different religious communities, Christians, Jews, Zoroastrians, Pagans—sometimes referred to as Sabians—and Muslims took part in the same "translation" and more broadly "transmission" movement. Modern scholars do not however seem to take it for granted that the same could have been the case in the previous period. Theophilus on these grounds is undoubtedly in a better "intercultural" position than any other Christian chronicler writing in a monastery, but this is an assumption that may actually have biased the way in which the transmission process has been considered. Theophilus is all the more interesting in this picture since he is not himself a cleric or a monk. He may for that reason have seemed more in the line of classicising historiography and thus more familiar to Islamicists and Byzantinists. Now, a study of the Oriental historiographical tradition in the light of a better understanding of the chronicle genre raises even more serious methodological questions about the consensus.

As I said, Theophilus' historical work is not preserved as such, but it is known in Syriac through another lost work, the chronicle of Dionysius of Tellmahre, excerpted in its turn only in the later works of Michael the Great and the anonymous chronicler of 1234.[8] It was also read in Syriac and integrated into an Arabic chronicle by Agapius, the Chalcedonian bishop of Hierapolis/Menbidj in ca. 940. The task of gaining access to and understanding of Theophilus' work is all the more complicated since we do not have any other clearly attested citation than the one in Agapius, who writes:

> *Theophilus the Astrologer, from whom we took these accounts said: "I was myself a constant witness of these wars and I would write things down so that nothing of them escaped me." He has many writings about that and we have abbreviated from them this book [or: writing]. We added to it what we perceived to be indispensable, but we avoided prolixity.*[9]

Thus Theophilus certainly wrote about contemporary events but we have no clue about the extent of his work, its content, or its form. Agapius also says that he added material to this source, making it even more difficult to understand what comes from Theophilus and what from other unspecified sources.

Dionysius of Tellmahre, in his preface, states that he made use of Theophilus' work only insofar as the latter, being a Chalcedonian, did not abuse the "Orthodox" (that is the Syrian Orthodox of whom Dionysius was the patriarch) and did not deviate from the truth.[10] The confessional issue is thus part of the transmission process even among the Christians. Theophilus was just one of several sources used by Dionysius.

Another layer of sources has been added in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, some of which also started with the Creation and thus covered the same period as Dionysius' chronicle and may have used Theophilus independently. Theophilus is also mentioned by Barhebraeus who praises his work, specifying that he was a Maronite and wrote his

8. For a tentative reconstruction of Dionysius' chronicle, see A. Palmer, *The seventh century in the West-Syrian chronicles* (Translated texts for historians 15), Liverpool 1993, pp. 111–26.
9. Agap., p. [illegible], transl. Hoyland, *Theophilus*, p. 5.
10. Mich. Syr., [illegible]

chronicle in Syriac. It is quite clear, however, that Barhebraeus did not use it directly: he mentions Theophilus not as one of his sources but rather as a prominent scholar in astrology, as well as a translator from Greek into Syriac.[11] Theophilus is thus a ghost of Syriac historiography, mentioned but almost never explicitly quoted, no doubt because chroniclers did not usually cite their sources, except perhaps in their preface—and even then, not all of them—and because he was a Chalcedonian. If he receives a mention at all it is precisely because he was not himself an "Orthodox" Christian. Concerning Theophanes, we have no mention whatsoever that he used Theophilus' work.

Theophilus' chronicle and its transmission

One should keep in mind that several other lost Greek, Syriac, and Arabic sources were incorporated at different stages of the transmission in the extant chronicles. Furthermore, from a methodological point of view, we can already stress that we are not dealing with compilers who merely copied earlier sources.[12] We do not have access to the sources themselves, let alone to the sources of the sources, but to extracts, which were selected, cut, and pasted in order to fit the pattern of the new chronicle and the goal of its author.[13] What we read is the result of this editing process, even though we can get some idea of what the original sources looked like.

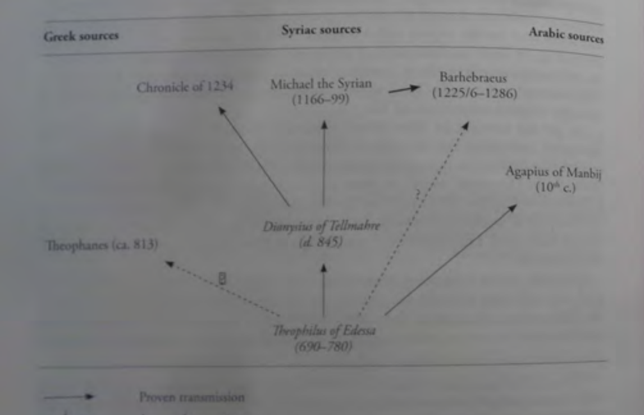
As for the content of Theophilus' chronicle, the scant testimonies—especially Dionysius' statement that he wrote "narratives resembling ecclesiastical history"[14]—suggest that he wrote a history of contemporary events rather than a short or universal chronicle. In Dionysius' mind, the genre implied making "partial and summary histories without observing the times exactly or the sequence of events."[15] The period encompassed by Theophilus' work is not known, nor is the scope of the earlier chronicles or histories he may have used. His contribution seems thus to have been that of an eyewitness and field historian.

Given the scanty evidence of what we can surely recognise as coming from Theophilus work, two different attitudes are possible: the most widespread is maximalist and posits that his work was a universal chronicle—meaning that it started with Creation—, and used Byzantine as well as Arabic sources. From this all-encompassing source, Theophanes

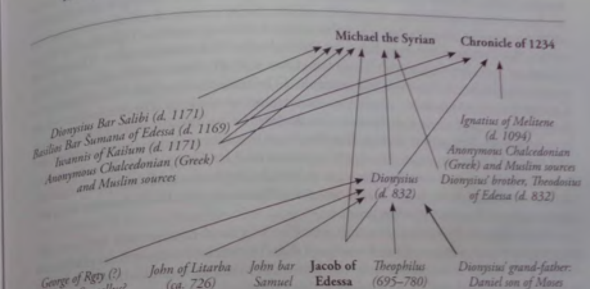
11. About *the two books of Homer*, see now A. Hilkens, Syriac Ilioupersides : the fall of Troy in Syriac historiography, *Le Muséon* 126/4, 2013, pp. 285–317, arguing that this is a reference to the *Epic cycle* and not to the *Iliad* itself; the translation of Galien that Barhebraeus attributed to Theophilus should probably be reassigned to another Theophilus of Edessa, a physician. Barhebraeus also states, wrongly, that Theophilus was the first to use the Greek vowels for writing Syriac; on this issue, see J. F. Coakley, When were the five Greek vowel-signs introduced into Syriac writing?, *Journal of Semitic studies* 56/2, 2011, pp. 307–25.
12. It is misleading, in my view, to suggest that translating the material shared by the different chronicles in Greek, Syriac and Arabic amounts in any way to translating Theophilus of Edessa's chronicle (Hoyland, *Theophilus*, p. 33) or that it is possible to say anything about Theophilus' sources (*ibid.*, pp. 23–9).
13. Cf. M. Debié, L'historiographie tardo-antique : une littérature en extraits, in *Écrire en extraits*, éd. S. Morlet, forthcoming.
14. Mich. Syr., as in note 10.
15. *Ibid.*

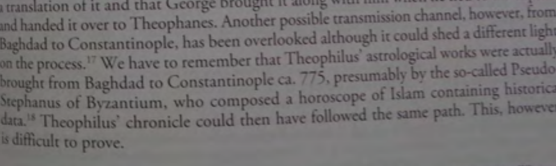
and the Syriac and Syro-Arabic chronicles, but also in some obscure way Spanish chronicles, excerpted the so-called common material and incorporated it into their own work, taking or leaving some parts, cutting and pasting in accordance with the reception text. A more cautious—or sceptical as some would put it—attitude is to try to identify as far as possible what material can securely be attributed to Theophilus and what is likely to have transited through what could have been more a history of contemporary events than a chronicle as such. It is along this line that we would like to review the evidence we have about Theophilus.

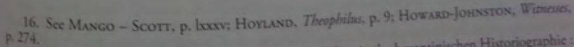
Outline of the transmission of Theophilus' chronicle



The layers of now often lost sources incorporated into the extant Syriac chronicles







From Baghdad to Constantinople?

If we accept the assumption that Theophilus' work reached Theophanes, we have then to explain how Theophilus' Syriac history was transmitted to Theophanes in Constantinople in Greek. It has been suggested[16] that George Syncellus or some other learned monk in the Palestinian monasteries renowned for their multilingualism made a translation of it and that George brought it along with him when he fled to the capital and handed it over to Theophanes. Another possible transmission channel, however, from Baghdad to Constantinople, has been overlooked although it could shed a different light on the process.[17] We have to remember that Theophilus' astrological works were actually brought from Baghdad to Constantinople ca. 775, presumably by the so-called Pseudo-Stephanus of Byzantium, who composed a horoscope of Islam containing historical data.[18] Theophilus' chronicle could then have followed the same path. This, however, is difficult to prove.

16. See MANGO – SCOTT, p. lxxxv; HOYLAND, *Theophilus*, p. 9; HOWARD-JOHNSTON, *Witnesses*, p. 274.

17. With the exception of W. BRANDES, Der frühe Islam in der byzantinischen Historiographie : Anmerkungen zur Quellenproblematik der *Chronographia* des Theophanes, in *Jenseits der Grenzen : Beiträge zur spätantiken und frühmittelalterlichen Geschichtsschreibung*, hrsg. von A. Goltz, H. Leppin und H. Schlange-Schöningen (Millennium Studien 25), Berlin – New York 2009, pp. 313–43.

18. On the elusive Pseudo-Stephanus, to be distinguished from Stephanus of Alexandria or Athens, a contemporary of the emperor Heraclius under whose name some treatises were transmitted, see

A closer look at the textual parallels between Pseudo-Stephanus and the Syriac sources—one concerning Muhammad's life, the other one a natural phenomenon[19]—reveals, in fact, that Pseudo-Stephanus and the Syriac sources share the same version of Muḥammad's life, whereas Theophanes has a different source. This short passage shows that Pseudo-Stephanus (who possibly relied on information from Theophilus) shared the same source not with Theophanes, but with the Syriac chronicles, and that it was, in all likelihood, the work of Theophilus. The transmission path from Baghdad to Constantinople was indeed followed by the astrological works of Theophilus, although there is no hint that it was also the case of his history.[20] Thus Pseudo-Stephanus may have borrowed from Theophilus' history, but there is no evidence that the latter was translated and reached Constantinople, nor that it was then used by Theophanes. It is impossible to go farther: only two common passages in Pseudo-Stephanus and the Syriac tradition can be identified, of which one is really relevant. This scanty evidence however does not advocate for such a transmission process.

Given that this transmission circuit seems to be a dead-end, we will approach the historiographical landscape of the seventh and eighth centuries from a broader perspective in order to better understand how the historical material was produced and then transmitted in Greek and in Syriac during this period.

The availability of books and bookmen: from "intercultural" to "interconfessional" transmission[21]

It may be simplistic to imagine that in this period only one or two historians wrote in Greek about contemporary events. As the example of George Syncellus, Theophanes, and the Syriac tradition illustrates, writing history among Christians became, since the sixth century, the remit of clerics and monks. That history was increasingly written in monasteries is in agreement with the gradual change in the structures of learning, which shifted from "state" to Church schools, from Athens and Constantinople to provincial monasteries. That does not mean that history was confined to ecclesiastical matters, nor that it was written by almost illiterate monks as has long been maintained, but that it could also be written by authors who remained anonymous. The chronicles of this period clearly have almost nothing in common with the classicising models of history writing, nor do they

W. Wolska-Conus, *Stéphanos d'Athènes et Stéphanos d'Alexandrie : essai d'identification et de biographie*, *REB* 47, 1989, pp. 5–89; M. Roueché, Stephanus the Alexandrian Philosopher, the Kanon and a seventh-century millennium, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 74, 2011, pp. 1–30, and Tihon, L'astronomie (quoted n. 8).

19. See Brandes, Der frühe Islam (quoted n. 17), p. 339, for a prospectus of the shared material on Muhammad in Ps. Stephanus, Michael the Great and the *Chronicle of 1234*.

20. On the canonisation of the life of the prophet, see U. Rubin, *The eye of the beholder : the life of Muhammad as viewed by the early Muslims* (Studies in late antiquity and early Islam 5), 2nd ed., Princeton 1995; J. Horovitz, *The earliest biographies of the Prophet and their authors*, ed. by L. I. Conrad (Studies in late antiquity and early Islam 11), Princeton 2002.

21. Cf. C. Mango, The availability of books in the Byzantine Empire, AD 750–850, in *Byzantine books and bookmen*, pp. 29–45, repr. in Id., *Byzantium and its image*, London 1998, no. VII.

share the same high Greek literary standard when they are written in Greek.[22] They follow instead in the footsteps of the new genres of ecclesiastical history and chronicle designed by Eusebius in order to write the history of the Christians and the Christian Empire.

It is striking that historians whose names we know and about whom we have biographical information are all high-ranking clergymen such as George, *synkellos* of the patriarch of Constantinople, Theophanes, who came from a wealthy family—his father was a *strategos*[23]—and was acquainted with the court, John of Ephesus, who was a familiar of the emperor Justinian, to mention only a few examples. Even the leaders of churches did not find writing chronicles beneath them—one thinks of the Byzantine patriarch Nicephorus (who came from a prominent family), and of the Syrian Orthodox patriarchs Dionysius of Tellmahre and Michael the Great. This seems to have been particularly the case in the Syrian Orthodox Church, where the patriarch, the bishops, and abbots of the great monasteries—who authored the vast majority of the chronicles—were the only representatives of communities that were "non-imperial," that is were only minorities because they were seen as heretics by the Byzantines and were Christians within the non-Christian Sassanian and then Muslim Empires. A similar tendency is, however, also perceptible in the Byzantine Empire.

No histories authored by laymen are known between Theophylact Simocatta (ca. 630) and the "middle Byzantine historians."[24] Does this mean that none was produced, or rather that none survived, or perhaps that the material for writing history was not left in a loose form? As said above, we have indications that at least in some monasteries of Syria and Mesopotamia the task of writing contemporary as well as ancient history continued during the so-called Dark Centuries, although the authors of such texts often remain anonymous. Records of contemporary natural disasters, military campaigns, succession of emperors, patriarchs and bishops were kept at least in the leading monasteries alongside the hagiographies of the local monks, bishops and saints, as the Syrian tradition exemplifies.[25] Three anonymous chronicles composed in Greek in the ninth century are preserved in manuscripts today in the Vatican, Madrid and Paris; these made extensive use of Eusebius, Africanus, and Malalas.[26] This revival of historical writing shows that

22. On Greek "literature," see A. Cameron, New themes and styles in Greek literature : a title revisited, in *Greek literature in late antiquity : dynamism, didactism, classicism*, ed. by S. F. Johnson, Aldershot 2006, pp. 11–28.

23. C. Mango, *Byzantium : the empire of the New Rome*, London 1980, p. 50.

24. George of Pisidia is, to some extent, an exception; although his poems, sponsored by the emperor Heraclius, were not a history *stricto sensu*, they represented nevertheless official reports and as such were one of Theophanes' sources for that period. For an overview of Byzantine historians, see W. Treadgold, *The early Byzantine historians*, New York – Basingstoke 2007, and Id., *The middle Byzantine historians*, New York – Basingstoke 2013.

25. See M. Debié, *L'écriture de l'histoire en syriaque*, Louvain 2015.

26. The chronicle in *Vat. gr.* 2210 (late 10[th] c.) goes down to 854, that in Madrid, BN 4701 (*olim* 121; 10[th]-11[th] c.) down to ca. 880: see I. Ševčenko, The search for the past in Byzantium around the year 800, *DOP* 46, 1992, pp. 279–93, at 284–7. The chronicle in *Paris gr.* 854 was compiled during the reign of Basil I (d. 886); the text is now edited by A. Petrucci, *La Chronique anonyme du Parisinus gr. 854, communément appellée Ἐκλογὴ ἱστοριῶν : édition, traduction et commentaire*, dissertation, University of Aix-Marseille 2013; the chronicle was meant to cover the period from the Creation to the emperor Anastasius, but is only preserved to the reign of Old Testamentary King Ozias, which is probably the reason why it went unnoticed.

Greek books were still available to historians in Constantinople after the Dark Ages. What Syriac historiography tells us on the other hand is that Greek chronicles were available in the East also *during* the Dark Ages: Jacob of Edessa, John of Litarba, John bar Samuel, and Theophilus of Edessa composed their chronicles partly drawing upon Greek sources. That is where the religious issue comes into play.

Whereas, after the Arab conquests, the Eastern Orthodox who had once belonged to the Byzantine Empire had the choice between staying or fleeing to Southern Italy or Constantinople, the Miaphysites, regarded as heretics in the empire, had no such possibility. They remained in the eastern provinces under the Sassanian and Arab-Muslim authority that replaced the Byzantines. Although they favoured a Christian emperor, they did not feel at home under what they resented as persecutions to enforce imperial orthodoxy. When the empire came under serious threat from the Persians and then from the Arabs, the issue of Christian belief became even more crucial: the issue of Byzantine "orthodoxy"—as it is still understood today—versus "heresy" in its different manifestations—Chalcedonians versus Miaphysites, Nestorians, Monophysites; Monotheletism versus Dyotheletism; later on, Iconoclasm versus Iconodulism—became central and led to the distinction between the Eastern, the Oriental Orthodox, and the Oriental non-Orthodox Churches. The search for internal unity of faith had political as much as religious grounds at a time when it was common assumption that correct belief was what secured God's protection in military matters and ensured the empire's security. As R. Scott very aptly underlined, whereas Malalas was concerned in his chronicle with the triumph of Christianity over paganism, Theophanes was concerned with orthodoxy: "God rewarded not Christians but the champions of orthodoxy and the reward was military victory."[27] This had consequences on the way history was written and historical information was transmitted in the Christian Churches.[28] The issue is thus not only one of "intercultural" transmission—that is between Christian, Zoroastrian, Jewish and Muslim "cultures"—but one of circulation between different Christian affiliations.

All those texts testify at least to the uninterrupted compilation of lists of ecclesiastical and political rulers. They also attest the circulation of historical material between Muslim and Christian writers, as well as between Chalcedonian and non-Chalcedonian, Monothelite and Dyothelite, Iconodule and Iconoclast Christian writers.[29] The Byzantine

27. R. Scott, "The events of every year, arranged without confusion" : Justinian and others in the Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor, in *L'écriture de la mémoire : la littérarité de l'historiographie : actes du IIIe colloque international philologique ΕΡΜΗΝΕΙΑ, Nicosie, 6-7-8 mai 2004, organisé par l'EHESS et l'université de Chypre*, sous la dir. de P. Odorico, P. A. Agapitos, M. Hinterberger (Dossiers byzantins 6), Paris 2006, pp. 49–65 (repr. in Id., *Byzantine chronicles and the sixth century*, Farnham – Burlington VT 2012), at p. 64.

28. Syriac studies are being increasingly recognized by both Byzantinists and Islamicists as a window on the variety of Middle Eastern Christianity, hence my reference to "Churches"; although the confessional issue is often downplayed, it is important to stress that the Eastern and Oriental Churches are not one and the same, and that several Oriental non-Orthodox Churches have shaped and still shape the religious landscape of the Eastern Mediterranean.

29. Cf. L. I. Conrad, Syriac perspectives on Bilād al-Shām during the 'Abbāsid Period, in *Proceedings of the fifth international conference on Bilād al-Shām during the 'Abbāsid period (132–451/750–1059)*, ed. by M. al-Bakhit and R. Schick, Amman 1991, pp. 1–44 and Id., The conquest of Arwād : a source-critical study in the historiography of the early medieval Near East, in *The Byzantine and*

"Dark Centuries" were no doubt a period of construction of Christian identities under the "shadow of the mosque," as S. Griffith put it,[30] and earlier under the shadow of the Persian occupation in the Eastern provinces. Although they shared roughly the same information, Christian historians used it to promote their own view of both the past and recent events; they wrote and constructed history according to their theology of history, which slightly differed according to their confessional affiliation and their understanding of orthodoxy.

The originality of Theophanes' *Chronicle*

That subtitle may sound provocative, for, since C. Mango's 1978 article, it is often suggested that Theophanes merely copied and pasted material provided by George Syncellus.[31] Theophanes' claim that he himself researched thoroughly not only historical texts but all sorts of writings is seldom taken at face value. However seriously ill at the time when he composed his chronography, he probably was not alone in performing this task. As the abbot of one of the main Byzantine monasteries and a member of a wealthy family, he may have had not only personal servants but also a secretary, if only for the management of the monastery, and a librarian as well as fellow monks trained in copying manuscripts. As we know from the literary activity of Eusebius, writing in late antiquity consisted very much in a collective task of excerpting, reading aloud, and writing, the "author" being the one who selected and reorganised the authoritative material.[32] Originality was not the aim of such authors, who consistently pretended that they did not add anything of their own and where "authority" was the catchword. Historians summarised world history, choosing some episodes and ignoring others and writing an *ekloge* or *epitome*, an "excerpted" or "abbreviated" version of various sources which could then be assembled in a lengthy text such as George Syncellus' *Chronography*. Their own additions concerned mainly contemporary events, for which they were unable to find any valuable information from good authorities, and the way in which the material borrowed from other texts was rearranged. Theophanes is no different on that ground

early Islamic Near East. 1, Problems in the literary source material, ed. by A. Cameron and L. I. Conrad (Studies in late antiquity and early Islam 1), Princeton 1992, pp. 317–401, followed by Hoyland, Arabic, Syriac and Greek historiography (quoted n. 4).

30. S. H. Griffith, *The Church in the shadow of the mosque : Christians and Muslims in the world of Islam*, Princeton 2008.

31. See Mango, Who wrote the Chronicle. Recent scholarship has turned to the question of the authorship and genre of the chronicle in a more positive way and several studies regard Theophanes' chronicle as a work of literature: A. Kazdhan, *A history of Byzantine literature (650–850)*, in collab. with L. F. Sherry, Ch. Angelidi, Athens 1999, pp. 205–84; J. N. Ljubarskij, Concerning the literary technique of Theophanes the Confessor, *BSl.* 56, 1995, pp. 317–22; Scott, The events of every year (quoted n. 27). Cf. J. Ferber, Theophanes' account of the reign of Heraclius, in *Byzantine papers : proceedings of the first Australian Byzantine studies conference, Canberra, 17-19 May 1978*, ed. by E. and M. Jeffreys and A. Moffatt (Byzantina Australiensia 1), Canberra 1981, pp. 32–42.

32. A. Carriker, *The library of Eusebius of Caesarea* (Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae 67), Leiden 2003; M. Cassin, M.-Y. Perrin, M. Debié & G. Traina, La question des éditions de l'Histoire ecclésiastique et le livre X, in Eusèbe de Césarée, *Histoire ecclésiastique : commentaire. 1. Études d'introduction*, sous la dir. de S. Morlet, L. Perrone, Paris – Brescia 2012.

and his work should be evaluated in accordance with the contemporary practices of late antique writers and not the ideal of classicising historians.[33]

The chronicle of Eusebius continued to be the foundation of many later world chronicles and Greek manuscripts were still available at that time, although no copy is preserved today. Jacob of Edessa, for instance, translated Eusebius' chronicle into Syriac in the 680's in Northern Syria. A copy of this translation was available to Theodosius of Edessa, Dionysius of Tellmahre's brother, in the ninth century. The anonymous fragmentary Greek chronicles of the ninth century similarly made use of the chronicle of Eusebius, which also influenced Theophanes' chronicle, although, unlike the Syriac chroniclers and George Syncellus, Theophanes did not keep Eusebius' chronological canon to organise the historical material. He nevertheless kept the chronological information about the length of the reign of world emperors (Roman-Byzantine, Sassanid, and then Muslim) and of the patriarchates in the Pentarchy (Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem), separating it, however, from the text proper. The basic unit is then the reign of an individual emperor. The vertical pattern of Eusebius' chronicle evolved into a horizontal one, with reigns of individual emperors becoming the basic chronological unit. Eusebius' chronological structure was thus reshaped from columns of the canons into chronological headings under which historical material was distributed.[34] This pattern was dictated by the need to find a less complex model than Eusebius', which also posed a serious challenge to copyists.[35] The chronicle of Michael the Syrian offers a parallel in this sense: there, the canons float in the chapters and the text is no longer anchored to the table of dates.[36] At any rate, Theophanes' model is quite different from that of Syncellus' *Chronography*, where the material is arranged in paragraphs according mainly to "national" kings: years of the world, kings of the Medes, kings of the Persians, kings of the Romans, kings of the Macedonians, followed by "miscellanies" for material that proved difficult to place under any heading. Michael the Syrian's chronicle has a

33. On Theophanes drastically rearranging the material from his sources in order to promote his own view of the past, see in particular Ferber, Theophanes' account (quoted n. 31); R. Scott, The image of Constantine in Malalas and Theophanes, in *New Constantines : the rhythm of imperial renewal in Byzantium, 4th-13th centuries*, ed. by P. Magdalino, Aldershot 1994, pp. 57–71; Id., Writing the reign of Justinian : Malalas versus Theophanes, in *The sixth century : end or beginning?*, ed. by P. Allen and E. Jeffreys, Brisbane 1996, pp. 21–34, and Id., The events of every year (quoted n. 27), all repr. in Id., *Byzantine chronicles and the sixth century*, Farnham – Burlington VT 2012. See also G. T. Calofonos, Dream narratives in historical writing : making sense of Theophanes' Chronography, in *History as literature in Byzantium : papers from the fortieth Spring Symposium of Byzantine studies, University of Birmingham, April 2007*, ed. by R. Macrides, Farnham – Burlington VT 2010, pp. 133–44.

34. Cf. Ljubarskij, Literary technique (quoted n. 31).

35. On Eusebius' chronicle, see A. A. Mosshammer, *The Chronicle of Eusebius and Greek chronographic tradition*, Lewisburg 1979; R. Burgess *Studies in Eusebian and post-Eusebian chronography*, with the assistance of W. Witakowski (Historia Einzelschriften 135), Stuttgart 1999. Cf. Id., A chronological prolegomenon to reconstructing Eusebius' *Chronici Canones* : the evidence of Ps.-Dionysius (the Zuqnin Chronicle), *Journal of the Canadian Society for Syriac studies* 6, 2006, pp. 29–38, on the difficulty of copying the canon and the text.

36. For the pattern of Michael's chronicle as it is now preserved, see the photographic reproduction of the only extant manuscript in Aleppo (1598): *Texts and translations of the Chronicle of Michael the Great, 1, The Edessa-Aleppo Syriac codex of the Chronicle of Michael the Great*, ed. by G. Y. Ibrahim, Piscataway NJ 2009.

similar miscellaneous part arranged in a distinct column. Theophanes adopted a different pattern with a chronological summary of political and ecclesiastical rulers and a strict chronological, and not thematic, order for his chronography. Even the order of the patriarchates in Theophanes is not identical with Syncellus'; the latter placed Antioch before Alexandria—while not mentioning Constantinople, for obvious chronological reasons.[37]

In other words, we should credit Theophanes with an innovative presentation. Furthermore, he took over from Syncellus and systematized the use of the Alexandrian *annus mundi* instead of the Olympic dating found in Eusebius' canons. He also used the date of the Incarnation; he introduced the regnal years of the Sassanian kings.[38] Eusebius did not regard the Sassanid Empire as fitting into his theology of history where the history of mankind tended towards the achievement of the one and only Christian Roman Empire blessed and protected by God. Relying, however, on the Eusebian idea of the succession of empires, ultimately derived from the Book of Daniel, Theophanes had the years of Arab kings replace the years of the Persians, as did independently the Syriac chroniclers, who would eventually add the Turkish and then the Mongol rulers.

Theophanes' chronicle thus shows a degree of innovation in its form and content, which suggests that he knew Eusebius' chronicle either from a copy coming from George himself or indirectly through his chronicle. Greek manuscripts of Eusebius' chronicle, however very few, were nevertheless still in circulation at that time. Theophanes created a whole new model of history writing, differing also from the chronicle of Syncellus. Some of his innovations have parallels in the Syriac tradition (abandonment of the canon of dates, introduction of Sassanian chronology) and yet his "chronography" is different from any other. In spite of common developments, Theophanes created something very different from both the Syriac chronicles and Syncellus'.

Outlining the common Oriental source

Although his chronicle shares much common material with the Syriac and Syro-Arabic chronicles, Theophanes knew much on his own about the Near East, which suggests that he used more than one, all-embracing Oriental source.[39] For the reigns of Constans II (641–68) and Constantine IV (668–85), Theophanes' account is confused, whereas for the following period, from Justinian II to Leo III (685–717), his information is clearer and much more abundant.[40] Theophanes most probably had two different sources for

37. See Mango – Scott, p. 2, n. 2.

38. Synkellos has a list of Sasanian rulers down to Hormizd V: Adler – Tuffin, p. 442.

39. Cf. Appendix 1 ("Unique notices in Theophanes about affairs in Syria and Palestine") in Hoyland, *Theophilus*, pp. 310–5 and M. Conterno, *La "Descrizione dei Tempi" all'alba dell'espansione islamica : un'indagine sulla storiografia greca, siriaca e araba fra VII e VIII secolo* (Millenium studies 47), Berlin – Boston 2014, pp. 111–8 (« Materiale presente solo in Teofane »). On Theophanes' Arab material, see Conrad, Theophanes and the Arabic historical tradition (quoted n. 4). D. Afinogenov, The source of Theophanes' *Chronography* and Nikephoros' *Breviarium* for the years 685–717, *Христианский Восток* n.s. 4, 2002, pp. 11–22, at p. 13, came to the same conclusion for the Byzantine material: Theophanes excerpted more than one source for the years 641–717. See, however, S. Forrest in this volume.

40. See Brooks, The sources (quoted n. 3); Rochow, *Byzanz im 8. Jh.*, pp. 46 ff.

these two periods.[41] For the reigns of Heraclius (610–41) and Constans II, Theophanes and the Oriental chronicles use a narrative source which contained speeches and was well informed on court and eastern affairs: battles with the Arabs, Heraclius' farewell to Syria, Arab conquest of Egypt, situation in Syria and Mesopotamia, capture of Cyprus and Arwad by Mu'awiya—which L. I. Conrad regarded as a piece from Theophilus' chronicle[42]—, battle of Phoenix, failed rebellion of Shapur against Constans, defeat of the Arab fleet in the 670's, and successful Mardaite raids against the Arabs,[43] to which the murder of Constans' brother and of Constans himself in Sicily should be added. This source was well informed about events both in Constantinople and on the battlefield, which suggests that it was produced by someone who was close to the court and wrote in Greek rather than in Syriac.[44] In another instance, the Oriental chronicles mention Constantine IV's ousting of his brothers (681–2) in much more detail than Theophanes and in an altogether different version:[45] this suggests that Dionysius of Tellmahre had access to a Byzantine source (with speeches), which Theophanes did not use.

One of the sources used by Theophanes and by the Oriental chronicles, possibly to be identified with the one I have just outlined, stemmed from Northern Syria and was written in Greek. The Syrian origin of this is betrayed by the use of the Macedonian months—kept only by Theophanes—and by the interest in the province.[46] This source also drew some information from a list of natural phenomena—it makes brief mentions of droughts in Edessa, of signs and earthquakes in Syria and nearby Palestine—and from lists of local bishops, notably those of Apamea. It also mentions the settlement of 5,000 Slavs in the village of Seleukobolos/Seleucia ad Belum. All this points to an origin in Apamea. This source is probably the same that provided the account of the conquest of the island of Arwad by Mu'awiya.[47] The bishop of Apamea, Thomas or Thomarichos, is presented as the intermediary between Mu'awiya and the inhabitants of Arwad. This source thus also had access to information about Arab affairs. Its geographical scope points in the direction of John bar Samuel, who was from the "western country and the islands," meaning western Syria, the sea coast and the islands. Unfortunately we do not know anything about John, not even in which language he wrote and cannot elaborate more on this piece of information. If we were to maintain that Theophanes had access to this source through Theophilus, then we would have to suppose that this source was first translated and incorporated into Theophilus' history in Syriac and then retranslated into Greek and excerpted by Theophanes, all in all a very improbable transmission process.

For the second period (685–717), Theophanes had a Byzantine source at hand, with names and official functions, which are absent from the Oriental chronicles. The latter had access to another Byzantine source which was well informed about the reigns of

41. [illegible], *The source* (quoted n. [illegible]), pp. 12–5.
42. Conrad, *The conquest* (quoted n. 29).
43. Cf. Hoyland, *Theophilus*, pp. 23 f.
44. [illegible], *Der frühe Islam* (quoted n. 17), pp. 322–5; Conterno, *"Descrizione dei Tempi"* (quoted n. 39), pp. 71–5. Cf. also Hoyland, *Theophilus*, pp. 23 f.
45. Hoyland, *Theophilus*, pp. 173 f.
46. See Conrad, *The conquest* (quoted n. 29), pp. 336–8.
47. Studied by Conrad, *The conquest* (quoted n. 29); Hoyland, *Theophilus*, pp. 134–6 for a comparison of the material.

Constantine IV, Justinian II, and Tiberius III Apsimaros, Justinian's dealings with the Khazars, the rise and fall of Philippicus, and the accession of Anastasius II, about the revolt of Theodosius III against the latter, and, finally, the betrothal of Leo's son to the Khagan's daughter. The last detailed information about Byzantine affairs in the Oriental chronicles concerns the revolt of Artabasdos (741–2 and 743). Afterwards the interest shifts to the events in the Caliphate. The Byzantine source used by Dionysius of Tellmahre differs in many ways from what we find in Theophanes, which again points in the direction of several Byzantine sources, and not of a unique source excerpted by later chroniclers.

Some Muslim sources were used by the Oriental chronicles but, it would appear, not by Theophanes: thus for the capture of Cyprus (649–50), Dionysius of Tellmahre obviously used a narrative source written from the point of view of the Arabs (speeches, mention of the booty, names of the commanders) but transmitted by a Christian (interpretation of the event as punishment for the sin of the local clergy) that was not used by Theophanes.[48] The death of the last Sassanian shah (651–2) is not mentioned by Theophanes, whereas the Oriental sources devote to it a whole paragraph. A narrative source presenting events from the point of view of the Arabs was used by the Oriental chronicles also for the years 650–700: account of the assassination of Caliph 'Uthmān, death of Yazīd, and beginning of the second fitna (in great detail in the Oriental chronicles, in all likelihood from another source in Theophanes), Arab siege of Constantinople (the detailed account in the Oriental chronicles may come from a Syrian Muslim source).[49] Theophanes and the Oriental chronicles do not seem to have shared the same Arab-Muslim sources but to have excerpted different texts although they mention more or less the same events.

Information on the affairs of the Caliphate may have been transmitted by those Christians who held official positions in the caliphal administration and court: for the year 692, Theophanes reports 'Abd al-Malik's construction works in Mecca through the testimony of Sergius b. Mansur, i.e. the family of John Damascene, a Chalcedonian ("a good Christian") and the treasurer of the caliph, and relates that one of the Christian notables of Palestine suggested to the caliph that Sergius play the role of intermediary with the emperor Justinian II.[50] The episode involved Chalcedonians and does not appear in the Oriental chronicles. It shows nonetheless how contacts were still kept between the lost provinces and Constantinople thanks to the network of Christian dignitaries and prominent members of the communities. The case of Moses, a deacon of the (presumably Melkite) Church of Antioch and a physician of the caliph al-Mansur, further illustrates how information circulated within Christian milieus of the same confession.[51] We do not know how this information reached Theophanes; and again the Syriac and Syro-Arabic sources do not mention this episode.

48. Hoyland, *Theophilus*, pp. 131–4.
49. *Ibid.*, p. 215, n. 595.
50. *Ibid.*, p. 187.
51. Quoted by Conterno, *"Descrizione dei Tempi"* (quoted n. 39), p. 117, from Theophanes. See *ibid.*, pp. 112 f., and M. Debié, The Christians in the service of the caliph : through the looking glass of communal identities, *Symposium on Christians, Jews, and Zoroastrians in the Umayyad state (Chicago, June 17-18, 2011)*, ed. by F. Donner and A. Borrut (forthcoming), on the way confessions shaped the writing of history.

Other examples confirm that there existed a Melkite network of information. For the years 742–56, for instance, Theophanes had a Melkite source which transmitted to him the list of the Chalcedonian patriarchs of Antioch.[52] He also had substantial information about Syria and Palestine. People like John Damascene, who came from Damascus to the Melkite monasteries of Palestine, may have transmitted this kind of information. Similarly, members of notable Christian families, as well as monks fleeing the Palestinian monasteries (e.g. George Syncellus) were probable channels for the transmission of information. This was true also for the Syrian Orthodox networks between Edessa and Egypt as we can see in Dionysius of Tellmahre's history. As has long been recognised, George probably played an important part in bringing information from Syria and Palestine to Constantinople, but the issue is to identify the extent of his contribution to Theophanes' material.

Thus Theophanes and the Oriental chronicles used both Byzantine and Arab-Muslim sources. They excerpted them in different ways and often relied on altogether different sources for the same period. How can we then make sense of the way the historical material circulated and how does Theophilus' chronicle fit into the picture? All things considered, it seems plausible that Theophanes and the Oriental chroniclers had a Greek common source on Byzantine and Arab affairs for the period up to 685, but then relied on different Byzantine and Arab-Muslim sources.

As I said, according to Agapius Theophilus wrote about the events of which he was an eyewitness, from ca. 744 and the murder of Walid II to the triumph of the Abbasids in 754.[53] It is striking that the material found only in Theophanes is concentrated in the period following the Abbasid revolution, which is precisely when we have clear evidence of Theophilus' activity. L. I. Conrad conjectured a continuation of Theophilus until the 780's in order to explain this discrepancy.[54] Indeed, from 744 onwards one notices a shift in the interest of the sources. The Arab affairs are still present in Theophanes but are confined to basic information on successions; the parallels with the Oriental chronicles are meagre. On the other hand, the proximity between Agapius and Dionysius of Tellmahre, especially through the *Chronicle of 1234*, becomes more prominent (see the events of the years 744, 746, 749, and 750—the capture of Damascus by the Abbasids). The few parallels with Theophanes amount to accounts of the same events from different angles: thus, in the case of the death of Marwan II, Theophanes has information about the caliph's flight to Spain, while Agapius and the *Chronicle of 1234* are interested in the events in Khurasan, probably following Theophilus who accompanied the caliph there; the murder of Ibn Hubayra, the destruction of the city of Anbar, and the massacre of the Umayyads are told only by Agapius and the *Chronicle of 1234*. In 750–1, the revolt against the Abbasids in Syria and Mesopotamia is again told only in these two texts, while Theophanes has two lines about Chalcis in Syria. In 754, the council of Hiereia is mentioned by Theophanes and the Oriental chronicles from different perspectives. For the death of Abu al-'Abbas, Theophanes' information is detailed but differs markedly,

52. Conterno, "Descrizione dei Tempi" (quoted n. 39), p. 59. Hoyland, *Theophilus*, pp. 240 f., about the election of the Chalcedonian patriarch [illegible].
53. Hoyland, *Theophilus*, p. 25.
54. Conrad, The [illegible] (quoted n. 29).

although without contradiction, from that found in the Oriental chronicles.[55] The source used by Dionysius and Agapius stops with Abu Ja'far al-Mansur but parallels between Agapius and Michael the Great continue until 767. All in all, Theophanes seems to have had an important amount of information on Arab affairs from a source other that those used by the Oriental chronicles.[56]

Now, part of the material for this later period can quite safely be attributed to Theophilus: for the year 745, for instance, Theophanes and Michael the Great mention the election of the new Chalcedonian patriarch of Antioch.[57] Only Dionysius (as preserved in Michael the Syrian), however, says that the new patriarch obtained an edict from the caliph Marwan and an army to persecute the Maronites, a detail which is very likely to stem from the chronicle of Theophilus who, according to Barhebraeus, was a Maronite. Theophanes does not say a word about that. He and Dionysius obviously do not share the same source, since the patriarch is said to come from Edessa by the former and from Harran by the latter (in Michael), who adds that he was the son of Qanbara and the goldsmith of Marwan, information which, again, comes from a source close to the caliph. This piece of information shows that Theophanes and Michael did not use the same source and that Michael is more likely to have preserved information that ultimately comes from Theophilus, such as detailed mentions of natural phenomena in relation to the planets or once the Milky Way. Such interest in astronomy is unique in the chronicles that normally give only scant details about the shape of the stars or comets. It is, however, not surprising for an astrologer such as Theophilus—who may be the ultimate source for this. It should be noted that only Michael the Great kept this detail.[58] In all likelihood, such descriptions were borrowed from Theophilus by Dionysius of Tellmahre and transmitted to Michael the Syrian. They do not support, however, the idea of a transmission of Theophilus' material to Theophanes. Other passages can be attributed to Theophilus with some degree of confidence, such as the events taking place in Khurasan or the geographical description of the regions of Jurjan (in Agapius) and Tabaristan (in Michael the Syrian) where Theophilus is known to have accompanied the caliph in ca. 768 and 758 respectively.[59] Again, these elements are absent from Theophanes' chronicle. Consequently, it is likely that Theophanes had access to another source of information than Theophilus and his continuation.

55. Hoyland, *Theophilus*, p. 294, n. 204.
56. See the list in M. Conterno, *Palestina, Siria, Costantinopoli : la "Cronografia" di Teofane Confessore e la mezzaluna fertile della storiografia nei "secoli bui" di Bisanzio*, dissertation, Istituto italiano di scienze umane 2011, pp. 235 f.
57. Hoyland, *Theophilus*, pp. 257 f.
58. *Ibid.*, p. 303, where a comet is located in relation to the sun and the constellation Aries: "the comet in front of the Sun in Aries when the Sun is in Taurus." The chronicle of Michael the Great has other similar astronomical considerations: in 745 a star is located in relation to the Milky Way, which is not mentioned in the other Greek or Syriac chronicles (*ibid.*, p. 254). Other stars are mentioned by name with their astronomical position, such as "the Sword" (Mich. Syr., XI, 25, p. 472, transl., II, p. 520) or "the comet in front of the Sun in Aries when the Sun is in Taurus" (XI, 25, pp. 474–5, transl., II, p. 524).
59. Hoyland, *Theophilus*, pp. 302 f.

* * *

The study of the passages in the 740's that probably stem from Theophilus' chronicle shows that Theophanes did not use this work for that period. That should induce us to be more cautious also in the identification of his sources for earlier times. It is far from certain that Theophilus composed a Syriac chronicle using Byzantine and Arab sources and encompassing several centuries. It is improbable that Greek sources underwent a double translation process, from Greek to Syriac and then from Syriac to Greek. A narrative history containing information about the events in the Near East and written in Greek is the probable source of both Theophanes and the Oriental chronicles for the reigns of Heraclius and Constans II. It is, however, difficult to explain the divergence in the material on both Byzantine and Arab affairs after the 680's, when this source stops. It seems that each chronicler excerpted and rearranged several sources of different kinds, some annalistic, others narrative and did not take the information from an all-encompassing common source. Even when they appear to have used a common Byzantine source, they all made additions to the shared material, abbreviated it in different ways, or combined it with various sources. That should warn us against imagining an all too simple and unique way of transmission of the historical material which seems to have been more varied than generally assumed. Chroniclers were above all workers weaving from all sorts of material the web of their own construction.

THEOPHILOS, "THE MORE LIKELY CANDIDATE"? TOWARDS A REAPPRAISAL OF THE QUESTION OF THEOPHANES' "ORIENTAL SOURCE(S)"

by Maria Conterno

In 1906, Edward W. Brooks was the first to mention Theophilos of Edessa, the Christian court astrologer of the caliph al-Mahdi, as the possible "Oriental source" of Theophanes Confessor's *Chronographia*: "To sum up, Michael [the Syrian] used Dionysius [of Tell Maḥre] (843–6), and Theophanes used a Palestinian Melkite author who wrote in Greek not long after 780; while both of these last used a chronicler who wrote not long after 746, whom there is some reason to identify with John the son of Samuel, though we cannot positively assert that he was not Theophilus of Edessa."[1] Brooks considered John the son of Samuel to be the most likely author of the source whence the material shared by Theophanes and Michael the Syrian was supposed to come. In 1990, Lawrence Conrad opted with firm conviction for Theophilos: "Brooks suggested that the author was either a certain John, son of Samuel, about whom practically nothing is known, or less likely, Theophilos of Edessa, the Maronite historian and Syriac translator of Homer. In light of evidence in the *Kitāb al-'unwān* of Agapius (d. ca. 950), still unpublished when Brooks wrote, it now appears that Theophilos is the more likely candidate."[2]

The starting point of Conrad's study was the discovery of materials of clear Islamic origin within Theophanes' *Chronographia*. We know of no Greek historical text which could have transmitted to Theophanes such Islamic materials, but for the 7th century the *Chronographia* shares a large amount of information with the chronicle of Michael the Syrian, the *Chronicle of 1234* and the Christian-Arabic chronicle of Agapius of Mabbug. On this basis, Conrad drew the conclusion that Theophanes had access to the Islamic materials via the Greek version of a Syriac history known to the other three texts as well.

1. E. W. Brooks, The sources of Theophanes and the Syriac chronicles, *BZ* 15, 1906, pp. 578–87, at 587. On Theophilos' life and works see now *Christian-Muslim relations : a bibliographical history. 1. (600-900)*, ed. by D. Thomas and B. Roggema, Leiden – Boston 2009, pp. 305–8.

2. L. I. Conrad, Theophanes and the Arabic historical tradition : some indications of intercultural transmission, *Byz. Forsch.* 15, 1990, pp. 1–44, at 43.

Studies in Theophanes, ed. by M. Jankowiak & F. Montinaro (Travaux et mémoires 19), Paris 2015, pp. 383–400.

It is, finally, Agapius' explicit mention of Theophilos as one of his sources that led Conrad to identify this "Syriac common source" with the latter's lost historical work, supposedly written around 750. Two years later, Conrad produced a more detailed analysis of the links between the texts involved, through the comparative study of a single episode (the Muslim conquest of Arwād) in both the Christian and the Islamic traditions.[3] In this source-critical essay Conrad focussed more closely on a supposed Greek translation-continuation of Theophilos' historical work. He reached the conclusion that it was produced around 780 by a monk living most likely in the region of Ḥimṣ, who not only took up Theophilos' narrative, but also supplemented it with information of his own. This reconstruction is effectively represented by a *stemma fontium*, which has often been referred to or reproduced later on.[4]

Conrad's hypothesis soon became influential. Thus, in the introduction to the English translation of Theophanes' *Chronographia*, Cyril Mango provisionally embraced it.[5] Accordingly, he distinguished the "eastern passages," that is to say the pieces of information that allegedly came from the Greek translation-continuation of Theophilos of Edessa, by having them printed with a different font, and this reconstruction is presented as plausible in the *Prolegomena* to the *Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit*, which contain a chapter about the "gemeinsame Vorlage" of Theophanes and the Syriac sources for the period 641–751.[6] Robert Hoyland went one step further and proposed a hypothetical reconstruction of the contents of the "Syriac common source," on the basis of the matching passages in Theophanes, Michael the Syrian, the *Chronicle of 1234*, and Agapius of Mabbug.[7] This reconstruction—recently followed by an English translation of all the relevant passages[8]—has been well received by both Islamists and Byzantinists, and referring to Theophilos of Edessa's lost historical work has become the easiest and most common way of alluding to the entire body of historical information under consideration[9]. The large credit given to Conrad's theory is perhaps best reflected

3. L. I. Conrad, The conquest of Arwād : a source-critical study in the historiography of the early medieval Near East, in *The Byzantine and early Islamic Near East. 1*, ed. by A. Cameron and L. I. Conrad (Studies in late antiquity and early Islam 1), Princeton 1992, pp. 317–401.

4. Conrad, The conquest of Arwād (quoted n. 3), p. 326. Cf. Id., The Arabs and the colossus, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, ser. 3, 6, 1996, pp. 165–87, at 168; A. Borrut, Entre tradition et histoire : genèse et diffusion de l'image de 'Umar II, *Mélanges de l'université Saint-Joseph* 58, 2005, pp. 329–78, at 369; Id., *Entre mémoire et pouvoir : l'espace syrien sous les derniers Omeyyades et les premiers Abbasides (v. 72–193/692–809)*, Leiden 2011, p. 145; Hoyland, *Theophilus*, p. 337.

5. Mango – Scott, pp. lxxxii–lxxxiv.

6. *PmbZ* I, *Prolegomena* pp. 226–34, at 233: "Festzuhalten bleibt damit, daß Theophanes für den größeren Teil des siebten Jahrhunderts und für die folgende Zeit bis etwa 750 eine allem Anschein nach syrischsprachige Vorlage benutzt hat, die nach 750 und mit größter Wahrscheinlichkeit vor 785 entstanden und wahrscheinlich, wenn auch nicht völlig sicher, dem syrischen Astronomen und Geschichtsschreiber Theophilos von Edessa zuzuschreiben ist."

7. Hoyland, *Seeing Islam*, pp. 400–9.

8. Hoyland, *Theophilus*.

9. See W. Brandes, Der frühe Islam in der byzantinischen Historiographie : Anmerkungen zur Quellenproblematik der *Chronographia* des Theophanes, in *Jenseits der Grenzen : Beiträge zur spätantiken und frühmittelalterlichen Geschichtsschreibung*, hrsg. von A. Goltz, H. Leppin und H. Schlange-Schöningen (Millennium Studien 25), Berlin – New York 2009, pp. 313–44; Borrut, Entre tradition

in James Howard-Johnston's recent guide to the historical sources for the 7[th] century, in which Theophilos' chronicle takes a paramount place.[10]

In his most recent publication on the subject, Robert Hoyland has produced a nuanced picture of the relations between the four texts. For example, he takes into account the possibility that Theophilos relied on a Byzantine source (which he now calls the "eastern source"), and attaches due importance to the presence in the *Chronographia* of additional Oriental material, whose provenance is worth investigating. He asks thus: "Could, for example, the "eastern source" have included Muslim as well as Byzantine material? In this case Theophilos would have done no more than add material on the third Arab civil war and the Abbasid revolution to a very full chronicle that covered Muslim and Byzantine politics up to *ca.* 743."[11] Such an alternative picture echoes in fact the reconstruction proposed long ago by Paul Speck, according to whom Theophanes' Oriental source was nothing else than the *Dossier* put together in Palestine by George Synkellos, to which the Syriac chroniclers had access as well.[12]

As I will try to show, the quantity and quality of the problems that the Theophilos theory leaves open is such to require that we bring back into question the whole theory in itself. The aim of this paper is not to replace Theophilos with another candidate, "more likely" still, but to question the idea that the material of eastern origin to be found in the *Chronographia* derives from one "Syriac common source," or from its Greek translation-continuation for that matter. In particular, I will show that the Theophilos theory, in whatever form, does not adequately explain all the similarities and differences between Theophanes' *Chronographia* and the Syriac chronicles,[13] nor the presence in the former of items of eastern origin that are not in the latter.

1. Syriac into Greek or Greek into Syriac?

Looking carefully at the material shared by Theophanes, Michael the Syrian, Agapius, and the anonymous author of the *Chronicle of the year 1234*, one will soon notice that there are different degrees of resemblance. In some items, sentences are paralleled almost word for word, which definitely points to a common written source, whereas in other parts the relation is suggested only by the organization of the content. Elsewhere the correspondence is limited to the core of the information, different details are reported, and similarities are minimal, to the extent that the provenance from the same source cannot

et histoire (quoted n. 4), p. 349, coining the expression "circuit de Théophile d'Édesse"; Id., *Entre mémoire et pouvoir* (quoted n. 4), p. 143 ff.

10. Howard-Johnston, *Witnesses*, pp. 192–236, with my review, *Journal of Roman archaeology* 24, 2011, pp. 897–912.

11. Hoyland, *Theophilus*, p. 29 n. 90.

12. See P. Speck, *Das geteilte Dossier : Beobachtungen zu den Nachrichten über die Regierung des Kaisers Herakleios und die seiner Söhne bei Theophanes und Nikephoros* (Ποικίλα βυζαντινά 9), Bonn 1988, pp. 516–9. Cf. also A. Palmer, *The seventh century in West-Syrian chronicles* (Translated texts for historians 15), Liverpool 1993, p. 95.

13. I.e. Michael the Syrian's chronicle, the *Chronicle of the Year 1234* and Agapius' *Kitāb al-'unwān* (written in Arabic by a Syrian Melkite author).

be taken for granted. Finally, in other cases still, the four chronicles are clearly describing the same events, but their accounts are too dissimilar to derive from a common version.

The passages that show the greatest similarity in wording and content are all to be found in the part regarding the 7th century, the one exception being the latest one, an account of the wreck of the entire fleet sent by Justinian II in 705/6 to bring back his wife from the land of the Khazars.[14] Remarkably, all these passages report events concerning the Byzantine Empire or seen from a Byzantine point of view. The most significant examples are: the desertion of the Persian general Šahrbaraz and his alliance with Herakleios;[15] the agreement made by Kyros of Alexandria in order to spare the city from pillaging by the Arabs and his consequent removal from the patriarchal throne;[16] the capture of Jerusalem and 'Umar's encounter with Patriarch Sophronios;[17] the building of a mosque on the site of Solomon's Temple in Jerusalem, following the Jews' suggestion to remove the Cross from the church on the Mount of Olives;[18] the Arab-Byzantine naval battle at Phoenix;[19] the revolt of the general of the Armenians, Saborios, and the meeting between Sergios (the rebel's envoy) and Andrew (the imperial *koubikoularios*) before Mu'āwiya;[20] Constans II's assassination in Syracuse and Mezezios' usurpation attempt.[21]

All these passages contain information that could just as easily derive from a Byzantine source, and they are numbered among the parts of the *Chronographia* which allegedly come from the "Syriac Common Source" not so much for their contents, but rather for the remarkably similar accounts to be found in Agapius and in the two Syriac chronicles. This has been observed also by Hoyland, and by Brandes before him,[22] but none of them seems to me to have drawn the necessary conclusions from the analysis of these passages. It is precisely in these items that one finds evidence of a linguistic nature that allows to question their derivation from a Syriac source. A close reading of the matching passages in the four chronicles reveals in the Syriac texts numerous traces of a translation from Greek. Such traces appear in some of the Greek loanwords and, more conspicuously, in the transliteration of Greek words in Syriac script.

1.1. Traces of a translation from Greek

Greek loanwords are not at all unusual in Syriac and their substantial number in Michael the Syrian's chronicle and in the *Chronicle of 1234* does not represent *per se*

14. Theoph. AM 6198, p. 375.21–8; Mich. Syr., IV, p. 450; Agap., pp. 497–8.
15. Theoph. AM 6118, p. 323.22–324.16; Mich. Syr., IV, pp. 408–9; *Chron. 1234*, I, p. 231.18–233.1; Agap., pp. 461 f.
16. Theoph. AM 6126, p. 338.12–339.4; Mich. Syr., IV, p. 419; *Chron. 1234*, I, p. 251.28–253.31; Agap., pp. 471–4.
17. Theoph. AM 6127, p. 339.15–29; Mich. Syr., IV, pp. 419 f.; *Chron. 1234*, p. 254.28–255.28; Agap., p. 475.
18. Theoph. AM 6135, p. 342.22–6; Mich. Syr., IV, p. 421; *Chron. 1234*, p. 260.28–261.3.
19. Theoph. AM 6146, p. 345.15–346.18; Mich. Syr., IV, pp. 431 f.; *Chron. 1234*, p. 274.16–275.19; Agap., pp. 483 f.
20. Theoph. AM 6159, p. 348.29–350.27; Mich. Syr., IV, pp. 433–6; *Chron. 1234*, p. 282.27–286.20; Agap., p. 488 and HOYLAND, *Theophilus*, pp. 156 ff. (English transl.) and 320 f. (Arabic text).
21. Theoph. AM 6160, p. 351.14–352.9; Mich. Syr., IV, p. 453; *Chron. 1234*, p. 287.3–20; Agap., pp. 490 f.
22. See above, note 9.

evidence of translation from Greek. However, the particular context in which some of these loanwords are employed, or misemployed, does. Here are a few significant examples.

Both Theophanes and the Syriac chronicles mention the agreement between Kyros of Alexandria and the Arab commander 'Amr ibn al-'Āṣ. Kyros pledged 200,000 golden coins every year to the Arabs if they would spare Egypt from pillaging. He was later accused of giving money to the enemy for no apparent reason, and charged with treason in front of Herakleios. In Theophanes we read:[23]

κατηγορεῖται δὲ ὁ Κῦρος ἐπὶ τοῦ βασιλέως, ὡς τὸ χρυσίον τῆς Αἰγύπτου τοῖς Σαρακηνοῖς δούς

Kyros was accused in front of the emperor of giving the gold of Egypt to the Saracens

We find almost the same sentence in Michael the Syrian:[24]

ܗܝܕܝܢ ܐܢܫܝܢ ܩܛܪܓܘܗܝ ܠܩܘܪܐ ܠܘܬ ܗܪܩܠܝܣ ܐܟܡܢ ܕܗܘܐ ܝܗܒ ܕܗܒܐ ܕܡܨܪܝܢ ܠܐܪܒܝܐ ܕܠܐ ܥܠܬܐ

Then some accused Kyros to Herakleios likelso that [sic] *he gave the gold of Egypt to the Arabs without a reason.*

And in the *Chronicle of 1234*:[25]

ܘܐܙܠܘ ܐܢܫܝܢ ܩܛܪܓܘܗܝ ܠܩܘܪܐ ܩܕܡ ܡܠܟܐ ܐܪܩܠܝܣ. ܕܢܣܒ ܠܗ ܕܗܒܐ ܕܡܨܪܝܢ ܘܝܗܒܗ ܠܛܝܝܐ

Some went and accused Kyros in front of Herakleios of taking the gold of Egypt and giving it to the Saracens.

In both Syriac texts we find the verb *qaṭreg* (ܩܛܪܓ), which derives from the Greek verb κατηγορέω and is usually followed by the conjunction *d-* (ܕ-, as in *Chron. 1234*) or the preposition *b-* (ܒ-). Michael the Syrian, however, uses it with the conjunction *akman d-* (ܐܟܡܢ ܕ), which has comparative or final meaning and does not really make sense in this context. The odd Syriac construction can easily be explained as a misunderstanding of the Greek preposition ὡς, which can also have comparative or final meaning, although of course not in this case. In my view, the blunder goes back to the Syriac source shared by Michael and the anonymous chronicler: in the *Chronicle of 1234* it was emended, while Michael reproduced the passage as he read it, thus allowing us to detect its original language.

The episode of 'Umar I's visit to Jerusalem[26] contains, in the Syriac versions, some loanwords and calques that lend their texts a strong Greek flavour, yet are no indisputable evidence to their being a translation from Greek.[27] One single point in the *Chronicle of*

23. Theoph. AM 6126, p. 338.18 f.
24. Mich. Syr., IV, p. 422.
25. *Chron. 1234*, p. 252.17 f.
26. Theoph. AM 6127, p. 339.15–29; Mich. Syr., IV, pp. 419 f.; *Chron. 1234*, p. 254.28–255.28; Agap., p. 475.
27. The Syriac *šqal melthō* (ܫܩܠ ܡܠܬܐ, Mich. Syr.) and *nsab melthō* (ܢܣܒ ܡܠܬܐ, *Chron. 1234*) describe Sophronios' acceptance of the caliph's guarantee and match the Greek idiomatic expression in Theophanes: λόγον ἔλαβε. The clothes offered to the caliph by the patriarch are called σινδόνιον σὺν

1234, however, suggests that the original version of this account was written in Greek, even if it does not involve any Greek loanword. 'Umar expressed the will to build a mosque on the place where Solomon's Temple once stood. The anonymous chronicler goes on:[28]

ܘܦܩܕ ܕܬܬܒܢܐ ܒܕܘܟܬܗ ܕܗܝܟܠܐ ܕܫܠܝܡܘܢ ܡܣܓܕܐ ܕܗܘ ܒܝܬ ܨܠܘܬܐ ܠܛܝܝܐ

[...] and he ordered a mosque, namely a house of prayer for the Arabs, to be built in the place of Solomon's Temple.

The gloss on the word "mosque" looks suspect. The Syriac root *s-g-d* (ܣܓܕ), meaning literally "to bow down," is the same Semitic root on which the Arabic *masjid* (مسجد) is built, and it was already linked to cult and worship in pre-Islamic times. The expression used to clarify it, *beyth ṣlūthō* (ܒܝܬ ܨܠܘܬܐ), is based on a root, *ṣ-l-ʿ* (ܨܠܐ), that has exactly the same literal meaning. Was it really necessary to explain to a Syriac reader the meaning of the word *masgedtō* (ܡܣܓܕܬܐ)? It is more probable that such a tautology is the word-for-word translation of a Greek text written in a period when the meaning of "mosque" was still obscure to the intended reader. The Greek term μασγιδᾶς is, in fact, first attested in papyri dated to the beginning of the 7th century, whereas μασγιδίον first appears in Photios.[29] Although Theophanes does not provide himself the original version, the corresponding sentence in the *Chronographia* contains an interesting word:

τὸν ναὸν ἐζήτησε τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ὃν ᾠκοδόμησε Σολομών, προσκυνητήριον αὐτὸν ποιῆσαι τῆς αὐτοῦ βλασφημίας.

He sought the temple of the Jews, the one that Solomon built, in order to make of it a proskyneterion *for his blasphemous religion.*

The neologism προσκυνητήριον literally means "a place where people kneel down (in worship)" and tallies etymologically with both the Syriac terms *masgedtō* (ܡܣܓܕܬܐ) and *beyth ṣlūthō* (ܒܝܬ ܨܠܘܬܐ) and with the Arabic *masjid* (مسجد). This probably was itself an explanatory word created *ex novo* in order to clarify the meaning of a term for mosque, which is actually not preserved by Theophanes but might have been in the common (Greek) source.

The account of Andrew's embassy at Muʿāwiya's court[30] is particularly rich in Greek loanwords. Both Andrew, the imperial *koubikoularios*, and Sergios, the ambassador of the rebel Šābūr/Saborios, try to win the caliph to their side. Michael the Syrian and the *Chronicle of 1234* say that the caliph has the rebel's man enter first, out of scorn for the emperor:

ܘܦܩܕ ܡܥܘܝܐ ܕܢܥܘܠ ܣܪܓܝܣ ܩܕܡܝܐ ܠܐܢܛܝܦܐܬܘܝܐ ܕܩܘܣܛܢܣ

[illegible] by Theophanes. This is rendered in Syriac with a loan from σινδόνιον/σινδών and a Semitic word: *[illegible]* ([illegible]). Mich. Syr., *Chron. 1234*, and Agapius call the caliph's charter *sīgīlyūn* ([illegible]), *sigillin* (سجلين) and *sijill* (سجل) respectively, all from Latin *sigillum* via the Greek σιγίλλιον.

28. *Chron. 1234*, p. 255.11 f.

29. See *Lexikon zur byzantinischen Gräzität* 5, Wien 2005, p. 976. Cf. E. A. Sophocles, *A Greek lexikon of the Roman and Byzantine period*, New York 1900, p. 735.

30. Theoph. AM 6159, p. 348.29–351.5; Mich. Syr., IV, pp. 433–6; *Chron. 1234*, p. 282.28–286.26. The text of Agapius has been translated in Hoyland, *Theophilus*, pp. 156 f. (English transl.) and 320 f. (Arabic text).

[...] and Muʿāwiya ordered that Sergios entered first, out of anṭipātōyō (ἀντιπάθεια) *for Constans*

Remarkably, to the Greek loanword *anṭipātōyō* corresponds the opposite idea in Theophanes, expressed by the verb συμπαθεῖν:

καταλαβὼν δὲ Ἀνδρέας τὴν Δαμασκὸν εὗρε Σέργιον προλαβόντα, ὁ δὲ Μαυίας ὑπεκρίνετο συμπαθεῖν τῷ βασιλεῖ. ἦν δὲ Σέργιος καθήμενος πρὸς Μαυίαν

When he arrived at Damascus, Andrew saw that Sergios had anticipated him, but Muʿāwiya pretended to sympathise with the emperor. Sergios, then, was sitting by Muʿāwiya [...]

Andreas Kaplony[31] has rightly pointed out that here the Syriac authors simply offer a distorted and simplified version of what is found in Theophanes. Sergios entered first because he had arrived first, but Muʿāwiya pretended to show favour to Andrew, probably to raise the ante with the rebel. Such a subtle psychological manoeuvre is implicit in Theophanes' words, but has gone lost in the Syriac version. To the Syriac translator, the caliph's feigned sympathy toward the emperor must have sounded inconsistent with the fact that the rebel's envoy had been admitted the first—itself rather a sign of disdain for the emperor—hence sympathy turning into "antipathy." The misunderstanding of an original Greek text is betrayed also by the contradiction that this change has produced in the Syriac version. Both Syriac chronicles tell, just like Theophanes, that Sergios had arrived first and had already been admitted into Muʿāwiya's presence when Andrew reached the court, but then they say that the caliph made the rebel's man enter before the emperor's ambassador because of his antipathy for Constans, as if they were both there and one had been let in before the other. The original account was transcribed accurately by Theophanes, but the Syriac translator failed to catch all its nuances.

An even more significant trace of the Greek underlying text is to be found in the final altercation between Sergios and Andrew. On this occasion, the former insults the latter for being a eunuch. Andrew reproaches Sergios for not standing up in front of him, and Sergios mocks him for his "hybrid" nature. In the *Chronicle of 1234*, Sergios' reply contains a rare Greek loanword, in fact a transliteration rather than a proper loanword:[32]

ܗܘ ܕܝܢ ܦܢܝ ܠܗ ܩܫܝܐܝܬ ܟܕ ܡܒܙܚ ܘܡܨܥܪ ܠܗ. ܘܩܪܐ ܠܗ ܡܚܝܠܐ
ܠܐ ܓܒܪܐ ܘܠܐ ܐܢܬܬܐ ܘܐܦܠܐ ܐܘܕܐܛܐܪܘܣ ܕܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܚܕ ܡܢ ܬܪܝܗܘܢ.

Then Sergios replied harshly to him, scoffing at him and insulting him, and he called him effeminate, neither man nor woman and not even ūdāṭārūs, *that is "either of the two."*

Although Theophanes and Michael the Syrian report an abridged version of Sergios' words, which does not contain the negative pronoun οὐδέτερος,[33] this longer and more rhetorical version is likely to be the original one, and to come from a Greek source. Robert Hoyland observes: "Another example of use of Greek, which reflects either that

31. A. Kaplony, *Konstantinopel und Damaskus: Gesandtschaften und Verträge zwischen Kaisern und Kalifen 639-750* (Islamkundliche Untersuchungen 208), Berlin 1996, p. 51 ff.

32. *Chron. 1234*, p. 282.27–286.20.

33. Theoph. AM 6159, p. 348.29–350.27, part. p. 349.22 f.: ὁ δὲ Σέργιος ἔφη· οὐκ ἐπεγείρομαί σοι, ὅτι οὐκ εἶ ἀνήρ, οὐδὲ γυνή; Mich. Syr., IV, p. 435: ܠܐ ܐܢܬ ܓܒܪܐ ܘܠܐ ܐܢܬܬܐ ܗܘܝܬ. Not in Agapius.

this account is translated from a Greek original or that the Syriac author is trying to reinforce the impression that the conversation of Andrew and Sergius was held in Greek or just trying to show off his own knowledge of Greek."[34] One detail speaks for the first option. The Greek pronoun οὐδέτερος does not actually mean "one of the two," as is stated in the Syriac text, but "neither of the two," and the underlying sentence was probably "he called him effeminate, neither man nor woman, and *oudeteros*," a threefold climax whose third element emphasizes the second with one single word. The slightly inaccurate use of the Greek word reflects an imprecise translation from a Greek text. This view is supported by another element.

Whereas Theophanes says only that Andrew was a *koubikoularios*, the two Syriac chronicles say also explicitly that he was a eunuch.[35] This additional piece of information was unnecessary in a Byzantine context, where it was commonly known that the *koubikoularios* was one of the eunuchs in the service of the emperor.[36] But it must not have been as obvious for Syriac readers. This detail was added by the two Syriac chroniclers[37] rather than dropped by Theophanes, and the fact that it was taken for granted in the original (Byzantine) source is confirmed by Agapius' version. Agapius, in fact, calls Andrew simply a "servant" of the emperor, *khādim* (خادم), makes no reference to his being a castrate, and omits the scene of the quarrel with Sergios altogether: a clear sign that the meaning of Sergios' words eluded him, because he missed the necessary piece of knowledge.

Another strong piece of evidence in support of the Greek origin of parts of the narrative commonly attributed to Theophilos is the transliteration of a whole Greek sentence in the context of the naval battle of Cape Phoenix. This is a pun built upon the Greek toponym "Thessalonika." The night before the battle, Constans II dreamt that he was in the city. The interpreter of dreams read this as the premonition of an imminent defeat breaking down the name of the city into three pieces:

> ὦ βασιλεῦ, εἴθοις μὴ ἐκοιμήθης, μήτε ὄνειρον εἶδες. τὸ γὰρ εἶναί σε ἐν Θεσσαλονίκῃ "θὲς ἄλλῳ νίκην" ἐγκρίνεται, τοῦτ᾽ ἔστι πρὸς τὸν ἐχθρόν σου ἡ νίκη τρέπεται.

> *If only, o King, you had not gone to sleep, nor seen a dream! Your being in Thessalonika, indeed, is to be interpreted as "give victory to another," that is, the victory turns towards your enemy.*

Here is the Syriac version:[38]

> [illegible]

34. Hoyland, *Theophilus*, p. 160 n. 403.
35. Mich. Syr., IV, p. 434: "a eunuch that was *koubikoularios*" ([illegible]); *Chron. 1234*, p. 283.4–5: "a eunuch named Andrew, the emperor's *koubikoularios*" ([illegible]).
36. On the *koubikoularioi* and the other palace eunuchs, see. G. Sideris, Eunuques, chambre impériale et palais à Byzance (IVe-VIIe siècles), in *Palais et pouvoir : de Constantinople à Versailles*, sous la dir. de M.-F. Auzépy et J. Cornette, Saint-Denis 2003, pp. 163–81.
37. It is not impossible that they did it independently, since they use two different words for eunuch.
38. *Chron. 1234*, p. 274.16–275.19. Again Mich. Syr. (IV, pp. 431 f.) differs only in small details.

Would, o king, that you had not fallen asleep and seen this dream! Thessalonika, in fact, is explained as tēs alū tīn nīqī, *namely "give the victory to the other." For sure the victory turns toward your enemy.*

The Syriac text is almost word for word identical with the Greek, the only exceptions being the article added to the city name[39] and the literal translation of the pun inserted between its transcription, with the explanation of its meaning.

Now, since the pun itself works only in Greek, any author who knew Greek but wrote in another language would have written it down exactly like this. Furthermore, since such an anecdote was very likely to meet popular taste, it is easy to imagine that it spread by word of mouth and was received through an oral source by a Syriac writer, who carefully transcribed it and explained it. However, the weight of these observations grows smaller if we look at the whole account of the battle. This is a long and articulate narrative, which begins with Mu'āwiya's order to equip a fleet in Tripolis and the arson of the ships, started by two Christian brothers. It ends with the death in battle of one of the same two brothers, who saves the emperor and covers his shameful escape. It has a romanticized plot involving heroic deeds and emphatic descriptions but also contains accurate information. The two brothers, for instance, are said to be the sons of (a) "Boukinator." This was a Roman commander known by this nick-name rather than an anonymous trumpeter[40]. The detail of the premonitory dream is undoubtedly a fictional element created to further discredit Constans II. The three chronicles agree in saying that he haughtily disregarded the foretoken and went with his fleet to a battle that ended in a massacre for the Romans. But if the pun was invented, it was of course invented in Greek.

All these elements together lead me to believe that this account was fashioned in a Byzantine context and that it was part of a longer war-narrative which had as protagonists Boukinator and/or his sons and betrayed an anti-imperial bias.[41] The word-for-word correspondence between Theophanes and the Syriac chronicles points to a shared written source which must have been written in Greek.

39. The article is missing in all the manuscripts of the *Chronographia*, but is in Anastasius' Latin translation (Anast., p. 217.16) and in George the Monk, who depends on Theophanes (p. 716.17). Therefore it might have originally been in the *Chronographia* and have been expunged by a later copyst to better preserve the pun.
40. De Boor prints the name with capital B. The Greek βουκινάτωρ derives from Latin *buccinator*, which originally meant "trumpeter" but came to indicate a precise military rank in the Later Roman and Byzantine army: see J. F. Haldon, *Byzantine praetorians : an administative, institutional and social survey of the Opsikion and tagmata, c. 580-900*, Bonn 1984, pp. 110 f. We know of an Armenian commander called "Boukinator" who stood out during the battle of Yarmuk (Ibn Qanāṭir in the Islamic sources, Qnṭrys in *Chron. 1234*) and is possibly to be identified with the father of the two brothers: see W. E. Kaegi, *Byzantium and the early Islamic conquests*, Cambridge 1992, pp. 33 f., 120, and 132; Palmer, *The seventh century* (quoted n. 12), p. 156 n. 376; Brandes, *Der frühe Islam* (quoted n. 9), p. 322; *PmbZ* #1047.
41. This has already been suggested by Lilie and Brandes. They both implied, however, that the Byzantine account had reached Theophanes through Theophilos. Cf. R. J. Lilie, Theophanes and al-Ṭabarī on the Arab invasions of Byzantium, in *Al-Ṭabarī : a medieval Muslim historian and his work*, ed. by H. Kennedy (Studies in late antiquity and early Islam 15), Princeton 2008, pp. 219–36, at 229; Brandes, *Der frühe Islam* (quoted n. 9), pp. 322 f.

1.2 A Greek source for the 7th century

Brandes and Hoyland agree that much of the evidence that I presented above reveals an underlying Greek source, but they rather think that this was one of the sources used by Theophilos. My first objection is that if a Greek source for the 7th century was at play, Theophanes could have used it as well. Although it is possible that Theophilos used this Greek source and that it reached the Syriac chronicles through his work, it is far more probable that Theophanes had independent access to it. The hypothesis of a Greek text first translated into Syriac and then retranslated into Greek, without any trace of this double transition being revealed in the final Greek text, is not only very complicated. We have seen that the translation from Greek into Syriac has left signs in the Syriac text,[42] but nothing at all in Theophanes' Greek text allows to imply that it was translated from Syriac. There are further and decisive examples of this.

We are told that Constans' murderer was Andrew, son of Troilos. In Michael the Syrian and the *Chronicle of 1234*, the unusual name Τρώϊλος is transcribed as *Trālūs* ([illegible]).[43] Now, how could the Greek translator of Theophilos guess the correct original form of such a poorly attested name? The *PmbZ*, in fact, records only two Troilos.[44] In the episode of Andrew the *koubikoularios*, Theophanes lends Saborios the surname *Persogenēs* (Σαβώριος Περσογενής), meaning "of Persian origin." Among the Syriac chronicles only Michael gives a surname for Saborios/Šābūr, namely *Aprsitgn* ([illegible]), in which Brooks had already recognized a garbled transcription of Περσογενής.[45] A Greek translator of Theophilos could never correctly gather *Persogenēs* from *Aprsitgn*. Even supposing that the name had been transcribed better by Theophilos and was later misunderstood or miscopied by Michael (or Dionysios), the epithet itself is rare[46] and it is far more plausible that Theophanes got it in its correct form from a Greek text rather than from a Syriac one.[47]

Furthermore, in his "Byzantine" items Theophanes gives sometimes additional details that are missing in the Syriac texts. In the story just mentioned of Andrew the *koubikoularios*, Theophanes reports a full additional episode: after the death of the rebel Saborios, the Arabs conquer the city of Amorion but Andrew succeeds in ousting them by climbing the city walls with just a few men, in midwinter. Elsewhere Theophanes adds only small but very precise details. In the episode of Constans' death, he mentions the name of the public bath where the emperor was killed, "Dafne."[48] Speaking of Kyros' agreement with the Arabs, he says that Herakleios replaced Kyros with the Armenian general Manuel, sending him to Egypt as *augustalios*,[49] that is *prefectus augustalis*, a title for the governor

42. Signs suggesting that the translator was not perfectly bilingual, by the way.
43. Theoph. AM 6160, p. 351.30; Mich. Syr., IV, p. 435; *Chron. 1234*, p. 287.9.
44. Cf. *PmbZ* #8524 f.
45. E. W. Brooks, The Sicilian expedition of Constantine IV, *BZ* 17, 1908, pp. 455–9.
46. In the TLG the word is attested only four times outside Theophanes.
47. P. Peeters, Πασαγνάθης – Περσογενής, *Byz.* 8, 1933, pp. 406–23, interpreted *Aprsitgn* as the transcription of a Georgian word meaning as well "of Persian origin" and has therefore postulated a Georgian oral source behind Michael the Syrian. This reconstruction, however, besides its other oddities, does not explain how, when, and why this confusion of names and characters took place.
48. Theoph. AM 6160, p. 351.15.
49. *Ibid.* AM 6126, p. 338.21.

of the Egyptian province. A similar agreement to avoid Arab invasion was made by John, the governor of Osrhoene, and he too was dismissed by the emperor. The episode is rather short, but here too the correspondence between the *Chronographia* and the Syriac chronicles is almost literal.[50] Theophanes, however, adds the surname of John, "Kataias," and the precise military rank of Ptolemy, the man sent by Herakleios to replace him, namely *stratelatēs*. In the account of the conquest of Arwād he specifies the name and rank of the man sent against Mu'āwiya, the *koubikoularios* Kakorizos. These are all pure Byzantine elements that could understandably disappear in the transmission from Greek to Syriac. But to stick to the "Theophilos theory" we are forced to think that all of them were faithfully reported in Syriac by Theophilos, then retranslated into Greek by the translator-continuator but dropped by both Agapius and Dionysios of Tellmahre. Or we have to list them among the pieces of information inserted by the Greek translator in Theophilos work.

If too many questions remain open, a number of them are answered if we think that part of the material shared by Theophanes and the Syriac chronicles (and actually the most extensive narratives, which show the highest degree of word-for-word correspondence) comes from a Greek source, which might have been used by Theophilos as well (or even by Dionysios of Tellmahre), but to which Theophanes had access either directly or via another Greek, not Syriac, intermediate source.

2. More than one "Oriental source"?

The arguments above should already invite greater caution when talking about Theophilos as *the* "Oriental source" of the *Chronographia*. In the following I will show that even among the purely Oriental material in Theophanes—i.e. sections not directly concerned with Byzantium—there are items that cannot possibly come from Theophilos and for which an Oriental source other than Theophilos must be envisaged.

2.1. The life of Muḥammad

As I said at the outset, the four chronicles include sometimes very different accounts of the same events, for which it is difficult to imagine a common source. The first significant mismatch between the *Chronographia* and the other three chronicles concerns Muḥammad's life and the rise of Islam. Theophanes' account differs in structure and contents from Agapius and the two Syriac chronicles, and even the latter two do not exactly tally.

To begin with, Michael the Syrian and the *Chronicle of 1234* report very similar versions, probably reproducing what existed in Dionysius of Tellmahre. They pay almost no attention to the Prophet's family. In Theophanes the birth of the new religion is instead closely linked to Muḥammad's private life, since the latter is said to have made up the apparitions of the archangel Gabriel in order to explain to his wife epileptic fits, of which he was ashamed. According to Theophanes, then, Muḥammad's wife had a fundamental role in the birth of Islam, since she spread the voice of his husband's prophetic gift and

50. *Ibid.* AM 6128, p. 340.1–10; Mich. Syr., IV, p. 420; *Chron. 1234*, p. 256.3–16; Agap., pp. 476 f.

gathered the first followers. Theophanes makes no reference to Muḥammad's previous fascination with Christian and Jewish doctrines, instead the Syriac chronicles present his preaching as the fruit of a sincere conversion to monotheism and blame the greedy people of his tribe for turning his religious proselytism into a rapacious conquest movement. The only point at which the two versions overlap is their description of the Islamic paradise, which presents the same main features: rivers of milk and honey, meat, wine and beautiful women. Here as well, though, different aspects are stressed: Theophanes emphasises the lust, whereas the Syriac chronicles the luxury. The two accounts can hardly be complementary parts of a same longer version, because they offer two opposing pictures of Muḥammad. In the *Chronographia* he appears as a mean opportunist epileptic who, so as to avoid his wife's rage and contempt, ends up founding a new religion almost unintentionally; in the Syriac chronicles he is portrayed as a good man who tries to bring the light of the true religion to his people, but then succumbs to their covetousness. There is no sufficient overlap here to presume that the same material has been ideologically reworked in opposite ways.

Agapius gives no information about the Prophet's life. His account focuses instead on his proselytism and the conversion—voluntary or forced—of neighbouring peoples. The final list of Muhammad's teachings tallies with the one in Michael the Syrian and the anonymous chronicler, which led Hoyland to believe that Agapius probably took part of his information on Muḥammad from Theophilos.[51]

On the one hand, the anecdotal and detractive character of Theophanes' account and the vague knowledge of Islam displayed therein suggests that this was produced in Byzantine circles on the basis of hearsay and rumours. On the other, as Lawrence Conrad has convincingly demonstrated,[52] Theophanes also has very precise information of surely Islamic origin that could hardly have spread outside the Arab world: the configuration of Arab tribes, the Prophet's genealogy, and the chronology of his life. Some more items can be added to this list. According to Theophanes, it was a Christian monk who first acknowledged the prophetic nature of Muḥammad's visions: the monk's story appears, with variations, in many Arabic tales about the Prophet's life and its earliest attestation in Christian sources is precisely in Theophanes.[53] Now, in the *Chronographia*, the monk is the confidant of Muhammad's wife. Willing to please her, he confirms that her husband was given a divine gift. It is following this reassurance that Khadīja becomes the first Muslim believer and spreads the voice among the women of her tribe, who then persuade their husbands. This initial propagation through womanly murmur is presented of course as discrediting for Islam by Theophanes, but the fact is confirmed by the *Sīra*, where we

51. Hoyland, *Theophilus*, p. 88 n. 156.
52. Conrad, Theophanes (quoted n. 2), pp. 11–20.
53. See S. Gero, The legend of the monk Baḥīrā, the cult of the Cross and Iconoclasm, in *La Syrie de Byzance à l'Islam : VIIe-VIIIe siècles : actes du colloque international, Lyon, Maison de l'Orient méditerranéen, Paris, Institut du monde arabe, 11-15 septembre 1990*, publiés par P. Canivet et J.-P. Rey-Coquais, Damas 1992, pp. 47–57; S. Griffith, Muhammad and the monk Bahira : reflections on a Syriac and Arabic text from early Abbasid times, *Oriens christianus* 79, 1995, pp. 146–74, reprint in Id., *The beginnings of Christian theology in Arabic : Muslim-Christian encounters in the early Islamic period*, Aldershot 2002, no. VIII; B. Roggema, *The legend of Sergius Baḥīrā : Eastern Christian apologetics and apocalyptic in response to Islam*, Leiden 2009.

read that Khadīja's support, both material and psychological, was instrumental in the early stage of the revelation and helped Muḥammad to take on his mission.[54]

Hoyland suggests that Agapius, Michael and the anonymous chronicler preserve a core deriving from Theophilos, whereas Theophanes uses a totally different source.[55] In fact, the hostile veneer of the Byzantine account veils material of Islamic origin accessed more directly by Theophanes, which simply does not find any match in the Syriac chronicles.

2.2. The Abbasid revolution

The second example of purely Oriental material in Theophanes is even more significant. It is in fact a long piece concerning the balance of power inside the caliphate and the only case in which we are absolutely certain that the Syriac chronicles depend on Theophilos. Agapius says so explicitly: "Theophilos the Astrologer, from whom we took these accounts, said: 'I myself was all the time an eye witness to these wars and I would write things down lest any of them escape me.' To him [we owe] many books (كتب – *kutub*) about that, but we have abridged this book (كتاب – *kitāb*) out of them and we have added to it what we knew that could not be left out, and we have avoided prolixity."[56] In this context the word *kitāb* is likely to mean "book chapters" rather than "full books." Therefore Agapius is saying that Theophilos dedicated many chapters (of his work) to the Abbasid revolution and that he has drawn from them this particular chapter of his chronicle. Since the account of the *Chronicle of 1234* is almost identical to Agapius',[57] we can be sure that they ultimately derive from the same source, and that this source was Theophilos. On the contrary, reading Theophanes one has the clear impression of reading a different version of the story. Theophilos' account is detailed: he mentions personal names (both on the Abbasid and the Marwanid side) and toponyms, he describes movements, communications, meetings and war engagements. Theophanes' version has a simpler plot, but cannot be a summary of Theophilos' and for one main reason: it not only reports the same events in a different way, but also contains a considerable amount of details which are either absent in both Agapius and the *Chronicle of 1234*, or markedly different from the corresponding ones found there.[58] This will become evident by looking at the outline of the initial phase of the rebellion in the three texts:

- Theophanes: a group called the "Chorasanite Maurophoroi" rises up against Marwan in eastern Persia; the "sons of Echim and Alim," descendants of the Prophet who were living in Lesser Arabia, gather around Ibrahim; a man named Abū Muslim,

54. For the sources and the secondary literature see *EI²*, IV, p. 898 f., s.v. Khadija; *Encyclopaedia of the Qur'ān*. 3, Leiden 2003, p. 80 f.
55. Hoyland, *Seeing Islam*, p. 404; Hoyland, *Theophilus*, pp. 86 n. 149, 87 n. 154. Cf. S. J. Shoemaker, *The death of a prophet : the end of Muhammad's life and the beginnings of Islam*, Philadelphia 2012, pp. 47–52.
56. Agap., p. 525.
57. *Chron. 1234*, p. 323.9–325.17 and 339.13–31; Agap., pp. 521–9 and 273–6. Mich. Syr., IV, pp. 417 and 472 f., is succinct and confused.
58. Cf. also Hoyland, *Theophilus*, p. 265 n. 790, observing that: "After this notice Theophanes diverges substantially from TC, both omitting material found in TC and adducing material not found in TC; Theophanes either has access to an additional source or is using a continuation of TC (or of the "eastern source";…) that adduces additional material."

Ibrahim's freedman, is sent to Chorasan to recruit prominent men against Marwān; these gather around a certain Chaktaban, stir up the slaves against their masters and in one night kill many of them and steal horses, weapons and riches; the rebels are divided between "Kaisinoi" and "Imanites" and Abū Muslim, considering the latter to be stronger, incites them against the former; after getting rid of the Kaisinoi, Abū Muslim goes to Persia together with Chaktaban.

- *Agapius*: Abū Muslim rises up in Kufa gathering followers, they wear black garments; there are also fourteen Shiites with him; they profess asceticism and abstinence and swear loyalty to the family of Muḥammad, they let their hair grow; many people in Chorasan join them and they grow strong; they pledge allegiance to Ibrahim ibn Muḥammad; Abū Muslim comes to a camp at Harran and kills many notables of the Arabs and of Chorasan.
- *Chronicle of 1234*: a man of Amida named Abū Muslim reaches Ibrahim ibn Muḥammad, who is in prison at Harran, and they make an agreement; Ibrahim instructs Abū Muslim and sends him to Chorasan; Abū Muslim gathers followers and reveals his secret to fourteen men, they wear black garments, let their hair grow and swear loyalty to the descendants of Muḥammad; many people of Chorasan join them and they become powerful; they become a huge group and kill the Arabs who are in that province.

It seems thus that, whereas the second and the third accounts are based (with some variations) on the same version, no doubt Theophilos', the first one is not. Here is a list of the most significant pieces of information in Theophanes that do not have a match in Theophilos:

- the rebels, called "Chorasanite Maurophoroi," are said to be "sons of Echim and of Alim," descendants of the Prophet who lived in hiding in the Lesser Arabia;[59]
- the first rising started from a rebellion of slaves in Chorasan, ignited by a certain "Chaktaban;"[60]
- the rebels were divided into two factions, the "Kaisinoi" and the "Imanites," and Abū Muslim incited one against the other;[61]
- in the first three battles Marwān II sent against the Abbasids 100,000, 200,000 and 300,000 men respectively;[62]
- the last Umayyad caliph, Marwān II, as he fled after the defeat on the river Zab, destroyed the boat-bridge he had built over the river to cross it;[63]

59. Theoph. AM 6240, p. 424.13–20. "Echim" is most probably Hāšim ibn ʿAbd Manāf, the great-grandfather of the prophet Muḥammad, while "Alim" is ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib, Muḥammad's cousin and son-in-law (Hoyland).

60. *Ibid.* l. 23. "Chaktaban" is actually Qaḥtaba ibn Šabīb al-Tāʾī, who played a leading role in the revolution (Hoyland).

61. *Ibid.* p. 424.26–425.1. Behind this two names there are the two main groups of Arabic clans, the Qays and the Yaman tribes (Hoyland).

62. *Ibid.* p. 425.1–6.

63. *Ibid.* ll. 7 ff.

- the chiefs of the revolution, gathered in Samaria, decided by lot the future caliph and his first two successors, namely Abū ʾl-ʿAbbās, his brother ʿAbdallah and ʿIsā ibn Mūsā;[64]
- Marwān's surviving relatives fled, through northern Africa, to the Iberian peninsula, where they joined a community of Muslims who had settled there years before, following a shipwreck;[65]
- Antioch is said to be the only city whose walls Marwān did not throw down, because he had chosen it as his refuge;[66]
- Marwān belonged to the heresy of the Epicureans, which he had got to know from the pagans of Harran.[67]

Beside the differences above, a linguistic detail proves that Theophanes' account of the Abbasid revolution cannot derive from a Syriac source. Julius Wellhausen, in 1901, pointed to the rendering of Arabic personal names in the *Chronographia* as a token of the derivation of the Greek text from Syriac.[68] This aspect has not been further investigated ever since, but Wellhausen's conclusions have often been repeated.[69] Nonetheless the features interpreted by Wellhausen as evidence of a Syriac intermediary between Arabic and Greek are all due to the passage from an unvowelled to a vowelled script therefore they do not necessarily indicate a Syriac background, but more generally a Semitic one.[70] In fact, they might as well be signs of a direct derivation from Arabic. Thus, for example, the documentary papyri from Nessana, which did certainly not undergo a Syriac intermediate translation, present Greek transcriptions of Arabic names that are in some cases identical or very similar to those used by Theophanes.[71]

Wellhausen's argument, then, works only if one discards *a priori* the hypothesis of any direct contact between Greek and Arabic. But some of the Greek transcriptions in Theophanes are in fact closer to the Arabic original and cannot derive from the Syriac version. In particular, in the passages that have just been analyzed, the patronymic

64. *Ibid.* AM 6241, p. 425.15–9.

65. *Ibid.* p. 426.1–7.

66. *Ibid.* ll. 7–10.

67. *Ibid.* ll. 11 ff.

68. J. Wellhausen, Die Kämpfe der Araber mit den Romäern in der Zeit der Umaijiden, *Nachrichten von der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Philologisch-historische Klasse* 4, 1901, pp. 414–47, at 445 f.

69. See for instance Lilie, Theophanes and al-Ṭabarī (quoted n. 41), p. 220: "It is generally known that Theophanes used Oriental sources for his chronicle. This has been proved for Syrian sources by the Greek transcriptions of Arabic names as well as by the pieces of information about events inside the caliphate."

70. For example, the split of final consonant groups (as in Ἀβουβάχαρος for ʿAbû Bakr, Arabic أبو بكر, Syriac ܐܒܘ ܒܟܪ) or the reduction of geminates (as in Ἀβάς for ʿAbbās, Arabic عباس, Syriac ܥܒܣ).

71. See *Excavations at Nessana. 3, Non-literary papyri*, ed. by C. J. Kraemer, Princeton 1958, nos. 92 and 93, two official accounts dated to ca. 686: Αβιβ for Ḥabīb (Theoph. p. 345.11: Ἀβιβος), Αλη for ʿAlī (*ibid.*, p. 346.23: Ἀλή), Αβδεραμαν for ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (*ibid.*, p. 348.17: Ἀβδεραχμάν), Ιζιδ for Yazīd (*ibid.*, p. 351.1 and *passim*: Ἰζίδ), Σουφιαν for Sufyan (*ibid.*, p. 354.11: Σουφιᾶν), Ασαν for Ḥassan (*ibid.*, p. 360.30: Ἀσάν), Μαρουαν for Marwān (*ibid.*, p. 360.31 and *passim*: Μαρουάμ), Ουμαια for Umayya (*ibid.*, p. 424.16: Ὀυμαία), Σαιδ for Saʿid (*ibid.*, p. 363.24: Σαΐδου), Ζιαδ for Ziyad (*ibid.*, p. 363.21: Ζίαδου). In document no. 60, a requisition of wheat and oil in Arabic with Greek translation, one also finds Χαλεδ for Khalid (*ibid.*, p. 335.22: Χάλεδος).

introduced by *ibn*, "son of," is translated in Syriac but is preserved in Greek, where the entire name is written as it sounds in Arabic: 'Abdallah ibn 'Alī (عبد الله بن علي) becomes 'Abdallah bar 'Alī (ܥܒܕܐܠܗ ܒܪ ܥܠܝ) in Syriac, but is Ἰβναλίμ in Theophanes;[72] Yazīd ibn Hubayra (يزيد بن هبيرة) becomes Yazīd bar Hūbayrā (ܝܙܝܕ ܒܪ ܗܘܒܝܪܐ) in Syriac, but is Ἰβνουβειρα in Theophanes;[73] 'Īsā ibn Mūsā (عيسا بن موسا)—Ἰσὲ Ἰβινμουσὲ in Theophanes—is not mentioned by Michael the Syrian and by the *Chronicle of 1234*, but is transcribed as 'Īsā bar Mūsā (ܥܝܣܐ ܒܪ ܡܘܣܐ) in Elias of Nisibis.[74]

It is therefore clear that the account of the rise of the Abbasid dynasty and of the succession struggle following the death of the first Abbasid caliph in the *Chronographia* does not derive from Theophilos' work, but rather from a Greek text containing materials coming directly from Arabic, possibly oral, sources. Such a text provided also other pieces of information of Arabic origin, related to the mid-8[th] century, that are not in the Syriac chronicles either. To name just a few more: the execution of Al-'Abbās ibn al-Walīd, who was smothered with unslaked lime on Marwān II's order;[75] a revolt at Dabik, during which some supporters of the Abbasids' proclaimed al-Mahdī a god;[76] a rebellion against al-Mansūr led by two brothers at Basra;[77] the exclusion of 'Īsa ibn Mūsa from the line of succession, treacherously obtained by al-Manṣūr;[78] 'Abdallāh ibn 'Alī's death in the collapse of the tower where he was imprisoned;[79] a rebellion of the Kharijites in the desert of Palmyra.[80]

2.3. *The first Islamic civil war*

For other events in the caliphate the correspondence between Theophanes and the three Oriental chronicles is also not straightforward. I will examine the report about the first Islamic civil war, that is the clash between Mu'āwiya and 'Alī after the death of 'Uthmān.

Theophanes and Agapius report 'Uthmān's murder in few words, while Michael and the anonymous chronicler describe at length the caliph's obdurate persistence in his immoral demeanour, the consequent protest of the people of Yathrib, his demand for help from Mu'āwiya against the raging mob and the late arrival of the army sent to back him up. The few pieces of information provided by Theophanes match this longer account

72. *Ibid.* AM 6258, p. 439.8; *Chron. 1234*, p. 328.24.
73. Theoph. AM 6240, p. 425.3; *Chron. 1234*, p. 321.13. Ibn Hubayrah was Marwān II's general who was defeated with 200,000 men in the second battle against the Abbasids.
74. *Eliae metropolitae Nisibeni Opus chronologicum II*, ed. I.-B. Chabot, Parisiis – Lipsiae 1909 (CSCO 63–SS 24), p. 177.18. I wish to thank Dr. Ahmad Al-Jallad, of Leiden University, for discussing this with me. He also suggested to me that a direct passage from Arabic into Greek without a Syriac intermediary can be seen in the rendering of the name Thābit (ثابت). The Greek has Θεβὶτ (Theoph. AM 6234, p. 421.18), which reflects the raising of "a" to "e" in the vicinity of "i," a phaenomenon of Arabic dialectal pronunciation which is not discernible in the Syriac transcription ܬܐܒܬ (*Chron. 1234*, p. 318.29).
75. Theoph. AM 6236, p. 421.25–33.
76. *Ibid.* AM 6252, p. 431.13–34.
77. *Ibid.* AM 6255, pp. 433.24–434.5.
78. *Ibid.* AM 6256, pp. 435.20–436.8.
79. *Ibid.* AM 6258, p. 439.8 f.
80. *Ibid.* AM 6258, p. 439.12 ff.

and might ultimately derive from it, whereas the same cannot be said as confidently about Agapius' version. The latter says that 'Uthmān was killed by the people of Egypt and Iraq and gives the date of the event according to the Islamic calendar (the 19[th] of Dhū 'l-Qa'da). But the four accounts differ even more in the following part. Michael the Syrian refers briefly to two skirmishes between 'Alī's and Mu'āwiya's armies, with loss of men on both sides, specifying that in the first one Mu'āwiya left without confronting 'Alī directly. Immediately after that he places 'Alī's assassination and relates the Islamic anecdote of the three zealous men who try to cease hostilities by killing the contenders. Theophanes mentions just one engagement and places it at Barbalissos, close to Kaisarion, on the Euphrates. He says, though, that since Mu'āwiya succeeded in cutting off 'Alī's camp from water supply, he actually won the battle without fighting, because 'Alī's men deserted, worn out by thirst. The location, Barbalissos, is close to Ṣiffīn and the episode is to be set in the context of the well-known battle that took place there. The detail of the water supply failure is reported by al-Ṭabarī in relation to that very battle, but we do not find it in the Syriac chronicles, nor in Agapius. In Theophanes, as in Michael, 'Alī's assassination follows immediately, but in the former the account includes one additional (and inaccurate) piece of information: the murder is said to happen while the Arabs are fighting at Sapphin, that is Ṣiffīn.

In the *Chronicle of 1234*, 'Uthmān's murder is followed by a résumé of the negotiation between 'Alī and Mu'āwiya before the conflict, where the relevant role played by the governor of Egypt 'Amr ibn al-'Āṣ is stressed, and then by the account of the battle of Ṣiffīn. The anonymous chronicler refers also to a failed agreement between the two parties, and finally relates 'Alī's murder, including the same anecdote of the three zealous men to be found in Michael the Syrian, but adding also a long tail piece on the execution of 'Alī's murderer and on the continuation of the war between Mu'āwiya and 'Alī's sons, Ḥasan and Ḥusayn. On the contrary, Agapius, after telling about 'Uthmān's death, goes on relating the conflict between 'Alī and 'Ā'iša (referred to as the "Battle of the Camel" in Islamic sources) along with some other events of the first civil war that are not mentioned in the other three chronicles but does not include the battle of Ṣiffīn, nor the failed agreement, nor 'Alī's murder. Clearly Agapius draws upon Islamic sources different from the ones used by the anonymous chronicler, nor does he seem to be building his narrative on the same basic account.

Agapius' version is the most isolated one, yet also the relation of Theophanes' version to Michael and the anonymous chronicler's is hard to establish, since it is at the same time more concise and more detailed, if inaccurate. One is of course entitled to believe that omissions and elaborations go back to the translator of the shared source, namely that Theophanes simply reported what he found in the translation-continuation of Theophilos. But is a translator who interferes so heavily with his model actually a translator?

3. Conclusions: translator or author?

As I mentioned above, Conrad spoke of a translator-continuator-reworker of Theophilos' work, who added to the text he was translating pieces of information he got from elsewhere. But what if we pictured this same character simply as an author who was using different sources and selecting his material to his liking?

As I also said above, my aim is not to replace Theophilos with another ghost-source. In this paper I have not proposed an exhaustive re-examination of all the Oriental material within the *Chronographia*, nor have I attempted an alternative reconstruction that would fit the textual evidence better that the "Theophilos theory."[81] I have only focussed on the items that show most clearly why this theory cannot be considered a definitive and satisfactory solution. To sum up: (a) the passages of the *Chronographia* that display the highest degree of word-for-word correspondence with the Syriac chronicles do not come from Theophilos' work, but rather from a Greek Byzantine source that Theophilos might have used as well; (b) some significant items of Oriental origin do not come from Theophilos but from a Greek Oriental source directly in contact with the Arabic-speaking *milieu*; (c) a substantial portion of the material in Theophanes that has so far been attributed to Theophilos' cannot come from the latter's work, although it may have been accessible in some form to Theophilos as well. If further work needs to be done before a new general scenario can be constructed, it is clear that any attempt at disentangling the network of "intercultural transmission" shall proceed from different basic assumptions.

On the one hand, Greek historiography was not completely silent during the 7th century. There was at least one source which related—in Greek and from a Byzantine point of view—the main events of the warfare between the empire and the caliphate. This reached Theophanes without going through Syriac. On the other, scholars must be open to the idea that part of the material relating to the caliphate in the *Chronographia* came from Arabic (written or oral) sources again without any Syriac go-between. Such early transmission of historiographical information from Arabic into Greek deserves attention from both Byzantinists and Islamicists, since it brings testimony to the embryonic stage of Islamic historiography and to the mutual influence between it and other, pre-existing forms of historiographical record.

All in all, the first step toward a new assessment of the question is to stop tracing back all of Theophanes' Oriental material to the alleged Greek translation-continuation of Theophilos' work, and start rather to think of Theophilos just as one of the possible sources of Theophanes' Oriental material. Putting Theophilos' role into perspective is also the first step towards a full appreciation of the evidence of cultural activity in the Syriac, Greek and Arabic-speaking *milieux* of Syria-Palestine during the 7th-8th centuries, the real breadth of "intercultural transmission."

81. See my *La "descrizione dei tempi" all'alba dell'espansione islamica : un'indagine sulla storiografia greca, siriaca e araba fra VII e VIII secolo* (Millennium-Studien 47), Berlin – New York 2014.

BEFORE THE EASTERN SOURCE: THEOPHANES AND THE LATE SYRIAC ORTHODOX CHRONICLES, 4th-6th CENTURIES

by Andy Hilkens

It is no secret that there are many points of contact between the contents of the *Chronographia* of Theophanes and several Syriac historical texts, most notably the *Chronicle of Thomas the Priest* (*c.* 636), the *Chronicle* of Michael the Great, and the *Chronicle of 1234*. Recent scholarly research has tended to focus on agreements between Theophanes and the chronicles of the Syriac Renaissance (1026-1316) for their description of the late sixth, seventh and eighth centuries. These have controversially been attributed to the lost writings of Theophilus of Edessa, to be identified with Theophanes' "eastern source" or a close intermediary.[1]

There are, however, many agreements between Theophanes and the same Syriac chronicles in material pertaining to Romano-Byzantine affairs before the "eastern source," i.e. between 310/311 and *c.* 582.[2] Warren Treadgold's recent discussion of Theophanes and his sources is marked by the view that Theophilus of Edessa wrote a chronicle from Constantine or the Creation until his own day, and that this text was responsible for a large amount of information in Theophanes' *Chronographia* from the fourth until the eighth century.[3]

This paper offers a new perspective on the material for the period until 582 (and perhaps even afterwards) especially in the light of the overlooked conclusions of the late Günther Christian Hansen as to the relation between Theophanes and the later Syriac

1. See Hoyland, *Theophilus*, and the contributions by the same author, M. Debié and M. Conterno in this volume.

2. Dionysius of Telmahre started his *History* with 582 and his work is believed to have been the intermediary between Theophilus and Michael the Syrian/*Chronicle of 1234*. The first noted agreement between Theophanes and the later Syriac chronicles (and Agapius) that is attributed to Theophilus, however, is the death of the Persian king Hormizd in 590.

3. Treadgold, *Middle Byzantine historians*, pp. 55 f., 68–75. See also S. McDonough, A second Constantine? The Sasanian king Yazdgard in Christian history and historiography, *Journal of late antiquity* 1, 1, 2008, pp. 127–40 and Hoyland, *Theophilus*. The view of Theophilus' historical work as a (universal) chronicle is criticized, for example, by A. Papaconstantinou's review of Hoyland, *Theophilus* in *Le Muséon* 126, 2013, pp. 459–65.

Studies in Theophanes, ed. by M. Jankowiak & F. Montinaro (Travaux et mémoires 19), Paris 2015, pp. 401-13.

chronicles (below).[4] I hope to show that we need not assume that Semitic sources were at play: most of the parallels can be explained by a fairly late transmission from Greek into Syriac. When this transmission occurred cannot be said with certainty, but the most likely intermediary is the now lost *Chronicle* of Ignatius, the Syriac orthodox metropolitan of Melitene (d. 1094).[5] Ignatius' main source, a Greek chronicle, has never been identified but appears to have been a text related to Theophanes' *Chronographia*.

The easiest way to approach the task of creating clarity in the source material and the many theories surrounding it is to distinguish between four main groups of source material:

- Material from the Antiochene continuation of Eusebius (from 325 until *c.* 350);
- Parallels with the *Church history* of Philostorgius of Borissus (*c.* 368–*c.* 425);
- Material from the *Epitome of church histories* (early seventh century) and ultimately from the *Church history* of Theodore the Lector (*c.* 518);
- Material from a variety of sources, most of which are unknown.

The anonymous Antiochene continuation of the *Chronicle* of Eusebius (c. 350)

The existence of a fourth-century Arian history, supposedly written during the reign of Valens (364–78), was first postulated by Pierre Batiffol in 1895 on the basis of ten passages with an Arian inclination in the *Paschal chronicle*, which display parallels with Photius of Constantinople's epitome of the now lost *Church history* of Philostorgius of Borissus (*c.* 368–*c.* 425). Batiffol concluded that Philostorgius and the *Paschal chronicle* were dependent on the same source.[6] At the beginning of the twentieth century, Joseph Bidez attempted to reconstruct a lost Arian history from the *Chronicle* of Jerome of Stridon (379–80), Philostorgius as known from Photius, the *Paschal chronicle*, and Theophanes' *Chronographia* as well as from several Syriac chronicles, most notably the *Chronicle* of Thomas the Priest (*c.* 636) and Michael the Syrian and the *Chronicle of 1234*.[7] Many scholars followed Batiffol and Bidez.[8] Recent research, however, seems to show that behind this material lies more than one source.

4. See also A. Hilkens, *The anonymous Syriac chronicle up to the year 1234*, Ph.D. Diss., Universiteit Gent, 2014, pp. 283–353 and 385–97.

5. On Ignatius and his chronicle, see J. van Ginkel, A man is not an island, in *The Syriac Renaissance*, ed. by H. Teule et al. (Eastern Christian studies 9), Leuven – Paris – Walpole MA 2010, pp. 113–21.

6. P. Batiffol, Un historiographe anonyme arien du IVe siècle, *Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und für Kirchengeschichte* 9, 1895, pp. 57–97, at p. 97. On Philostorgius, see G. Marasco, The Church historians 2. Philostorgius and Gelasius of Cyzicus, in *Greek and Roman historiography in late Antiquity: fourth to sixth century A.D.*, ed. by G. Marasco, Leiden 2003, pp. 257–88, and W. Treadgold, *The early Byzantine historians*, Basingstoke 2007, pp. 126–34.

7. Philostorgius, *Kirchengeschichte: mit dem Leben des Lucian von Antiochien und den Fragmenten eines arianischen Historiographen*, hrsg. von J. Bidez, Leipzig 1913, Anhang VII, pp. 202–41; transl.: Philostorgius, *Church history*, transl. with an introd. and notes by Ph. R. Amidon (Writings from the Greco-Roman world 23), Leiden 2007, pp. 205–38.

8. H. M. Gwatkin, *Studies of Arianism, chiefly referring to the character and chronology of the reaction which followed the council of Nicaea*, Cambridge 1900, pp. 219–24; H. Ch. Brennecke, *Studien zur*

In 1999, Richard W. Burgess revealed the existence of a continuation of the chronicle of Eusebius down to 350, written by a Christian in Antioch.[9] Burgess mainly based his reconstruction on three early Eusebian witnesses, the *Chronicle* of Jerome, the *Chronicle* of Thomas the Priest and the *Paschal chronicle*, but also on other Greek and Syriac chronicles, which include Theophanes' *Chronographia*, Michael's *Chronicle* and to a lesser degree the *Chronicle of 1234*.

If only just partly accepted, Burgess' reconstruction of the Antiochene continuation severely diminishes the material that could be attributed to the fourth-century Arian history. The traces of such a source are still visible. They are, however, limited to only four sources besides Philostorgius: the *Paschal chronicle*, Theophanes, Michael and the *Chronicle of 1234*, the *Chronicle* of Jerome and the *Chronicle* of Thomas the Priest falling entirely out of the picture.[10]

In the four remaining sources we find three kinds of material: (1) parallels between Philostorgius and the other Greek and Syriac sources; (2) parallels between the *Paschal chronicle* and Theophanes, often with an Arian inclination, for the period between 337 and 363; and (3) parallels between Theophanes and the Syriac chronicles. It is theoretically possible that Philostorgius and the four chronicles are dependent on a now lost fourth-century Arian history, but there is a much simpler explanation: that this material largely originated with Philostorgius. Of course, this leaves open the problem of the common source between the *Paschal chronicle* and Theophanes. While the matter certainly needs be looked into further, the late date of the Syriac witnesses should warn us against using them to reconstruct a fourth-century source. In my view, the parallels must be viewed in the larger context of agreements in information on the fourth, fifth and sixth century between Theophanes and the later Syriac chronicles. It is equally possible that this material was transmitted from Greek into Syriac at a fairly late date. This possibility can be illustrated by proceeding to a brief reiteration of Hansen's conclusions regarding the seventh-century *Epitome* and its influence on Theophanes and the later Syriac chronicles.

The *Epitome of church histories* (early seventh century)

In the early sixth century, Theodore the Lector wrote a *Church history*, covering the period between the reigns of Constantine and Anastasius, which consisted of the so-called *Tripartite history*, a synopsis of Socrates, Sozomen and Theodoret, and Theodore's own

Geschichte der Homöer. Der Osten biz zum Ende der homöischen Reichskirche (Beiträge zur historischen Theologie 73), Tübingen 1988, pp. 93 f., 152–7; Mango – Scott, pp. lxxx f. and lxxxiv f., with an attempt at connecting the issue of the Arian history to the issue of Theophanes' eastern source for the seventh and eighth centuries; R. W. Burgess, *Studies in Eusebian and post-Eusebian chronography* (Historia Einzelschriften 135), Stuttgart 1999, p. 126 (n. 37); Marasco, The Church historians (quoted n. 6), pp. 257 f.; Treadgold, *Early Byzantine historians* (quoted n. 6), p. 122.

9. Burgess, *Studies* (quoted n. 8). It has recently been suggested that the author of this work may have been Eusebius of Emesa: see Treadgold, *Middle Byzantine historians*, p. 69 n. 123 (Joseph Reidy, in his dissertation-in-progress).

10. Burgess, *Studies* (quoted n. 8), p. 125, would also exclude Jerome or the Syriac tradition, but this means ignoring the parallels between Philostorgius, the *Paschal chronicle*, Theophanes, Michael and the *Chronicle of 1234*. See also Treadgold, *Middle Byzantine historians*, p. 69.

continuation until *c.* 518.[11] About a century later, an unknown author abridged and adapted Theodore's *Church history*, combining it with material from other sources. The end result is known as the *Epitome of Church histories*. Now Theodore's fragments pop up in later historians, including Theophanes, Michael and the author of the *Chronicle of 1234*.[12] There has been some confusion in the past regarding the nature of this influence.

Alexander D'yakonov[13] and Jan van Ginkel[14] assumed that a Syriac historian reworked fragments of Theodore. D'yakonov attempted to identify this intermediary with the Church historian John of Ephesus (d. 589), while van Ginkel remained skeptical. Günther Christian Hansen, the editor of the *Epitome*, took an entirely different route and showed, convincingly to my mind, that the Syriac sources were not only dependent on the *Epitome*, but on Theophanes as well.[15]

Hansen's observations have gone completely unnoticed and have therefore, at least to my knowledge, never been refuted. To re-emphasize their importance and accuracy, I reiterate here one example. Theophanes and Michael preserve an identical combination of material from two entries from the *Epitome* on the events that preceded the deposition of Macedonius as patriarch of Constantinople and the appointment in his stead of Eudoxius.

After referring to Macedonius' translation of the body of Constantine and the people's and Constantius II's reaction (fr. 101), the *Epitome* switches to Eudoxius' reign of tyranny in Antioch and several other events including the synod in Seleucia of 359 (frs. 102–6), before returning to the deposition of Macedonius and the appointment of Eudoxius as bishop of Constantinople (fr. 107). Theophanes and Michael, however, do not include material from fragments 102 to 106, but immediately skip from the equivalent of fragment 101 to material preserved in fragment 107. Here, crucially, they both provide a simplified version of the events described by Theodore, in which the emperor—rather than "those who had earlier questioned the blasphemies [...]"—is directly responsible for deposing Macedonius and appointing Eudoxius.

Accidentally, this example may suffice to prove that Theophanes and Michael are dependent on the *Epitome* rather than on Theodore directly. The *Epitome*, Theophanes and Michael say that by appointing Eudoxius in place of Macedonius, Constantius exchanged one evil for another. This is not extant in the Theodosian Church histories, nor in the preserved chapters of Theodore's *Tripartite history* in *Marc. gr.* 344 and was no doubt added by the author of the *Epitome* and subsequently taken over by Theophanes or his source.

11. See recently Treadgold, *Early Byzantine historians* (quoted n. 6), pp. 169–74.
12. The bulk of the fragments of Theodore that I was able to isolate in the *Chronicle of 1234* derive from the *Tripartite history* and cover the reigns of Constantius, Julian, Valentinian I, Theodosius I, Arcadius and Honorius, and Theodosius II.
13. А. П. Дьяконов, *Иоанн Ефесский и его церковно-исторические труды*, Санкт-Петербург 1908, pp. 179–202, for which I am reliant on the summary in J. van Ginkel, *John of Ephesus: a monophysite historian in sixth-century Byzantium*, Ph.D. Diss., Rijksuniversiteit Groningen, 1995, pp. 50–4.
14. Ginkel, *John of Ephesus* (quoted n. 13), p. 54.
15. In his introduction to Theod. Lect., p. [illegible]

Theod. Lect., frs. 101–7, pp. 47–52	Theoph. AM 5852, pp. 46.1–8 (Mango – Scott, p. 75)	Mich. Syr., VII, 4, p. 138
Macedonius, the impious bishop of Constantinople, saying that collapse threatened the house, in which the body of the emperor Constantine was buried, translated it to the sanctuary of the martyr Acacius. When this happened, the people disagreed, and provoked (him), (some) approved the deed, (others) hastened to oppose him, with the result that there was considerable loss of life and the well and courtyard of the martyrium were filled with blood (which) flowed out into the streets.	Still holding the throne of Constantinople, like a usurper, Macedonius transferred the body of Constantine the Great to St. Acacius from the Holy Apostles, pleading the [imminent] collapse of that church. But when the people opposed him, there was considerable loss of life, with the result that the well and courtyard of the martyrium and the adjacent streets were filled with blood.	Macedonius, who was made bishop of Constantinople, wished to transfer the body of Constantine the Great from the Church of the Apostles to another church. Because of this the people rebelled and there were many dead in the centre (of the city).
When Constantius learned of this, he became annoyed with Macedonius and, having left Julian to care for the West, he set out to the East.	When Constantius learned of this he became annoyed with Macedonius,	When emperor Constantius learned (of this),
[frs. 102–6 and 107, beginning] Those who had earlier questioned the blasphemies of Eudoxius, expelled Macedonius from the bishopric of Capital and put Eudoxius (in his place), exchanging one evil for a greater one.	ordered his deposition, and installed Eudoxius in his place, exchanging a great evil for a greater one.	he deposed Macedonius and appointed Eudoxius. He cured evil with evil.
Fr. 101: Μακεδόνιος ὁ δυσσεβὴς ὁ ἐπίσκοπος Κωνσταντινουπόλεως πτῶσιν εἰπὼν ἀπειλεῖν τὸν οἶκον, ἐν ᾧ τὸ σῶμα Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ βασιλέως ἀπέκειτο, μετήγαγε τοῦτο εἰς τὸν ναὸν Ἀκακίου τοῦ μάρτυρος. οὗ γενομένου ὁ λαὸς ἐστασίασε καὶ διῃρέθη, τῶν μὲν ἀποδεχομένων τὸ ἔργον, τῶν δὲ κωλύειν ἐπειγομένων, ὥστε καὶ φόνον γενέσθαι πολὺν καὶ τὸ φρέαρ καὶ τὴν αὐλὴν τοῦ μαρτυρίου πληρωθῆναι αἱμάτων καὶ ἔξω ὑπερβλύσαι εἰς τὰς πλατείας. ὅπερ γνοὺς ὁ Κωνστάντιος ἠγανάκτησε κατὰ τοῦ Μακεδονίου· καὶ καταλιπὼν Ἰουλιανὸν φροντίζειν τῆς δύσεως ἐπὶ τὴν ἑῴαν ἤλασεν; fr. 107: οἱ αὐτοὶ δὲ πρότερον τὰς Εὐδοξίου βλασφημίας ἐλέγξαντες Μακεδόνιον τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς τῆς βασιλίδος ἐκβάλλουσι καὶ ἀντικαθιστῶσιν Εὐδόξιον, μείζονι κακῷ τὸ μέγα κακὸν ἀμειβόμενοι.	Μακεδονίου τοίνυν τυραννικῶς τὸν θρόνον Κωνσταντινουπόλεως κατέχοντος, μετήγαγεν τὸ σῶμα τοῦ μεγάλου Κωνσταντίνου εἰς τὸν ἅγιον Ἀκάκιον ἀπὸ τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων πτῶσιν προφασιζόμενος τοῦ ναοῦ. τοῦ δὲ λαοῦ κωλύοντος, φόνος γέγονε πολύς, ὥστε πληρωθῆναι τὸ φρέαρ καὶ τὴν αὐλὴν τοῦ μαρτυρίου αἱμάτων καὶ τὰς περικειμένας πλατείας· ὅπερ γνοὺς ὁ Κωνστάντιος ἠγανάκτησε κατὰ Μακεδονίου, καὶ τοῦτον καθαιρεθῆναι κελεύσας, Εὐδόξιον ἀντικατέστησεν, μείζονι κακῷ μέγα κακὸν ἀμειψάμενος.	[illegible]

Now there can be no doubt that the later Greek and Syriac traditions are interrelated and many similar examples of parallels between the *Epitome*, Theophanes and Michael,[16] between the *Epitome*, Theophanes and the *Chronicle of 1234*,[17] and between the *Epitome*, Theophanes and both Syriac sources[18] exist. It is highly unlikely that Theophanes was dependent on a Semitic source for this information (e.g. Theophilus of Edessa), for this would mean that the information was first transmitted from Greek into Syriac and then back into Greek. It is also possible that Theophanes and the Syriac chronicles were dependent on the same Greek source, which reworked the *Epitome* between the early seventh century and Theophanes' time. By far the simplest solution, however, would be that the Syriac tradition is ultimately dependent on Theophanes, as Hansen suggested. Now there are only two Syriac orthodox chroniclers who wrote between Theophanes and Michael and whose writings are known to have influenced the latter (and the *Chronicle of 1234*): Dionysius of Telmahre (d. 845) and Ignatius of Melitene (d. 1094). Since Dionysius' work only covered the late sixth until the middle of the ninth century, Ignatius is the most likely candidate. Michael praises Ignatius' knowledge of Greek, Ignatius' chronicle started with the reign of Constantine, and he states in his preface that he used a Greek chronicle.[19] Ignatius' Greek source has thus far eluded identification, but, coupled with Hansen's observations, it seems just plausible that it was either Theophanes himself, a source used by Theophanes or a dependant of Theophanes.

Bearing this in mind, there are wider implications to consider: the conclusion that the Syriac chronicles are dependent on a relatively late Greek source for some information on the fourth and fifth centuries calls for a re-evaluation of the other parallels between Theophanes and the Syriac chronicles as well. In fact, Hansen's observations could not only apply to the fragments of the *Epitome*, but to other (Byzantine) material that the later Syriac tradition has in common with Theophanes, such as the material from the Antiochene continuation of Eusebius' *Chronicle* (above) and the parallels with Philostorgius. Material from the former is almost impossible to attribute to a later Greek source, with one possible exception,[20] but the parallels with Philostorgius should be

16. In his introduction to Theod. Lect., pp. xxxiv–xxxv, Hansen notes that like fr. 143, p. 60.23–5, Theoph. AM 5854, p. 49.19–23 and Mich. Syr., VII, 5, p. 146, transl., I, p. 289, record the existence of a spring with healing properties in Emmaus during the reign of Julian. Ultimately, this material goes back to Sozomen (V, 21, 5–7). In Theophanes and Michael, however, the end of the entry is marked by the claim that Julian had the well covered with dirt, a fact that is neither in Sozomen nor in the *Epitome* and must therefore be a later interpolation, added in order to emphasize Julian's wickedness. For a similar entry, on a statue of Christ, compare Theod. Lect., fr. 142, p. 60.14–22, with Theoph. AM 5854, p. 49.9–19, Mango – Scott, p. 79, and Mich. Syr., VII, 6, p. 146, transl., I, p. 289. Only the latter two authors mention that Julian tore it down out of jealousy.

17. Theod. Lect., fr. 284, p. 87.8–9, Theoph. AM 5892, p. 76.1–3, Mango – Scott, p. 116 and *Chron. 1234*, I, p. 171.7–10, transl., pp. 134.38–135.3. In contrast to Socrates (VI, 6), Sozomen (VIII, 4) and the *Epitome*, Theophanes and the *Chronicle of 1234* stress the fact that Theodosius was baptized by John Chrysostom, which must be a later interpolation.

18. E.g. a description of Theodosius I, compare Theod. Lect., fr. 225, p. 76.26–8, Theoph. AM 5871, p. 66.16–20, Mango – Scott, p. 101, Mich. Syr., VII, 8, p. 155 f., transl., I, p. 306, and *Chron. 1234*, I, pp. 158.29–30, 160.11–5, transl., p. 133.2–6 and 14–6.

19. Ignatius' preface is preserved in Mich. Syr., XIII, 1, p. 546, transl., III, p. 115.

20. The *Chron. 1234*, I, p. 155.5–7, transl., p. 122.28–32 is the only Syriac source that closely agrees with Theoph. AM 5838, p. 38.9–11, Mango – Scott, p. 63, on the length of Šapur II's second

attributed to a source that was written after the composition of the *Epitome* in the early seventh century.

The *Church history* of Philostorgius of Borissus (c. 368–c. 425)

Philostorgius' *Church history* is now lost but survives in the form of an epitome, written by Photius of Constantinople in the spring of 845. As noted before, there are several parallels between Photius' epitome, Theophanes and the later Syriac tradition. One of these parallels is also extant in the *Paschal chronicle*, which also independently shares parallels with Photius' epitome and Theophanes. For the purpose of this paper I only include the six parallels, covering the reigns of Julian, Jovian and Valens, that are also extant in the Syriac sources.

Subject	Philost.	*Chron. Pasch.*	Theoph.	Mich. Syr.	*Chron. 1234*
Death of the priest Theotecnus	VII, 13, ed. Bidez, pp. 98 f.	a. 363, vol. 1, p. 548.12–9	AM 5855, pp. 50.34–51.3	VII, 6, p. 146, transl., I, p. 289	///
Reconstruction of the temple in Jerusalem and its destruction	VII, 9, ed. Bidez, pp. 95 f.	///	AM 5855, pp. 51.27–52.7	VII, 6, p. 146, transl., I, pp. 288 f.	///
The consulship of Varronian, son of Jovian, and Jovian's and Varronian's presence in Ancyra	VIII, 8, ed. Bidez, pp. 107 f.	///	AM 5856, p. 54.15–8	VII, 6, p. 147, transl., I, p. 290	///
Valens in Marcianopolis	IX, 7, ed. Bidez, p. 118	///	AM 5859, p. 56.9–10	VII, 7, p. 149, transl., I, p. 292	///
Proclamation of Valentinian II	IX, 16, ed. Bidez, p. 123	///	AM 5867, p. 62.2–10	VII, 7, p. 151, transl., I, pp. 293 f.	I, p. 168.7–11, transl., p. 132.15–19
Valens' death in a straw-barn	IX, 17, ed. Bidez, p. 124	///	///	VII, 7, p. 153, transl., I, pp. 294 f.	I, p. 168.22–3, transl., p. 132.26–33

As has been said, Batiffol, Bidez and several later scholars attributed these parallels to the fourth-century Arian history. However, considering that the Syriac witnesses can be shown to be dependent on a source close to Theophanes for fragments of the

siege of Nisibis. It appears be reliant on Ignatius of Melitene for this information, for it also relates that the Persians returned in disgrace. This detail is also found in Mich. Syr., VII, 4, p. 134 ff., transl., I, p. 266, who records that a rain sent by God broke the siege and drove the Persians away and expressly attributes this information to Ignatius. Michael seems to have further replaced this short entry with Theodoret's longer narrative (II, 26).

Epitome, we need not use them to hypothesize the existence of such an early source. In fact, one simple example suffices to suggest that the parallels between Philostorgius and the Syriac sources are due to the latter's dependence on a Greek source written after the early seventh century.

In Theophanes' *Chronographia* and in the later Syriac chronicles, a reworked fragment of the *Epitome*'s discussion of Valentinian I's death is followed by an equivalent of Philostorgius' discussion of Valentinian II's proclamation. The basic information regarding the death of Valentinian I in the *Epitome*, Theophanes, Michael and the *Chronicle of 1234* remains the same as in Sozomen (VI, 36, 1–4) and Socrates (IV, 3, 7): Valentinian sets out to wage war with the Sarmatians (Sauromatians in the Syriac), but ends up negotiating peace with them; during the negotiations, Valentinian dies.[21]

In several cases, Theophanes and the Syriac sources disagree with the *Epitome*, Socrates and Sozomen in exactly the same way. The former sources claim that Valentinian reigned for eleven years and died when he was eighty-four, whereas Socrates and the *Epitome* actually say that Valentinian reigned for thirteen years and died when he was fifty-four years old. The change in Valentinian's age at the time of his death is most likely due to a scribal error consisting in mistaking the Greek numeral NΔʹ (54) for ΠΔʹ (84).[22] Theophanes or his source must have rewritten or misread material from the *Epitome* and this adapted material was subsequently transmitted from Greek into Syriac.

Crucially, in Theophanes' *Chronographia* and the Syriac chronicles, this adapted fragment of the *Epitome* is followed by a description of the acclamation of Valentinian II by the army. The versions of the three later sources are practically identical to one another and very different from Socrates', whose text (IV, 31, 7) is instead closely paraphrased in the *Epitome*.

Theod. Lect., fr. 211, p. 74.7–8	Theoph. AM 5867, p. 62.2–10, (Mango – Scott, p. 96)	Mich. Syr., VII, 7, pp. 150 f.	*Chron. 1234*, I, p. 168.7–11
Valentinian having died, the soldiers in Italy proclaimed his son Valentinian as emperor on the sixth day after his death.	Since his son Gratian was not there and Valens was residing in Antioch, the army that happened to be at the place where Valentinian the Elder died proclaimed his 4-year-old son Valentinian Augustus, his mother Justina being also present in Pannonia. When Gratian heard this, he accepted his brother as joint emperor with him, but punished those who had proclaimed him by various ways since this had taken place without his consent.	And when Valentinian (ܘܐܠܢܛܝܢܝܢܘܣ) was dead and his son Gratian was not nearby, Justina was nearby. The troops gathered and made Valentinian the Younger reign, when he was 4 years old.	Because when he died, his son Gratian was not nearby and his brother Valens was residing in Antioch, the troops proclaimed his youngest son Valentinian, who was 4 years old, emperor, because his mother Justina (ܩܘܣܛܝܢܐ, "Kustina") was nearby.

21. Theod. Lect., fr. 216, ed. Hansen, pp. 73.23–74.6; Theoph. AM 5867, pp. 61.25–62.2; Mango – Scott, pp. 95 f.; Mich. Syr., VII, 7, pp. 150 f., transl., I, p. 293; *Chron. 1234*, I, p. 168.2–11, transl., p. 132.11–5.

22. I am thankful to Maria Conterno for pointing this out to me.

While one can reasonably assume that the *Epitome* relies on Theodore—who paraphrased Socrates—the narratives of Theophanes, Michael and the Anonymous Chronicler, find parallels only in Photius' epitome of Philostorgius:

> *Valentinian died after reigning for twelve years and left his son Gratian as heir to the realm. He also left two other children, a daughter Galla and Valentinian, who was about four years old and whom his mother Justina and the army in Pannonia immediately made emperor. Gratian, however, when he found out about the proclamation, did not approve of it, since it had been made without his consent, and he even punished some of those involved there in this illegal move. He did, however, consent to have his brother as emperor and to take the place of a father for him.*[23]

Clearly, the combination of a fragment of the *Epitome* with information taken from Philostorgius occurred sometime after the early seventh century, the time of the composition of the *Epitome*, but before Theophanes wrote the *Chronographia*. The Syriac sources are dependent on a source related to Theophanes, so that, once again, one need not imagine an Arian history different from Philostorgius. It is certainly plausible that Theophanes or his source possessed a copy of Philostorgius' *Church history*. Photius had access to this work in Constantinople in 845. The same can be said of the *Paschal chronicle*, whose author was writing in Constantinople in the early seventh century. In other words, the (often pro-Arian)[24] parallels between the *Paschal chronicle* and Theophanes' *Chronographia* for the period 350–63 may simply belong to Philostorgius as well.

A problem, however, must be pointed out. Michael's *Chronicle* and the *Chronicle of 1234* cannot be directly dependent on Theophanes: the Syriac sources agree with Philostorgius that Valens died in a straw-barn, but this information is not available in the *Paschal chronicle* nor Theophanes' *Chronographia*. It does pop up, however, in Byzantine sources dating back so far as the sixth century and including, rather curiously, two Greek dependants of Theophanes, the breviaries of Pseudo-Symeon (tenth century, preserved in ms. *Paris. gr.* 1712) and George Cedrenus (late eleventh or early twelfth century).[25] For the time being, the identity of the Greek source behind Michael's and the *Chronicle of 1234*'s common Syriac source cannot be ascertained. If, however, this Syriac source was Ignatius of Melitene, as seems very probable, the underlying Greek source must be sought in the Greek historical tradition after Theophanes rather than before. A Greek chronicler after Theophanes may indeed have had independent access

23. Philost., IX, 16, ed. Bidez, p. 123.1–9, transl. Amidon, p. 130 f.

24. E.g. a long account of the Persian siege of Nisibis in AD 348/9 (comp. *Chron. Paschale* a. 349, vol. 1, pp. 536.18–539.3, with Theoph. AM 5841, pp. 39.13–40.13; Mango – Scott, pp. 65–6), and entries on the earthquake at Nicomedia on 24 August AD 358 during which the city's bishop Cecropius died (comp. Philost., IV, 10, *Chron. Paschale* a. 359, vol. 1, p. 543.5–8, and Theoph. AM 5850, p. 45.25–7; Mango – Scott, p. 75).

25. Cedr., I, p. 549.18–20. I am indebted to Federico Montinaro for pointing out to me the presence of this information in both Greek chronicles and for bringing to my attention an important discussion of Valens' death in the Greek historiographical tradition: А. Е. Афиногенов, Гибель императора Валента в греческой историографической традиции, *Индоевропейское языкознание и классическая филология* 16, 2012 (= *Материалы чтений, посвященных памяти профессора Иосифа Моисеевича Тронского, 18-20 июня 2012 г.*), pp. 34–41.

to Philostorgius, but there are still many question marks surrounding the afterlife of Theophanes' *Chronographia* in Greek.[26]

Other parallels

Many other parallels exist between Theophanes and the later Syriac chronicles for the fourth, fifth and sixth centuries. This includes material from the *Breviary* of John Malalas (*c.* 565), on which the *Paschal chronicle*,[27] Theophanes,[28] and the Syriac chronicles are independently reliant, the latter through John of Ephesus.[29] Most of the time, however, the common source for these parallels between Theophanes and the later Syriac chronicles cannot be identified, even in instances where the ultimate source (e.g. Socrates and Priscus of Panium) is known. I will finish this paper with a provisional catalogue of the material shared by Theophanes and the later Syriac chronicles for which the common source cannot be identified, in order to paint a clear picture of the extent of parallels between these texts:

Subject	Theoph.	Mich. Syr.	*Chron. 1234*
Constantine's construction of churches and anti-pagan legislation[(1)]	AM 5810, p. 16.12–24 Mango – Scott, p. 27	VII, 7, p. 123, transl., I, p. 240	I, p. 140.29–141.1, transl., p. 112.1–4

(1) Cf. Alexander Monachus, PG 87, c. 4057D; M. Guidi, Un bios di Costantino, *Rendiconti della Accademia dei Lincei. Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche* 16, 1907, pp. 304–40, 637–62, at pp. 332.22–333.4. On the relationship between Theophanes, Alexander the Monk's *On the finding of the Cross*, and the ninth- or tenth-century *Life of Constantine*, ed. by Guidi, see Burgess, *Studies* (quoted n. 8), p. 203; A. P. Kazhdan, "Constantine imaginaire" : Byzantine legends of the ninth century about Constantine the Great, *Byz.* 57, 1987, pp. 196–250, at pp. 201 and 221; Scott, The image of Constantine (quoted n. 28), p. 67 n. 36; F. Winkelmann, Die vormetaphrastischen griechischen hagiographischen Vitae Constantini Magni, in *Actes du XII[e] congrès international d'études byzantines*, Beograd 1964, vol. 2, pp. 405–14, at pp. 408–10; Mango – Scott, p. lxxvii. None of these authors, however, acknowledged the presence of this material in the later Syriac chronicles.

26. On this issue, see now F. Montinaro's contribution to this volume.
27. E.g. F. C. Conybeare, The relation of the *Paschal chronicle* to Malalas, *BZ* 11, 1902, pp. 395–405.
28. E.g. Mango – Scott, p. lxxxi and R. Scott, The image of Constantine in Malalas and Theophanes, in *New Constantines : the rhythm of imperial renewal in Byzantium, 4th-13th centuries*, ed. by P. Magdalino, Aldershot 1994, pp. 57–71, repr. in Id., *Byzantine chronicles and the sixth century* (Variorum collected studies series), Farnham 2012, n° XV.
29. On John's use of Malalas, see W. Witakowski, Malalas in Syriac, in *Studies on John Malalas*, ed. by E. Jeffreys with B. Croke and R. Scott (Byzantina Australiensia 6), Sydney 1990, pp. 299–310, and Ginkel, *John of Ephesus* (quoted n. 13), Appendix B. On Malalas' influence on Syriac historians in general, see M. Debié, Jean Malalas et la tradition chronographique de langue syriaque, in *Recherches sur la chronique de Jean Malalas*, éd. par J. Beaucamp (MTM 15), Paris 2004, pp. 147–64. In addition, Michael, as well as Agapius of Mabbug and probably also the *Chronicle of 1234*, accessed some of Malalas' information on Greco-Roman mythology, predominantly pertaining to the foundation of Rome by Romulus and Remus, through an unidentified Syriac chronicler, who was writing between 565 and 941/2 (possibly John of Litharb), see A. Hilkens, Syriac Ilioupersides : the fall of Troy in Syriac historiography, *Le Muséon* 126, 2013, pp. 285–317, at pp. 300 f.

Subject	Theoph.	Mich. Syr.	*Chron. 1234*
Constantine and Licinius[(2)]	AM 5810–1, 5815, pp. 16.26–8 and 30–17.2, 19.25–20.5, Mango – Scott, pp. 27 f. and 33	///	I, p. 141.1–9, transl., p. 112.5–13
A crown and coinage for Helen[(3)]	AM 5816, p. 23.17–8, Mango – Scott, p. 37	///	I, p. 144.24–7, transl., p. 115.1-3
Proclamation of Julian Caesar and marriage to Helen/Constantia[(4)]	AM 5849, p. 45.5–9, Mango – Scott, p. 73	VII, 5, pp. 137 f., transl., I, p. 268	I, p. 154.25–31, transl., p. 122.18–22
The martyrdom of Dorotheus of Tyre during the reign of Julian	AM 5854, pp. 48–9, Mango – Scott, pp. 78 f.	VII, 6, p. 146, transl., I, p. 289	///
The cross appears in the sky and on the clothes of Jews and Christians	AM 5855, p. 52.10–9, Mango – Scott, p. 82	VII, 6, p. 146, transl., I, pp. 288 f.	///
Proclamation of Gratian Augustus and consul	AM 5857, p. 55.1–5, Mango – Scott, p. 85	VII, 7, pp. 148 f., transl., I, p. 292	I, p. 167.27–9, transl., p. 132.6–7
The earthquake of 21 July AD 365[(5)]	AM 5859, p. 56.9–21, Mango – Scott, pp. 87 f.	VII, 7, p. 149, transl., I, p. 292	I, p. 169.2–9, transl., p. 133.7–13
The appearance of man-shaped clouds and the birth of a deformed child at the time of the Gothic invasion of twenty Roman provinces	AM 5870, pp. 64.34–65.2, Mango – Scott, p. 100	VII, 7, p. 152, transl., I, p. 294	///
Birth of Siamese twins in Emmaus	AM 5878, p. 70.12–9, Mango – Scott, pp. 106 f.	VIII, 1, pp. 163 f., transl., II, pp. 2 f.	///
Building operations of Arcadius in Constantinople (portico opposite the Praetorium and the column of Xerolophos);[(6)] foundation of Arcadiupolis in Thrace	AM 5887, p. 74.23–4, Mango – Scott, p. 113; AM 5895, p. 77.24–5, Mango – Scott, p. 118	VIII, 1, p. 164, transl., II, p. 1	I, p. 171.5–7, transl., p. 134.36–8 (erroneous reference to the construction of the Praetorium)
The empress Eudoxia's erection of a silver statue near the Church of Saint Irene	AM 5898, p. 79.4–12, Mango – Scott, p. 121	VIII, 1, p. 164, transl., II, p. 1	///

(2) Cf. Alexander Monachus, PG 87, c. 4057B; Guidi, Un bios, pp. 323.26–334.10.
(3) Cf. Guidi, Un bios, p. 642.9–10; Sozomen, II, 2, 4.
(4) On this event, see also *Chron. Paschale*, a. 355, pp. 541.19–542.3.
(5) This account may be a combination of information from Socrates (IV, 3: "the ground became dry") and Philostorgius (IX, 7: Valens in Marcianupolis), supplemented with material from unidentified sources.
(6) It is worth pointing out that Mango – Scott have suggested that these buildings stood in Alexandria, and that Theophanes' source was thus of Alexandrian origin. Although Theophanes does not specify the location of the portico and the Praetorium, Michael and the *Chronicle of 1234* say that the construction took place in Constantinople, indicating that their Syriac common source in turn interpreted its Greek source in this manner.

Subject	Theoph.	Mich. Syr.	*Chron. 1234*
The adoption of Theodosius II by Yazdgird[7]	AM 5900, p. 80.8–24, Mango – Scott, pp. 123 f.	VIII, 1, p. 165, transl., II, p. 2	I, p. 173.18–174.7, transl., pp. 136.26–137.11
The reign and murder of Constantius, father of Valentinian	AM 5913, p. 84.7–9, Mango – Scott, p. 131	VIII, 2, p. 169, transl., II, p. 10	///
The usurper John and the reign of Valentinian III[8]	AM 5915, p. 84–5, Mango – Scott, pp. 132 f.; AM 5916, p. 85; Mango – Scott, p. 133	VIII, 2, pp. 169 f., transl., II, p. 10	I, pp. 178.24–179.2, transl., p. 140.21–7
Disorder and slaughter in Alexandria	AM 5916, p. 85.6–7, Mango – Scott, p. 133	VIII, 2, p. 170, transl., II, p. 11	///
The prefect Cyrus	AM 5937, pp. 96.33–97.8, Mango – Scott, p. 151	VIII, 4, p. 173, transl., II, p. 16	I, p. 179.3–4, transl., p. 140.28–30 (only reference to Cyrus' construction of the city wall, but of Rome, not Constantinople)
Zeno and Basiliscus are appointed commanders of the East and of Thrace	AM 5956, p. 113.17–9, Mango – Scott, p. 176	IX, 1, p. 241, transl., II, p. 126	///[9]

[7] G. Greatrex, J. Bardill, Antiochus the "Praepositus" : a Persian eunuch at the court of Theodosius II, *DOP* 50, 1996, pp. 171–97, at p. 182, have convincingly argued that the account on the adoption of Theodosius II, together with the narrative on the Constantinopolitan prefect Cyrus, originated from the now lost *History* of Priscus of Panium (*c.* 410–after 474) and reached Theophanes via an unknown intermediary, different from Eustathius of Epiphania (d. between 518 and 527).

[8] Based on Socrates, VII, 23, 1–10; 24, 1–2 and 5; 48.

[9] *Chron. 1234*, I, p. 185, transl., p. 146 does mention Zeno's promotion, but uses terminology (*stratelates* in contrast to Theophanes' and Michael's *strategos*) closer to Mal. XIV, 46, p. 299.8 (transl., *The Chronicle of John Malalas : a translation*, by E. Jeffreys, M. Jeffreys and R. Scott, Melbourne 1986, p. 207), suggesting its reliance on John of Ephesus rather than Theodore here.

All the events in the table date from the fourth and fifth centuries. There is however one further piece of information relating to the sixth century: the speech given by Justin II at the inauguration of Tiberius Constantine as Caesar in 574. Several versions of this speech are extant in Greek and in Syriac. Michael's *Chronicle*[30] and the *Chronicle of 1234*[31] take up a special place among these witnesses, because they preserve a version that is a fusion of an early Syriac version from the third part of the *Church history* of John of Ephesus[32] and a Greek version similar to the one preserved in Theophanes' *Chronographia*[33] from the *History* of Theophylact Simocatta (630s).[34] Jan van Ginkel's suggestion that

30. Mich. Syr., X, 15, pp. 364 ff., transl., II, pp. 334 ff.
31. *Chron. 1234*, I, pp. 207.13–208.23, transl., pp. 163 f.
32. Joh. Eph., *HE* III, 5, ed. pp. 126–9, transl., pp. 92–5.
33. Theoph., AM 6079, pp. 248.14–249.9.
34. Theoph. Sim., III, 11, 8–13, p. 136–8.

Ignatius of Melitene was responsible for merging the Syriac and Greek narratives is the most likely scenario.[35] As we have seen, Ignatius explicitly refers to Greek chronicles. He also states that one of his inspirators was John of Ephesus.[36] However, in the light of my previous conclusions, it seems more likely that Ignatius' Greek source was not Theophylact, but a source closer to Theophanes.

Conclusion

In this brief paper I have reaffirmed that there is indeed a close relation between large parts of Theophanes' and the later Syriac chronicles' descriptions of the fourth, fifth and sixth centuries. Though these chroniclers independently accessed certain sources such as Malalas' *Breviary* and the anonymous Antiochene continuation of Eusebius' *Chronicle*, there are overlaps in the source material. In contrast to what has previously been argued, the extensive parallels between these sources are unlikely to be due to their common reliance on Theophilus, the eastern source and/or a fourth-century Arian history. For the period before the eastern source, the Syriac tradition is—at least partially—dependent on a Greek source that somehow relates to Theophanes' *Chronographia* and was compiled after the composition of the *Epitome* in the early seventh century. As I have proposed, the most likely Syriac intermediary was Ignatius, the late eleventh-century Syriac Orthodox metropolitan of Melitene, whose now lost *Chronicle* consisted of material from Syriac as well as Greek sources. If this hypothesis is correct, his Greek source was most likely a dependant of Theophanes.

Given these observations, we must be prepared to consider the possibility that some of the late sixth-, seventh- and eight-century parallels between Theophanes and the later Syriac chronicles were transmitted from Greek into Syriac and not vice versa. There is no reason to assume that Michael and the author of the *Chronicle of 1234* solely relied on the *History* of Dionysius of Telmahre for their description of the period between 582 and 842, especially considering the fact that Ignatius himself mentions Dionysius' *History* among his sources and identifies it as the most recent Syriac historical work of which he was aware.[37]

Ultimately, much research remains to be done, not only with regards to the sources of Theophanes, Ignatius, Michael and the *Chronicle of 1234*, but also the Greek historiographical tradition after Theophanes. Since there is likely to be a connection between the later Greek and the later Syriac chronicle tradition, any study of one tradition should also take the other into account. This methodological approach could offer us more tools to solve these issues.

35. Ginkel, A man is not an island (quoted n. 5), pp. 116 f., with no reference, however, to the *Chronicle of 1234*.
36. See above, note 13.
37. Mich. Syr., XIII, 1, p. 545, transl., III, p. 114.

THEOPHANES

AND RECENT HISTORY

THEOPHANES' BYZANTINE SOURCE FOR THE LATE SEVENTH AND EARLY EIGHTH CENTURIES *c.* AD 668–716

by Stephanie Forrest

To shed light on the eventful reigns of Constantine IV (r. 668–85), Justinian II (r. 685–95, 705–11) and Leo III (r. 717–41), historians have long been forced to rely on two sources written several decades later: one, the *Breviarium* of the patriarch Nikephoros; the other, the *Chronographia* of Theophanes.[1] Yet, it has also long been recognised that both derived their accounts from much earlier sources. For the events of Syria and the Umayyad Caliphate, it is now generally agreed that Theophanes used an "eastern" source of Syriac origin, which is frequently attributed to Theophilus of Edessa and is discussed in numerous papers in this volume.[2] For internal Byzantine events, we are on still shakier ground, but much scholarship over the last half-century has held that they shared at least two common sources. The later of these was an iconophile chronicle, which is usually said to have started in *circa* 720 and concluded near the end of the eighth century;[3] the earlier, a source—frequently attributed to the mysterious "Trajan the Patrician"—which

1. This paper is an adaptation of a fourth-year Honours thesis, which the present author submitted to the University of Melbourne in November 2013. I take this opportunity to thank all those who offered me advice and assisted me in the process of getting this paper published. First of all is Associate Professor Roger Scott, whose generous support throughout the year was invaluable and without whom I would certainly not have had the opportunity to study this topic. I would also like to thank John Burke and Penelope Buckley for providing helpful feedback, along with many other academic staff members and co-students from the University of Melbourne who have provided me inspiration and support. Finally, I would like to thank the editors of this volume for considering this paper for publication. Please note that the main conclusions in this paper were reached independently of M. Jankowiak, The first Arab siege of Constantinople, in *Constructing the seventh century*, ed. by C. Zuckerman (= *TM* 17), Paris 2013, pp. 237–320, which was published too late to feature in my original thesis but is nonetheless substantially in agreement.

2. On Theophanes' eastern source, see E. Brooks, The sources of Theophanes and the Syriac chroniclers, *BZ* 15/2, 1906, pp. 578–87; A. Proudfoot, The sources of Theophanes for the Heraclian dynasty, *Byz.* 44, 1974, pp. 400–26; Howard-Johnston, *Witnesses*, pp. 295–9.

3. Mango – Scott, p. lxxxviii; C. Mango's introduction to Niceph., *Brev.*, pp. 15 f.; for another theory of Theophanes' usage of lost sources, see also W. Brandes, Pejorative Phantomnamen im 8. Jahrhundert : ein Beitrag zur Quellenkritik des Theophanes und deren Konsequenzen für die historische Forschung, in *Zwischen Polis, Provinz und Peripherie : Beiträge zur byzantinischen Geschichte und Kultur*,

Studies in Theophanes, ed. by M. Jankowiak & F. Montinaro (Travaux et mémoires 19), Paris 2015, pp. 417–44.

began at an unconfirmed date in the late seventh century, ended before *circa* 720, and was notable for its blunt, scathing account of Justinian II's two reigns.

It is with the latter source—the so-called "Trajan" chronicle—that this paper is concerned. For reasons that will become clear below, it will here be referred to as the *Chronicle of Justinian II*. Its existence has long been conjectured because of the parallels in Theophanes' and Nikephoros' accounts of this period.[4] As far as internal Byzantine affairs are concerned, both writers record the same events—for example, for the reign of Constantine IV, both record the legendary first Saracen siege of Constantinople, the origins of the Bulgars, Constantine IV's Bulgar campaigns, and the Sixth Ecumenical Council in the same order.[5] In addition, both record similar details. In their accounts of the siege of Constantinople in Constantine IV's reign, both Theophanes and Nikephoros mention that a certain Chaleb—unknown from the Oriental sources—was the head of the enemy fleet.[6] They also use similar vocabulary: in Theophanes, Constantine's ambassador to the Umayyad court in Damascus, John Pitzigaudis, is "experienced" and "possessed of great wisdom" (πολύπειρος – μεγάλης ἀντεχόμενος φρονήσεως)[7] while in Nikephoros he is "exceptional in experience and wisdom" (πολυπειρίᾳ καὶ φρονήσει διαφέροντα).[8] In essence, therefore, both tell the same story with similar details, using a similar vocabulary.

Moreover, they must also have been working independently of each other, since each provides information that the other does not.[9] Theophanes, for example, gives additional information on the geography of "Old Great Bulgaria" in the introduction to his account of Constantine IV's campaigns against the Bulgars in AM 6171, while

hrsg. von L. Hoffmann, Wiesbaden 2005, pp. 93–125, which suggests that some sections of Theophanes' account on the reign of Leo III and Constantine V can be attributed to a later, separate iconodule tract.

4. W. Treadgold, Trajan the Patrician, Nicephorus and Theophanes, in *Bibel, Byzanz und Christlicher Orient: Festschrift für Stephen Gerö zum 65. Geburtstag*, hrsg. von D. Bumazhnov *et al.* (Orientalia Lovaniensia analecta 187), Leuven 2011, pp. 589–621; Proudfoot, The sources of Theophanes (quoted n. 2), pp. 426 f.; V. Beševliev, Κύριος Βουλγαρίας bei Theophanes, *BZ* 41/2, 1941, pp. 289–98, at 290 f.; C. Mango, The *Breviarium* of the patriarch Nicephorus, in *Byzantium: tribute to Andreas N. Stratos*, ed. by N. A. Stratos, Αθήνα 1986, pp. 529–52, at 545; Howard-Johnston, *Witnesses*, pp. 264–7; J. B. Bury, *History of the later Roman Empire*, London – New York 1889, p. 352 n. 1. For a different view, see C. Head, *Justinian II of Byzantium*, Madison Wis. – London 1972, pp. 15 f., who implies that Nikephoros had used a source dated of *circa* 713, while Theophanes had access to an altered version of the source that was more hostile towards Justinian II, possibly dated to the reign of Leo III (p. 17). The differences between the two accounts, however, are not nearly as significant as Head suggests; it appears that they merely reproduce slightly different sections of the same narrative.

5. The first Saracen siege of Constantinople: Theoph. AM 6164, p. 353.14–23; AM 6165, pp. 353.25–354.11; AM 6169, pp. 355.10–356.8; Niceph., *Brev.*, §§ 34.2–37, pp. 84 ff.; The origins of the Bulgars: Theoph. AM 6171, pp. 356.18–358.11; Niceph., *Brev.*, § 35.1–34, pp. 86 ff.; Constantine IV's Bulgar campaigns: Theoph. AM 6171, pp. 358.11–359.25, Niceph., *Brev.*, § 36.129; Sixth Ecumenical Council: Theoph. AM 6171, pp. 359.21–360.7, Niceph., *Brev.*, § 37.1–14, pp. 90 ff. These parallels continue throughout—for a full list to the end of the lost source in *circa* 719, see pp. 426–8 below.

6. Theoph. AM 6164, p. 353.18–9 (Χαλέ); Niceph., *Brev.*, § 34.4–6, p. 84.

7. Theoph. AM 6169, p. 355.17–8.

8. Niceph., *Brev.*, § 34.26, p. 86.

9. See Treadgold, Trajan the Patrician (quoted n. 4), p. 589; Mango, The *Breviarium* (quoted n. 4), p. 545.

Nikephoros provides additional information on Justinian II's treatment of the Bulgar Khan Terbel in *circa* 705.[10] Though Theophanes is the only one to mention Justinian's plot "to kill the people of the City" in 695, only Nikephoros mentions that the emperor Leontios spared Justinian's life out of "love for his father Constantine" when he deposed him,[11] and that he did not want the unruly mob to kill Justinian's unpopular advisors.[12] Both record different ways in which Justinian destroyed his opponents following his return to power in 705.[13] Although Theophanes' account is longer and generally more detailed, Nikephoros is also the only one to record that the town of Doros on the Crimea—where Justinian temporarily sought refuge while in exile—was "in the Gothic land,"[14] that Justinian sought help from the Bulgars during a civil war of 710/711,[15] and the elaborate plot that resulted in Philippikos blinding and deposal.[16] What all of this strongly suggests is that Theophanes and Nikephoros had access to a lost source, which they used in common for their accounts of the late seventh and early eighth centuries.

It is perhaps worth noting here that there is a third, though far less useful, work that appears to have made use of the theorised *Chronicle of Justinian II*: the ninth-century *Chronikon* of George the Monk.[17] Though his account is abrupt—indeed, it is covered in less than twenty pages in the de Boor edition[18]—his occasional inclusion of information that was not present in Theophanes' or Nikephoros' accounts suggests that he worked independently of both.[19] For example, he is the only one to explicitly record the number of Slavic mercenaries massacred by Justinian II after the Battle of Sebastopolis ("10,000, with wives and children")[20]—and to mention that the demarch of the Blue faction proclaimed Leontios emperor in the revolt that deposed Justinian II in 695.[21] He also mentions methods that Justinian used to intimidate and torture his enemies upon his return to power in 705 which are not mentioned by Theophanes or Nikephoros—for example, by poisoning them at feasts and impaling them secretly.[22] While some of these unique pieces of information might have been elaborations by George, other passages—particularly the reference to the Blue faction—seem unlikely to have been his own invention.

10. Niceph., *Brev.*, § 42.58–64, pp. 102 ff., mentions that Justinian showed favours to Terbel, had him sit beside him during the races after his return to power, and proclaimed him Caesar.

11. *Ibid.*, § 40.32–6, p. 96.

12. *Ibid.*, § 40.37–41, pp. 96 ff.

13. On which, see below, "A proposed reconstruction."

14. Niceph., *Brev.*, § 42.7, p. 100.

15. *Ibid.*, § 45.72–4, pp. 110 ff.

16. *Ibid.*, § 48.4–15, pp. 114 ff.

17. D. Afinogenov, The history of Justinian and Leo, in *La Crimée entre Byzance et le khaganat khazar*, éd. par C. Zuckerman (MTM 25), Paris 2006, pp. 181–200, at 199, is the only scholar thus far, to my knowledge, that has also reached this conclusion, although Proudfoot, The sources of Theophanes (quoted n. 2), p. 427, noted it as a possibility.

18. Georg. Mon., pp. 717–34.

19. As noted by Afinogenov, The history (quoted n. 17), pp. 199–200.

20. Georg. Mon., p. 730.21–2. Conversely, Theoph. AM 6185, p. 366.20–3, simply records that the "remaining" Slavic mercenaries were slaughtered, while Niceph., *Brev.*, § 38, fails to record this event at all.

21. Georg. Mon., p. 730.18. The inclusion of this information has been noted by Head, *Justinian II of Byzantium* (quoted n. 4), p. 94, but not explained.

22. On which, see below under the heading "A proposed reconstruction."

Moreover, although George the Monk includes substantial sections that were not included in Nikephoros' account—for example, the short entry under AM 6161 that outlines the attempted revolt of the Anatolic Theme and the mutilation of Constantine IV's brothers[23]—in general, George the Monk's account is structurally far more similar to Nikephoros'. This can be most clearly seen in their semi-legendary accounts of the beginning of the first Saracen siege of Constantinople. In Theophanes' account—which is split over two years (AM 6164 and 6165)—the Saracens send out a great fleet towards Constantinople under the command the generals Mouamed and Kaisos, aided by the otherwise unknown "Chaleb."[24] After setting out for Constantinople, the generals sail past Kilikia and winter in Smyrna and Lykia. Upon learning about the movements of these fleets, Constantine IV equips his own fleet and prepares for a siege.[25] The following year (AM 6165) the fleet arrives and the siege itself begins.[26] By contrast, Nikephoros and George the Monk provide much simpler accounts. According to them, the Saracen fleet sets out under the command of "Chaleb" alone, and only following its arrival at Constantinople does Constantine equip his own fleet in retaliation. Neither makes any mention of the generals Mouamed or Kaisos, or of the Saracen fleet wintering in Smyrna and Lykia.[27] The reasons for this are likely simple: since the movements of Mouamed and Kaisos at around this time appear to be alluded to in some of the Oriental accounts,[28] Theophanes must have constructed his account of the siege using multiple sources and rearranged some of the material to fit over two years. Nikephoros and George the Monk, however, did not use any additional sources for this section and did not need to break the narrative by year, and so both presumably preserve the original order of events as they appeared in the Byzantine source. This strongly suggests that both were working independently of Theophanes throughout this section, and most likely both had direct access to the original lost Byzantine chronicle.

It therefore appears highly likely that all three of these later compilers—Theophanes, Nikephoros, and George the Monk—had access to a single lost early eighth-century source, and that all three reproduced different parts of it. There has otherwise been very little consensus to date on the details of the source, or even on when it began and ended. Recently, Treadgold and Howard-Johnston both contended that the source was an annalistic chronicle, although they otherwise disagree on its scope and contents, as discussed below.[29] By contrast, Afinogenov has suggested that the supposed early eighth-century source was two consecutive sources, one of which was dated by regnal year and perhaps written by the emperor Leo III himself.[30]

23. Theoph. AM 6161, p. 352.12–23; parallelled in Georg. Mon., p. 728.6–14.
24. Theoph. AM 6164, p. 353.14–23.
25. *Ibid.*, p. 353.19–23.
26. Theoph. AM 6165, p. 353.25–8.
27. Niceph., *Brev.*, § 34.2–9, pp. 87 ff.; Georg. Mon., p. 727.16–9.
28. See Agap., p. 492; Mich. Syr., transl., II, p. 455.
29. HOWARD-JOHNSTON, *Witnesses*, pp. 306–7; TREADGOLD, Trajan the Patrician (quoted n. 4), p. 595, although the latter is far more detailed. The main point of disagreement between these two reconstructions is over the beginning date—which, as discussed above, is most likely to have been 668, as Howard-Johnston accepts.
30. D. AFINOGENOV, The source of Theophanes' *Chronography* and Nikephoros' *Breviarium* for the years 685–717, *Христианский Восток*, n.s. 4, 2002, pp. 11–22, at 12 f.

In view of this lack of agreement, in what follows I will offer a new "reconstruction" of the lost early eighth-century chronicle. Though very indebted to all earlier studies on this source—particularly those of Afinogenov, Howard-Johnston, and Treadgold—my reconstruction will differ from all of these in at least one respect. I will suggest that Theophanes, Nikephoros and George the Monk each had access to a single chronicle that covered the years 668–*c.* 716, which may not have been annalistic and offered a highly selective narrative account of the period. It was clearly a political and largely secular work, and its central antagonist was Justinian II; indeed, the writer's hostile treatment of this emperor was perhaps the most distinguishable and revealing feature of his work.

1. Beginnings and ends

The ending date of the hypothesised *Chronicle* has been debated over for decades, beginning with Orosz, who, noting that the unfinished London manuscript of Nikephoros—believed to reflect an earlier draft of the *Breviarium*—ended suddenly with the blinding of Philippikos in 713, speculated that Nikephoros' earlier eighth-century source had also ended there, and that the more complete text in the Vatican manuscript must have been completed at a later date after additional source material had become available.[31] Though this date was accepted for some time,[32] it was ultimately discounted by Mango, who pointed out that the London manuscript ends in the middle of a paragraph which is continuous in the equivalent sections of Theophanes and the Vatican manuscript of Nikephoros.[33] Mango later put forward the coronation of Constantine V in *circa* AD 720 (AM 6211) as an ending point for the earlier source. The speculation was made for two reasons:[34] first, there is a *lacuna* between 720 and 726 in Nikephoros and Theophanes (AM 6213–8) in which neither have anything to report on internal Byzantine affairs; Theophanes reverts to using his eastern source, while Nikephoros skips over the period altogether. Second, the perspective of the narrative in Theophanes changes dramatically after 720. While Theophanes characterises Leo III as "pious" (εὐσεβής) during his account on the second Saracen siege (717–8, AM 6209),[35] both Theophanes and Nikephoros are hostile in the sections after 720; as early as 726 (AM 6218), for example, he is characterised as "mad," "lawless," and is compared to Herod.[36]

A number of more recent studies have followed Mango in making 720 the speculative ending date of the earlier source. On closer inspection, however, there are reasons to suspect that this date is almost as problematic as 713.[37]

31. L. OROSZ, *The London manuscript of Nikephoros "Breviarium"*, Budapest 1948, p. 13.
32. See, for example, HEAD, *Justinian II* (quoted n. 4), pp. 15–6; PROUDFOOT, The sources of Theophanes (quoted n. 2), pp. 426–7.
33. MANGO, The *Breviarium* (quoted n. 4), pp. 548–9.
34. MANGO's introduction to Niceph., *Brev.*, pp. 14 f.; TREADGOLD, Trajan the Patrician (quoted n. 4), p. 595.
35. Theoph. AM 6209, p. 401.9–12.
36. *Ibid.*, AM 6221, p. 407.15–21—Leo "mad" and lawless: p. 407.15; compared with Herod: p. 407.25; Germanos "blessed": p. 407.17.
37. TREADGOLD, Trajan the Patrician (quoted n. 4), p. 594; MANGO – SCOTT, p. lxxxvii; MANGO's introduction to Niceph., *Brev.*, p. 16; and HOWARD-JOHNSTON, *Witnesses*, p. 243 all accept this ending date, although none examine this issue to considerable depth.

First, the later eighth century "iconophile" source probably began well before 726. At the end of the narrative of the second Saracen siege of Constantinople in AM 6210 (718/9)—eight years before the later eighth-century source is supposed to have started—Theophanes announces that "a more impious son and precursor of the Antichrist, Constantine, was born to the impious emperor Leo."[38] In the following scene he describes Constantine V's baptism, which is bungled when the infant defecates into the baptismal font.[39] In response, the here Saintly patriarch Germanos foretells: "this sign has shown [that] great evil will come about for the Christians and the Church because of him."[40] This entry has many similarities with the entries of the later eighth century—namely, its hostility towards Leo III and Constantine V, its Saintly depiction of Germanos, and its interest in divine portents. On the other hand, it has little in common with the *Chronicle of Justinian II*, which elsewhere portrays some respect for Leo III,[41] a suspicion of Germanos for his involvement in the Monothelite council under Philippikos,[42] and comparatively little interest in divine portents.[43] It would therefore be more logical to connect this scene with the later source—an indication that it began well before 726, and indeed before the earlier source is supposed to have ended in 720.

Aside from the different perspectives, there is likely another aspect in which the two lost sources differed. While the later source was most likely dated by indiction, there is very little evidence—either in Theophanes or in Nikephoros—that the earlier source was likewise.[44] As noted by Afinogenov, there are abundant references to the indiction throughout both Theophanes' and Nikephoros' accounts on the later eighth century,[45] but throughout the sections drawn from the earlier eighth-century source, there is no such pattern; in fact, Theophanes and Nikephoros do not mention the indiction once in the 668–714 that can be attributed to the Byzantine source—a strong indication that their source did not regularly mention the indiction. The indiction dating begins suddenly with the commencement of the second Saracen siege of 717–8 (AM 6209–10), and is also mentioned by both writers in the short entry reporting the coronation of the infant Constantine V in 720 (AM 6212). The presence of an indiction date in the latter entry, at least, suggests that it did not come from the *Chronicle* at all, but was part of the later eighth-century source.

From the above, therefore, we can conclude that it is unlikely the earlier source ended with the coronation of Constantine V in AM 6212; yet this gives rise to some problems.

38. Theoph. AM 6211, pp. 399.28–400.1.
39. *Ibid.*, p. 400.2–17.
40. *Ibid.*, p. 400.12–3.
41. As shown by his apparent characterisation of Leo III as εὐσεβής at Theoph. AM 6209, p. 401.9–12.
42. Germanos is mentioned as one of Philippikos' key supporters in Theoph. AM 6204, p. 382.15–6; Niceph., *Brev.*, § 46.6–7, pp. 112 ff.
43. On which see in the concluding section of this article below.
44. Afinogenov, *The history* (quoted n. 17), p. 199 is in agreement here, although he still believes that the source was annalistically dated; contrast Howard-Johnston, *Witnesses*, pp. 303–4 (implied) and Treadgold, Trajan the Patrician (quoted n. 4), p. 609.
45. Theoph. AM 6218, p. 404.18 (summer, 9th indiction); AM 6221, pp. 408.31–2, 409.11 (7 January and 22 January, 13th indiction); AM 6231, p. 411.14 (May, 8th indiction); AM 6232, p. 412.7 (26 October, 9th indiction); AM 6233, p. 414.18 (27 June, 10th indiction).

The origin of the siege narrative of 717–8 (AM 6209–10) is now uncertain. There is evidence both to connect it to the earlier source—namely, its depiction of Leo III as "pious"—and to the later source—namely, its reference to the indiction. It may be impossible to determine its origin unless further evidence comes to light, and in the absence of any obvious transitional point, I can only conclude that the earlier chronicle would have ended somewhere between the accession of Leo III in 716/7 (AM 6209) and the failed rebellion of Artemios Anastasios in 718/9 (AM 6211).

A probable beginning date of the source is, fortunately, somewhat easier to identify. It appears highly likely that it began in 667/8 (AM 6160),[46] since Nikephoros does not appear to have had access to any information for the reign of Constans II (641–68) and skips immediately from his accession to his murder,[47] while Theophanes uses his "eastern source" almost exclusively for Constans II's reign.[48]

In this respect, worthy of attention is an argument by Afinogenov, who—while largely agreeing with this study with respect to the ending date of the source—concluded that Theophanes, Nikephoros, and George the Monk had two sources for the period in question: the first covered the years 668 to 685, and the second, 685 to 717.[49]

There were two reasons for this: first, he argued that the reign of Constantine IV includes far more references to Divine ordination than the second part of the supposed *Chronicle*, and second, that it also included fewer borrowed Latin words than the second half.[50] There are some problems, however, with both assertions. The first misses at least three references to Divine ordination that occur after 685—one, when George the Monk concludes that the disaster at the Battle of Sebastopolis demonstrated "never to break a sacred oath,"[51] another, when Leontios' allies foretell that he will rule the empire (AM 6187),[52] and last, in the dramatic scene where Justinian vows to avenge his enemies

46. As agreed by Mango, The *Breviarium* (quoted n. 4), p. 545; Mango's introduction to Niceph., *Brev.*, pp. 15 f.; Mango – Scott, p. lxxvii; Howard-Johnston, *Witnesses*, p. 307; and Proudfoot, The sources of Theophanes (quoted n. 2), p. 426. Treadgold, Trajan the Patrician (quoted n. 4), p. 596–611, disagrees: "as a rule, Byzantine historians either began with the Creation… confined themselves to one subject… or continued an existing history. A general history covering the years from 668 to 720 would fit none of these three types" (p. 596). On this basis, Treadgold contends that the source was actually a continuation of the *Chronicle Paschale* which began in 627, which Theophanes himself drew upon for the very sparse "non-eastern" entries throughout 627–68. Both parts of this argument are questionable. First of all, the issue of the validity of the above rule aside, there is no reason that this *Chronicle* cannot have been classified as a history "confin[ing] [it]self to one subject." Second, there is practically no evidence to connect the very few "non-eastern" entries throughout Theophanes' account of 627–68 with the 668–*c.* 720 source—indeed, since neither Niceph. nor Georg. Mon. used it before 668, it would appear highly unlikely.
47. Niceph., *Brev.*, §§ 32–3, pp. 84 f.
48. Theoph. AM 6133–60, pp. 341.18–352.9; see Proudfoot, The sources of Theophanes (quoted n. 2), pp. 403–26, Mango – Scott, pp. lxxxii–lxxxvii; Howard-Johnston, *Witnesses*, pp. 295–9.
49. Afinogenov, The source (quoted n. 30), pp. 13–4.
50. Afinogenov, The source (quoted n. 30), provides these precise numbers: 7 occurrences over 20 pages of the 641–68 period (0.35 Latin words per page), 37 occurrences throughout 23 pages of the 668–717 period (1.61 per page) and 27 occurrences over 7.5 pages of the "Leo sequence" (here called the *Vita Leonis*—3.6 per page).
51. Georg. Mon., p. 730.17–9.
52. Theoph. AM 6187, pp. 368.30–369.4 and Niceph., *Brev.*, § 40.12–4, pp. 96 ff.

while crossing to Bulgaria (AM 6196).[53] The Latin word analysis is similarly inconclusive, largely because Afinogenov's Latin-word-per-page calculations included several pages of entries that Theophanes derived from his eastern source, which seems to have included far fewer Latinate words on average per page than the Byzantine one. On the contrary, if the sections with parallels in Oriental sources are removed, then both sections before and after 685 show almost exactly the same average of Latinate words per page.[54]

There is strong evidence elsewhere to suggest that the account from 668 to 716 was derived from a single source. In Theophanes, when Constantine IV's ambassador John Pitzigaudis enters into talks with the caliph (AM 6169), we are told that "two written treaties were made for each side with oaths" (μεθ' ὅρκων).[55] Later, when Justinian marches against the Saracens near Sebastopolis (AM 6184), we hear that his enemies begged him "not to destroy the treaties agreed between them with oaths" (μεθ' ὅρκων).[56] Similarly, in the equivalent section of his account, George the Monk presents the episode as a lesson "never to break a sacred oath (θεῖον ὅρκον), even if it should be regarding an untrustworthy enemy."[57] The latter two passages here are clearly referring back to the first, as if all were derived from the same source. Moreover, at the beginning of Theophanes' Bulgar digression in AM 6171,[58] a number of unusual geographic features are mentioned—including features πλησίον τῶν Νεκροπήλων ("near the Nekropela"),[59] Φαναγουρίαν ("Phanagoria"),[60] and τὸν Δάναπριν καὶ Δάναστριν ("the Danapris and Danastris")—the latter of which, in particular, appears to be an uncommon occurrence in medieval Greek.[61] Later, when describing Justinian's activities in the area (AM 6196), Justinian travels εἰς Φαναγουρίαν,[62] and past τὰ Νεκρόπηλα[63] and "the mouth of the Danapris and Danastris" (Δάναπρι καὶ τοῦ Δάναστρι)[64]. As can be seen, many of the unusual geographic features and names that are mentioned under AM 6171 are also mentioned in the description of Justinian's adventures in AM 6196, suggesting that both sections came from the same source.

On the basis of the evidence available, therefore, it appears most likely that the *Chronicle of Justinian II* was indeed a single source, which began in 668 and extended to at least 716, if not up to 719.

53. Theoph. AM 6196, p. 373.22–8. In this scene—according to Theophanes—Justinian and his followers are caught in a storm while crossing to Bulgaria from Cherson. Justinian's servant, Myakes, approaches him and says: "Behold! We are dying, Master. Pray to God about your salvation, so that, if God should return your Empire to you, not one of your enemies will be harmed." To which the emperor angrily replies: "If I should spare any one of them, may God drown me here." Naturally, Justinian survives the storm, and upon returning to Constantinople he reportedly massacres his numerous political enemies.

54. For a more detailed critique of this argument, see JANKOWIAK, The first Arab siege of Constantinople (quoted n. 1), p. 250.

55. Theoph. AM 6169, p. 355.28–9.

56. *Ibid.*, AM 6184, p. 366.9–10.

57. Georg. Mon., p. 730.17–8.

58. Theoph. AM 6171, pp. 356.18–357.11.

59. *Ibid.*, p. 357.1–2.

60. *Ibid.*, p. 357.2.

61. *Ibid.*, p. 357.28.

62. *Ibid.*, AM 6196, p. 373.3, 15.

63. *Ibid.*, p. 373.21.

64. *Ibid.*, p. 373.21–2.

2. Identifying fragments

Now that the beginning and ending dates of the chronicle have been tentatively identified, it remains to develop a methodology for reconstructing the lost source. As it stands, the three versions of its contents that survive in the accounts of Theophanes, Nikephoros and George the Monk vary substantially in structure, detail, and length. The latter two provide essentially continuous narratives. Nikephoros' *Breviarium* is unbroken by headings, while George the Monk arranges his narrative by emperor. Neither writer was constrained by a rigid annalistic structure, and so both were generally able to reproduce the entries in the same order as they appeared in their original sources. It is therefore reasonable to expect that they reproduce the original structure of the source accurately. Moreover, since there is no indication that they used more than one source for the entire period, it is highly likely that the entries that appear in all three sources came from the *Chronicle of Justinian II*.

The most detailed and important source for the sake of this reconstruction, Theophanes' *Chronographia*, must be treated with great caution. As Scott and others have shown in this volume and elsewhere, although Theophanes reproduced his sources *verbatim* at times, he manipulated his sources in other ways—and was indeed compelled to, because of the rigid way in which he structured his work.[65] Rather uniquely, his chronicle is comprised of a series of annalistic entries. This structure compelled Theophanes to place each event in the *Chronographia* under a specific year—including the events that occurred over several years, or at an imprecise time. It is unsurprising, then, that he often rearranges the order of the entries from his sources to fit them into his work,[66] and as such his chronology cannot be trusted without external qualification.

In addition, unlike Nikephoros, Theophanes composed his account using a number of different sources. By far the most significant of these for the seventh and early eighth centuries was his "eastern source,"[67] and the passages he has derived from this generally have close parallels in related later Syriac or Arabic chronicles—particularly those of

65. On the composition methods of Theophanes, see R. SCOTT, Writing the reign of Justinian : Malalas *versus* Theophanes, in *The sixth century : end or beginning?*, ed. by P. Allen and E. Jeffreys, Brisbane 1996, pp. 21–34; ID., "The events of every year, arranged without confusion" : Justinian and others in the *Chronicle* of Theophanes Confessor, in *L'écriture de la mémoire : la littérarité de l'historiographie*, sous la dir. de P. Odorico, P. A. Agapitos, M. Hinterberger, Paris 2006, pp. 49–65; ID., From propaganda to history to literature : the Byzantine stories of Theodosius' apple and Marcian's eagles, in *History as literature in Byzantium*, ed. by R. Macrides, Aldershot 2010, pp. 115–31; J. N. LJUBARSKIJ, Concerning the literary technique of Theophanes the Confessor, *BSl.* 56, 1995, pp. 317–22.

66. SCOTT, Writing the reign of Justinian (quoted n. 65), p. 29, concluded: "Only 35 of Malalas' 82 items for Justinian (I)'s first six years are retained at all with only 25 being in their correct sequence."

67. For more on this source, see BROOKS, The sources of Theophanes (quoted n. 2); HOWARD-JOHNSTON, *Witnesses*, pp. 295–9; MANGO – SCOTT, pp. lxxxii–lxxxvii; PROUDFOOT, The sources of Theophanes (quoted n. 2), pp. 400–26. Particularly useful for identifying extracts from the "eastern source" is HOYLAND, *Theophilus*, which provides translated parallel extracts from numerous Syriac texts and Theophanes and—of course—MANGO – SCOTT, throughout which entries with eastern parallels have been tirelessly identified. Note that a similar methodology to the above was used by AFINOGENOV, The history (quoted n. 17)—the only in-depth reconstruction of the *Chronicle of Justinian II* thus far—although this study appears to have missed a number of the parallel scenes and wrongly attributes a number of "eastern" extracts to the Byzantine author. The reconstruction offered here is thus much more concise and limited in its interests.

Michael the Syrian, Agapius, and the anonymous *Chronicon ad 1234*.[68] In the period in question, these passages are brief and usually concern natural phenomena, portents, military operations, and the internal affairs of the Caliphate.[69] Since Theophanes often weaves entries from different sources together, so as to form a single narrative—a process which Ljubarskij has called "mosaicing"[70]—it is therefore of crucial importance to identify any entries or short passages that have close parallels in the eastern tradition, as these are likely to have come from his eastern source.

From this, therefore, we can establish certain rules. Although Theophanes reproduces the most material of the lost source, he rearranges the contents of his sources, and at times "mosaics" originally separate sources together. Nikephoros and George the monk, on the other hand, are more likely to reproduce only the contents of the *Chronicle of Justinian II* for this period and to preserve the original sequence of events. The method of reconstruction should therefore be—first—to remove suspected additions from the eastern source from the relevant sections of Theophanes, preferably leaving only the entries with close parallels in Nikephoros or George the Monk, and—second—to compare the sequence of the remaining events in Theophanes, Nikephoros and George the Monk to ensure that they follow the same order.

If this methodology is followed, the following entries remain:[71]

Scene	Theoph.	Niceph.	Georg. Mon.
Murder of Constans II in Syracuse	*AM 6160 [351.14–352.9]*	*§ 33.1–3*	*717.11–718.8*
Saracens begin expedition against Constantinople	AM 6164 [353.14–6, 17–23]	§ 34.1–6	727.16–7
Expedition arrives at Constantinople, battles continue for seven years	AM 6165 [353.25–354.11]	§ 34.6–21	727.17–728.5
Mauias seeks to enter into terms with the Romans; John Pitzigaudis	AM 6169 [355.10–356.2]	§ 34.21–31	–
Peace secured in the East and West	AM 6169 [356.2–8]	§ 34.31–7	–
Anatolic Theme revolts	*AM 6161 [352.12–23]*	–	*728.6–14*
Bulgars assail Thrace: "Old Bulgaria" and the story of Khan Koubrat and his sons	AM 6171 [356.18–358.11]	§ 35.1–34	728.15–18
Constantine IV campaigns against the Bulgars	AM 6171 [358.11–9]	§ 36.1–29	728.18–729.16
Constantine IV summons the Sixth Ecumenical Council	AM 6171 [359.19–360.7]	§ 37.1–10	(726.13–727.15)
Constantine IV dies, is buried in the church of Holy Apostles	AM 6177 [361.15–6]	§ 37.10–4	–
Justinian, being a young man of about sixteen years...	AM 6178 [363.26–7]	§ 38.1–4	–
Justinian sends Leontios to Armenia against the Saracens; Leontios captures forts of Armenia	*AM 6178 [363.27–32]*	–	–

68. Mango – Scott, p. [illegible]; Hoyland, *Theophilus*, pp. 34–6.
69. Proudfoot, The sources of Theophanes (quoted n. 2), pp. 420–6.
70. Ljubarskij, Literary technique (quoted n. 65), p. 318.
71. The passages that are discussed below are in italics.

Scene	Theoph.	Niceph.	Georg. Mon.
Justinian arrives in Armenia and receives the Mardaites, destroying the "Brazen Wall"	*AM 6179 [364.4–5]*	*§ 38.15–6*	–
Justinian breaks the peace with the Bulgars and orders his cavalry to move into Thrace	AM 6179 [364.5–9]	§ 38.7–11	729.19–21
Justinian fights the Bulgars and Slavs, subjugates many but at a great human cost	AM 6180 [364.11–18]	§ 38.11–4	729.21–730.3
Justinian raises an army of 30,000 Slavic mercenaries and breaks the peace with Abimelech. Battle of Sebastopolis	AM 6184 [365.30–366.23]	§ 38.14–28	730.3–15
... From then on, the Romans suffer many evils at the hands of the Arabs	AM 6185 [367.1–2]	§ 38.16	–
Justinian's building projects and cruel officials	AM 6186 [367.12–32]	§ 39.1–13	–
Dispute between Justinian and Kallinikos	*AM 6186 [367.32–368.11]*	–	*731.2–16*
Justinian is overthrown by Leontios in an urban revolt	AM 6187 [368.15–369.30]	§ 40.1–39	731.18–20
Leontios remains in peace on all sides	*AM 6188 [369.33–4]*	–	–
The Saracens invade Africa; Roman fleet fails to restore Carthage and rebels; Tiberios Apsimaros captures Constantinople	AM 6190 [370.6–371.13]	§ 41.1–32	731.22–732.8
Apsimaros exiles Philippikos the son of Nikephoros	*AM 6194 [372.7–11]*	–	–
Justinian escapes from Cherson, runs to Khazaria and then Bulgaria; secures the support of the khan Terbel	AM 6196 [372.26–374.8]	§ 42.1–44	732.13–6
Justinian arrives at Constantinople, comes in through disused Aqueduct of Valens	AM 6197 [374.16–23]	§ 42.44–9	732.16–9
Justinian returns to power, takes vengeance out upon his enemies and terrorises the populace	AM 6198 [374.28–375.28]	§ 42.49–77	732.20–733.12
Justinian breaks the peace between the Romans and Bulgars	AM 6200 [376.13–39]	§ 43.1–10	–
The siege of Tyana	AM 6201 [376.31–377.14]	–	–
The revolt in Cherson; Justinian is defeated and killed	AM 6203 [377.20–381.6]	§ 45.1–105	733.12–22
Philippikos' earlier life	AM 6203 [381.6–23]	–	–
Philippikos' wicked way of life	AM 6203 [381.23–32]	§ 46.1–2	–
Philippikos attacks the Sixth Ecumenical Council	AM 6204 [382.10–21]	§ 46.2–7	–
The Bulgars attack Thrace	AM 6204 [382.22–30]	§ 47.1–14	–
Philippikos is blinded on the Sabbath of Pentecost	AM 6205 [383.5–21]	§ 48.1–22	734.2–5
Artemios manages affairs in Constantinople	AM 6206 [383.29–384.14]	§ 49.1–17	–
Archival extract: Transfer of Germanos from the See of Kyzikos to Constantinople	*AM 6207 [384.19–385.4]*	–	–

Scene	Theoph.	Niceph.	Georg. Mon.
Artemios' expedition in Rhodes; rebellion of the Opsikion Theme; Theodosios captures Constantinople	AM 6207 [385.5–386.13]	§§ 50.1–51.20	734.11–4
Leo, *strategos* of the Anatolics, gains the support of Artabasdos of the Armeniacs	AM 6207 [386.13–9]	--	--
Leo's military activity in Anatolia; captures Theodosios' son as a hostage; becomes Emperor	*AM 6208 [386.25–390.26]*	--	*734.18–735.11*
Theodosios' officers request that he abdicate; Leo elected emperor following a ballot	--	*§ 52.1–24*	--
Maslamas arrives at Pergamon	AM 6208 [390.26–391.2]	§ 53.1–12	--
Leo's early career	*AM 6209 [391.5–395.12]*	--	--
The siege of Constantinople begins	AM 6209 [395.13–396.24]	§ 54.3–18	744.19–745.16
The siege continues; winter	AM 6209 [396.24–397.15]	§ 54.18–39	745.16–746.6
Famine; arrival of the Bulgars	AM 6209 [397.19–398.4]	--	--
Revolt of Sergios, the *strategos* of Sicily	AM 6210 [398.7–399.4]	§ 55.1–21	--
The end of the siege	AM 6210 [399.5–26]	§ 56.1–8	--
Attempted rebellion of Artemios Anastasios	AM 6211 [400.18–401.3]	§ 57.1–36	--

Remarkably, if the entries with parallels in Syriac sources are excised from Theophanes' account, then what remains is a narrative very similar to the one preserved in Nikephoros—though slightly more detailed in sections and slotted into an annalistic structure. Broadly, the above list of entries should reflect the contents of the theorised common source.

There are numerous entries, however, that either appear only in Theophanes or are substantially different in Nikephoros. These include Theophanes' account of the murder of Constans II (AM 6160),[72] biographical notes on Philippikos Bardanes (AM 6194 and 6203),[73] and the transfer of Germanos from Kyzikos to the See of Constantinople (AM 6207).[74] It can be shown that most of these are unlikely to have been part of the *Chronicle*.

To begin with the first example, while Theophanes provides a highly detailed account of the murder of Constans II embellished with his "eastern source" (AM 6160),[75] Nikephoros summarises the episode in a single sentence:

> *Then Constantine, after being murdered in Sicily in his bath with deceit by his own servants, died, already having ruled in the Empire for sixteen years.*[76]

72. Theoph. AM 6160, pp. 351.14–352.9.
73. *Ibid.*, AM 6194, p. 372.7–11 and AM 6203, p. 381.6–23.
74. *Ibid.*, AM 6207, pp. 384.19–385.4.
75. *Ibid.*, AM 6160, pp. 351.14–352.9. In particular, Mango – Scott, pp. 490–1, have identified textual parallels between passages in Michael the Syrian and the *Chronicon ad 1234* and pp. 351.28–352.5—the scene of the actual murder—here. This leaves the origin of p. 351.14–27—which describes the reasons for Constans II's murder—impossible to ascertain.
76. Niceph., *Brev.*, § 33.1–3, p. 84.

There is little in common between this short account and its equivalent in Theophanes. While Nikephoros emphasises that Constans was murdered "with deceit by his own servants,"[77] Theophanes begins by listing reasons he was hated[78] and implicates a certain patrician Theodoros of Koloneia and the *koubikoularios* Andreas (certainly not mere servants).[79] Of the two versions, Nikephoros' appears to more accurately represent the one in the original *Chronicle*. First, it mentions the number of years that Constans II reigned—a recurring feature of Theophanes' and Nikephoros' account of the 668–716 period.[80] Second, it more closely reflects the vocabulary of the chronicler—for example, while the murdered emperor is named "Constans" in Theophanes' version of the murder, he is referred to as "Constantine" by Nikephoros and in later sections of Theophanes that are likely derived from the *Chronicle*.[81]

There is no sign of the story of Philippikos' earlier life in Nikephoros or George the Monk, and Theophanes' inclusion of it in AM 6203[82] causes contradictions in the surrounding narrative. At the end of this entry, Theophanes reports that Philippikos Bardanes "cast down the Holy and Ecumenical Sixth Synod,"[83] and that "in the same year the profane man was blinded."[84] It is only in AM 6204, however, that Theophanes describes Philippikos' actions against the Sixth Synod,[85] and it is only one year later—AM 6205—that he is blinded.[86] Such repetition suggests that Theophanes used another source for the details of his early career. Similarly, his announcement on the transfer of Germanos to Constantinople in AM 6207 has an official quality about it, and might well have been a dispatch drawn from the state archives.[87] While it has been suggested[88] that the supposed *Chronicle* was essentially constructed out of such archival extracts, this is the only identifiable one that appears throughout the entire 668–719 period. As such, there is reason to omit this passage as well.

In addition to the above, however, there are three entries which appear in both Theophanes and George the Monk, but not in Nikephoros. These include the revolt of the Anatolic Theme in AM 6161,[89] the dispute between Justinian and the patriarch

77. *Ibid.*, § 33.1, p. 84.
78. Theoph. AM 6160, p. 351.15–24.
79. *Ibid.*, p. 351.25–6.
80. This occurs at the death of Constans II (Niceph., *Brev.*, § 33, p. 84) Constantine IV (§ 37.12, pp. 90 ff.), Justinian II's first deposal (§ 40.36, pp. 96 ff.), the deposal of Leontios (§ 41.32, pp. 98 ff.), Justinian II's execution (§ 45.89–90, p. 112) and Philippikos Bardanes' blinding (Theoph. AM 6205, 383.5–6; Niceph., *Brev.*, § 48.15, p. 116). It is interesting that Nikephoros appears to preserve more examples of this than Theophanes.
81. Constans: Theoph. AM 6160, p. 351.14; Constantine: Niceph., *Brev.*, § 33.1, p. 84; Theoph. AM 6171, p. 356.11–2.
82. Theoph. AM 6203, p. 381.6–23.
83. *Ibid.*, p. 381.22.
84. *Ibid.*, p. 381.23.
85. Theoph. AM 6204, p. 382.10–21.
86. *Ibid.*, AM 6205, p. 383.10–21.
87. *Ibid.*, AM 6207, pp. 384.19–385.4. Mango – Scott, p. lxxviii.
88. Howard-Johnston, *Witnesses*, p. 300; Treadgold, Trajan the Patrician (quoted n. 4), p. 617
89. Theoph. AM 6161, p. 352.12–23; Georg. Mon., p. 728.6–14.

Kallinikos in AM 6186,[90] and the long narrative on Leo III's military activities as *strategos* of the Anatolics (AM 6208–9).[91] It is the last of these which deserves special attention.

In AM 6208, Theophanes describes the actions of Leo III prior to becoming emperor in 717. By the standards of the rest of the *Chronicle of Justinian II* as reconstructed above, it is an unusual sequence, characterised by lengthy, excessively detailed dialogues.[92] In it, Leo—as *strategos* of the Anatolics—refuses to recognise Theodosios III (716–7) as Emperor following the deposal of Artemios Anastasios. While in the Anatolian fortress of Amorion, he is besieged by the Saracen general Suleiman, who demands to enter into talks and tries to convince him act as a puppet for the Saracens. Leo sees through this scheme, however, and evacuates Amorion. After many more complex negotiations, Leo decides to march against Constantinople and take the throne for himself. Making an alliance with Artabasdos, *strategos* of the Armeniacs, he falls upon numerous dignitaries in Bithynia—including Theodosios' son—and takes them as hostages. Through the patriarch Germanos, he makes a guarantee not to harm the populace, and is then allowed to come into Constantinople to be crowned.[93]

The conspicuous absence of this entry in Nikephoros' account has long been noted. The problem has led Mango and Scott to speculate that the entire episode may have come from an additional source, to which only Theophanes had access.[94] While this would make sense, this theory is challenged by the fact that a summarised version of the long sequence appears in George the Monk[95]—as has indeed been noted by Afinogenov, who conjectured that it was part of the original *Chronicle of Justinian II* and that Nikephoros had omitted the entire sequence purely because it was irrelevant to his narrative.[96] On closer inspection, however, this appears unlikely; if the sections on the rise of Leo III in Theophanes and Nikephoros are compared, it is apparent that they have virtually nothing in common. The following is Nikephoros' account of Leo's rise to power:

> *Thus even the Saracens marched against the Imperial City itself* […] *learning these things, the soldiers and the citizen dignitaries* […] *pressured* [Theodosios], *making exhortations, to abdicate as Emperor, because he was not able to offer resistance to the enemies* […] *thus a vote was held over who would assume the Empire, and Leo the Patrician, at that time strategos of the so-called Anatolic army, was elected* […] *He was received in a procession as he went through the Golden Gate into Byzantium, and having come into the Great Church, there he was crowned Emperor.*[97]

Nikephoros thus gives an entirely different account of Leo's rise to power. In Theophanes' and George the Monk's versions, there is no indication that he was "elected" or that the officials were already dismayed at Theodosios' lack of leadership when he

90. Ibid., AM 6186, pp. 367.32–368.11; Georg. Mon., p. 731.2–16.
91. Ibid., AM 6208, pp. 386.25–390.26; Georg. Mon., pp. 734.17–735.11.
92. For two different interpretations of this sequence, see J. J. NORWICH, *Byzantium: the early centuries*, New York 1988, p. 716 and BURY, *History of the later Roman Empire* (quoted n. 4), p. 375.
93. Theoph. AM 6208, pp. 386.25–390.26; Georg. Mon., pp. 734.17–735.11.
94. MANGO–SCOTT, p. [illegible].
95. Georg. Mon., pp. 734.17–735.11.
96. AFINOGENOV, The source (quoted n. 30), pp. 15–6.
97. Niceph., *Brev.*, § 52.7–24, p. 120.

marched against Constantinople; on the contrary, Leo refuses to accept Theodosios as Emperor in the first place and actively marches against Constantinople. Conversely, in Nikephoros' version, there is no indication that Leo was actively seeking power and had taken hostages; the dignitaries decide Theodosios is incapable of protecting them, convince him to abdicate, hold a ballot, and willingly "elect" Leo emperor.

This argument alone strongly suggests that the "Leo sequence" in Theophanes was not in Nikephoros' manuscript of the *Chronicle*; but there are other factors that show the "Leo sequence" was written by a different hand. There are significant differences of style and vocabulary between the lengthy sequence in AM 6208 and the rest of Theophanes' account of this period—for example, the writer of other sections of the *Chronicle of Justinian II*, as preserved by Theophanes, tends to refer to figures primarily by rank, and only secondarily by office, as Nikephoros does when he introduces Leo as "the Patrician… at that time strategos."[98] No reference, however, to Leo's patrician rank occurs in Theophanes' narrative, where he is repeatedly referred to as "the Strategos."[99] Similarly, the "Leo sequence" uses direct speech more generously than the remainder of the *Chronicle of Justinian II*,[100] and while the writer of the *Chronicle* tended to refer to the Umayyad enemies as "Arabs" or "Hagarenes," and rarely as "Saracens,"[101] throughout the "Leo sequence" Theophanes refers to them frequently as "Saracens," twice as "Hagarenes," and never as "Arabs."[102] In short, due to the many stylistic differences, it is highly unlikely that the *Chronicle* and Theophanes' account on the early career of Leo III were originally written by the same hand.

98. See Niceph., *Brev.*, § 52.19, p. 120 and other examples in Theoph. at AM 6169, p. 355.16 (John Pitzigaudis, patrician); AM 6187, pp. 368.16 and 368.20 (Stephen Rhousios, patrician and *strategos*); p. 368.18 (Leontios, patrician and *strategos* of the Anatolics); AM 6190, p. 370.8–9 (the patrician John, a "suitable man"); AM 6203, pp. 377.22–3, 379.18 and 380.11–2 (Mauros the patrician); p. 377.23–4 (Stephen Asmiktos, patrician); p. 378.27–8 (George Syros, patrician and general logothete); p. 380.29–30 (Barisbakourios, first patrician and count of the Opsikion); pp. 377.31–2, 378.24, 379.15 and 381.2 (Helias, *spatharios* and governor of Cherson); p. 380.12 (John Strouthos, *spatharios*); p. 381.4–5 (Romanos, *spatharios*); AM 6205, p. 383.13 (Theodoros Myakios, patrician); AM 6206, p. 384.2–3 (Daniel of Sinope, patrician and eparch of Constantinople); AM 6210, p. 398.7–8 (Sergios, first *spatharios* and *strategos* of Sicily); p. 398.14 (Paulos, patrician and *strategos* of Sicily); AM 6211, p. 400.26–7 (Sisinnios Rhendakis, patrician); p. 400.30 (Isoes, patrician and count of the Opsikion). In each case, the individual is first introduced initially by rank (patrician/*spatharios*).
99. Leo is repeatedly referred to as "the strategos" throughout Theoph. AM 6208, pp. 386.29, 387.6, 387.9, 387.13, 387.19–20, 387.27, 388.5, 388.10, 388.18, 388.27, 389.4, 389.10, 389.15, 389.26, 389.30, 389.31, 390.14, 390.19.
100. In fact, there does not appear to have been any more than fifteen examples in the *Chronicle*: Theoph. (1) AM 6161, p. 352.12–21; (2) AM 6186, p. 368.5–6; (3) AM 6186, p. 368.8–9; (4) AM 6187, pp. 368.30–369.2; (5) AM 6187, p. 369.2–4; (6) AM 6187, p. 369.13–4; (7) AM 6187, p. 369.21–2; (8) AM 6187, p. 369.22–3; (9) AM 6196, p. 373.24–6; (10) AM 6196, p. 373.27–8; (11) AM 6198, p. 375.11–2; (12) AM 6198, p. 375.24–9; (13) AM 6203, p. 381.9; (14) AM 6203, p. 381.15; (15) AM 6203, p. 381.17. Notably, the majority of these are acclamations by crowds.
101. Ἄραβες: Theoph. AM 6169, p. 355.22; AM 6178, p. 363.12; AM 6178, p. 363.15; AM 6184, p. 366.6; AM 6184, p. 366.17; AM 6190, p. 370.4; AM 6204, p. 382.24; AM 6206, p. 383.25; AM 6209, p. 397.30; AM 6210, p. 399.5. Σαρακηνοί: AM 6207, p. 385.5; AM 6210, p. 398.6. Ἀγαρηνοί: AM 6169, p. 355.19; AM 6185, p. 367.1–2; AM 6207, p. 384.15; AM 6210, p. 399.6.
102. Σαρακηνοί: Theoph. AM 6208, pp. 387.6, 387.8, 387.21, 387.22, 387.24, 388.9, 388.15; AM 6209, pp. 391.14, 393.12, 393.14, 393.23, 393.30. Ἀγαρηνοί: AM 6208, p. 387.14.

These differences suggest that the entire "Leo" sequence—as featured in both George the Monk and Theophanes—must have come from another unknown source.[103] It is impossible to ascertain the exact transmission pattern, but one factor remains near certain: that the lengthy narrative on the early career of Leo III cannot have been part of the original *Chronicle of Justinian II*, given the stylistic differences, and therefore Nikephoros' version must reflect the original contents.

Similarly, the sequence describing Leo's early career in AM 6209,[104] which does not appear in George the Monk or Nikephoros, shares many of the stylistic features of the "Leo sequence" and was probably drawn from the same source; it, too, is unlikely to have been part of the *Chronicle*.[105] It is not possible, however, to determine the origin of the other two entries that appear in both Theophanes and George the Monk, but not Nikephoros—namely, the entry on the Anatolic revolt[106] and the dialogue between Justinian II and Kallinikos.[107] Their omission and inclusion alike must remain speculative.

3. A proposed reconstruction

Based on the above analysis, it is possible to develop an outline of the contents of the *Chronicle of Justinian II*. The next section will provide an overview of the reconstructed chronicle—a chronicle which, as will be seen, was surprisingly well-structured and narrative in form.

Based on the evidence we currently have available, it probably opened with a notice on the murder of Constans II (perhaps referred to as "Constantine"), and may have closely resembled the notice in Nikephoros, recounting in rather detached terms that Constans was murdered by his servants in Syracuse after a reign of twenty-seven years.[108] This would have been closely followed by short notice on the accession of Constans' son, Constantine IV.[109] "Immediately after his succession," as Nikephoros puts it,[110] this was followed by the expedition of the Saracens against Constantinople under the leadership of "Chaleb" (AM 6164)[111] and the legendary seven-year siege (AM 6165),[112] which ends when the enemy fleet is destroyed in a storm. Upon hearing of the destruction of his army, Caliph Mauias demands peace talks, and the emperor sends the patrician John

103. In fact, the narrative of Georg. Mon. throughout pp. 734.1–735.11 is particularly brief, and virtually no new information is provided. It is worth noting, however, that Georg. Mon. confuses some of the narrative structure of the source in the "Leo narrative" at pp. 734.18–735.11. Whereas Theoph. AM 6208 has Suleiman arriving at Akroinon (pp. 386.25–387.2) and Maslamas writing to Leo, "come to me, and I will do anything you want" (p. 389.30–1), Georg. Mon. confuses the narrative in his summary version and has Maslamas doing both (pp. 734.19–735.3).

104. Theoph. AM 6209, pp. 391.5–395.12.

105. See Mango – Scott, p. lxxvii.

106. Theoph. AM 6161, p. 352.12–23; Georg. Mon., p. 728.6–14.

107. Theoph. AM 6186, pp. 367.32–368.11; Georg. Mon., p. 731.2–16.

108. For example, Niceph., *Brev.*, § 33.1, p. 84.

109. Niceph., *Brev.*, § 34.1–2, p. 84.

110. *Ibid.*, § 34.2–3, p. 84.

111. Theoph. AM 6164, p. 353.14–6, 17–8; Niceph., *Brev.*, § 34.1–6, p. 84; Georg. Mon., p. 727.16–7.

112. Theoph. AM 6165, pp. 353.25–354.11; Niceph., *Brev.*, § 34.6–21, pp. 84 ff.; Georg. Mon., p. 727.17–728.5.

"Pitzigaudis" to make terms (AM 6169).[113] Being an experienced politician, John is received "with great honour" in Damascus, and he and the caliph's dignitaries draw up two copies of a ten-year treaty with terms that are highly favourable towards the Romans. They are ratified by both sides with a "sacred oath."[114] As a result of these successful negotiations, many other foreign rulers affirm the peace with the emperor, and as a result "there was great peace in the east and west."[115]

If the *Chronicle* included the notice of the revolt of the Anatolic Theme and the mutilation of Constantine's brothers in AM 6161,[116] this entry probably appeared after the end of the siege narrative, since this corresponds with the chronology given by the eastern tradition[117] and agrees with George the Monk's version.[118] The next major event it described was the "Bulgar narrative"—a long and continuous sequence which Theophanes places in a single year (AM 6171).[119] The narrative begins with a "Herodotean" digression on the geography of "Old Great Bulgaria," which reveals a surprisingly detailed, if confused, knowledge of the region around the "Maeotic Lake" (Sea of Azov). The features mentioned include the Danapris and Danastris, the "Hebrew" population in Phanagoria, and the "great river Atel"—the Volga, here referred to by its Turkic name.[120] It then recounts the intriguing legend of the Bulgar khan Kubrat and his five warring sons, one of whom—Asparukh—is driven to settle in the region of the Danube,[121] and Constantine, getting word of this, marches against the invaders.[122] He, however, is stricken by gout,[123] and when he retreats to Mesembria for treatment, the cavalry officers panic and rout. The Bulgars thus have an easy victory and proceed to pillage Thrace.[124] The whole episode is set up as a rationale for the Sixth Ecumenical Council,[125] when Constantine, seeking to avert divine anger,[126] holds the Council in order to end the Monothelite controversy. Finally, the reign of Constantine IV probably ended with Constantine's death, after spending the last years of his seventeen-year reign in "in tranquillity and peace."[127]

The next section would have explained how Justinian, being an inexperienced youth of sixteen, "undid the measures made by his father for the sake of peace," as Nikephoros

113. Theoph. AM 6169, pp. 355.10–356.2; Niceph., *Brev.*, § 34.31–7, p. 86.

114. Theoph. AM 6169, p. 355.28–9.

115. Theoph. AM 6169, p. 356.7–8; Niceph., *Brev.*, § 34.36–7, p. 86.

116. Theoph. AM 6161, p. 352.12–23.

117. See, for example, Theoph. AM 6173, p. 360.18–20; Agap., p. 494; Mich. Syr., transl., II, pp. 455 f.; *Chron. 1234*, transl., II, p. 225, all of whom imply that this occurred after *circa* 680.

118. Georg. Mon., p. 728.6–14.

119. Theoph. AM 6171, pp. 356.18–360.7.

120. *Ibid.*, pp. 356.18–357.11; the only other reference to the Volga's Turkic name in a Greek text identified is at *DAI*, § 40.24, p. 176, in a section on the Karaboi and Turks: it is referred to here as Ἐτέλ.

121. Theoph. AM 6171, pp. 357.11–358.11.

122. *Ibid.*, pp. 358.11–359.19.

123. *Ibid.*, p. 358.28.

124. *Ibid.*, p. 359.3–19.

125. *Ibid.*, pp. 359.19–360.7.

126. Constantine reportedly believed ἐκ προνοίας θεοῦ τοῦτο συμβεβηκέναι Χριστιανοῖς ("this was dealt to the Christians on account of the will of God"), Theoph. AM 6171, p. 359.25.

127. Niceph., *Brev.*, § 37.10–14, pp. 90 ff.

puts it:[128] he removes the Mardaites and destroys the "Brazen Wall" (AM 6179),[129] perhaps sends Leontios against Armenia (AM 6178),[130] breaks the peace with the Bulgars, and transfers the cavalry to Thrace.[131] He then invades Bulgaria, where he succeeds in capturing many Slavs, though the writer emphasises the human cost (AM 6180).[132]

True disaster, however, strikes on the empire's other front. After resettling the captured Slavs in the Opsikion Theme, Justinian writes to the caliph, advising that "he would not abide by the peace treaty terms agreed in writing."[133] He then raises an army of 30,000 mercenaries from the transplanted Slavs—whom he calls "the Chosen people"[134]—and marches the army to Sebastopolis.[135] The Saracens pretend to be reluctant to break the peace, reminding Justinian of the "sacred oath" and warning him that breaking the oath will earn the wrath of God. Justinian foolishly ignores them and presses for battle, and is, predictably, defeated by the Saracen army when 20,000 Slavic mercenaries desert to the enemy.[136] In vengeance, Justinian massacres the remaining 10,000 mercenaries near Leukate with their wives and children.[137]

Next, the writer describes Justinian's internal administration,[138] including his elaborate building projects—which included a new reception hall and walls around the Palace[139]—and his unsatisfactory choice of advisors—particularly Theodotos the general logothete, an abbas and former hermit, and Stephanos the Persian, head-eunuch, *sakellarios* and master of the works in the Palace.[140] Both are compared to animals and accused of terrorising the populace—Theodotos arrests his victims without cause, reportedly torturing them by suspending them over smoking heaps of chaff;[141] Stephanos reportedly stones his workers and foremen to death and abuses the emperor's mother, the *augousta* Anastasia.[142] In

128. Theoph. AM 6178, p. 363.26–7; Niceph., *Brev.*, § 38.1–4, p. 92.
129. Theoph. AM 6179, p. 364.4–5; Niceph., *Brev.*, § 38.15–6, p. 92.
130. Theoph. AM 6178, p. 363.27–32, perhaps alluded to at Niceph., *Brev.*, § 38.15, p. 92.
131. Theoph. AM 6179, p. 364.4–5; Niceph., *Brev.*, § 38.7–11, p. 92; Georg. Mon., p. 729.19–21.
132. Theoph. AM 6180, p. 364.11–8; Niceph., *Brev.*, § 38.11–4, p. 92; Georg. Mon., pp. 729.21–730.1.
133. Theoph. AM 6184, p. 366.4.
134. *Ibid.*, p. 366.2.
135. *Ibid.*, p. 366.5–6. This has been variously identified with the more prominent Sebastopolis in Armenia (which is not by the sea) and Sebaste in Kilikia—see E. W. Brooks, The campaign of 716–718, from Arabic sources, *JHS* 19, 1899, pp. 19–31.
136. Theoph. AM 6184, p. 366.16–20.
137. *Ibid.*, p. 366.20–3; this is omitted by Niceph., but is paralleled in Georg. Mon., p. 730.20, who is the only writer to give the precise number of the victims.
138. Theoph. AM 6186, p. 367.12–32; Niceph., *Brev.*, § 39.1–13, p. 94.
139. Theoph. AM 6186, p. 367.12–4.
140. *Ibid.*, p. 367.15–32. In particular, the writer mentions the σακελλάριος ... καὶ πρωτοευνοῦχος (*sakellarios* and first-eunuch) Stephen the Persian (15–6), who is described as αἱμοβόρος ("blood hungry"), ἀπηνής ("cruel") (16–7) and ὁ ἄγριος θὴρ ἐκεῖνος ("that wild beast") (19—see *PmbZ* #6931) and that Justinian appointed ἀββᾶν τινα ὀνόματι Θεόδοτον ("a certain abbot by the name of Theodotos") (23–4), who is δεινότατος καὶ ἀτίθασος ("most terrible and untamed") (25) and tortures the citizens of Constantinople, irrespective of rank or standing (26–9). The writer also mentions the eparch of Constantinople, who is not named, but saw the imprisonment of πλείστους ἄνδρας ("many men") in the state prisons (30–2).
141. Theoph. AM 6186, p. 367.23–9.
142. *Ibid.*, p. 367.15–9.

addition to this, the eparch of Constantinople—who remains mysteriously unnamed—is ordered by the emperor to lock numerous powerful dignitaries in the state prisons.[143] The dialogue between Kallinikos and Justinian—if it was part of the source—would have featured as part of this entry, as it does in Theophanes and George the Monk.[144] Finally, this comparatively brief account of Justinian's first reign would have ended with his deposal by Leontios in 695.[145] Confused details in Theophanes and George the Monk seem to indicate that all writers omitted significant details. In essence, Leontios, a former *strategos* who was imprisoned three years earlier, is sent to Hellas to be *strategos*.[146] When he is about to leave in the harbour, he is convinced by his friends to revolt. They break into the state prison—the Praitorion—overpower the (unnamed) eparch, and release the prisoners, who join the revolt. The rebels gather in Hagia Sophia, and some of their leaders convince the patriarch Kallinikos to join their cause. According to George the Monk, the demarch of the Blue faction declares Leontios emperor.[147] Afterwards, Justinian is dragged from the Palace to the hippodrome, and though the mob calls for him to be killed, Leontios spares him out of "love for his father."[148] Instead, Justinian's nose and tongue are slit, and he is sentenced to exile in Cherson on the Crimea. His notorious advisors, Theodotos and Stephanos, are dragged through the City behind a chariot and burned alive.[149]

It appears that the *Chronicle* recorded little of the intervening reigns of Leontios and Tiberios Apsimaros.[150] Essentially the whole account is devoted to the military crisis that led to the revolt of Apsimaros in *circa* 697/8 (AM 6190);[151] yet even here, the loss, temporary regain, and permanent loss of Carthage are dealt with in rapid succession[152]—as is the subsequent revolt of the navy,[153] the bubonic plague outbreak in Constantinople,[154] and the siege that ended when the walls were betrayed to Apsimaros.[155] If Leontios' three-years in power are dealt with rapidly, Apsimaros' reign is even more so; essentially all that the *Chronicle* had to report for his seven years was that he put his brother, Herakleios, in charge of the cavalry, and that he was "very capable."[156]

143. *Ibid.*, p. 367.30–2.
144. *Ibid.*, pp. 367.32–368.11; Georg. Mon., p. 731.2–16.
145. Theoph., AM 6187, pp. 368.15–369.30; Niceph., *Brev.*, § 40.1–39, pp. 94 ff.; Georg. Mon., p. 731.18–20.
146. Theoph. AM 6187, p. 368.18–22; Niceph., *Brev.*, § 40.1–7, p. 94.
147. Georg. Mon., p. 731.17–9.
148. Niceph., *Brev.*, § 40.33–4, p. 96.
149. Theoph. AM 6187, p. 368.26–30.
150. As has been noted by Proudfoot, The sources of Theophanes (quoted n. 2), p. 426; Treadgold, Trajan the Patrician, p. 619; Howard-Johnston, *Witnesses*, p. 257.
151. Theoph. AM 6190, pp. 370.6–371.13; Niceph., *Brev.*, § 41.1–32, pp. 98 ff.; Georg. Mon., pp. 731.22–732.8.
152. In fact, the whole episode is described in less than a page in de Boor's edition of Theoph. throughout AM 6190, p. 370.6–20.
153. Theoph. AM 6190, p. 370.20–5.
154. *Ibid.*, p. 370.25–7.
155. *Ibid.*, pp. 370.27–371.8.
156. *Ibid.*, p. 371.10.

Immediately after recounting the conflict between Leontios and Apsimaros, the *Chronicle* appears to have traced the adventures of Justinian II in exile.[157] It describes his attempt to gain support from the khagan of Khazaria, his marriage to the Khazarian princess "Theodora," and his dealings with Khan Terbel of Bulgaria (AM 6196).[158] Next, it describes how he marched on Constantinople with Terbel's Bulgars and captured the city after making his way through an aqueduct,[159] and his harsh treatment and execution of Leontios and Apsimaros (AM 6197).[160] Surprisingly, all three writers—George the Monk included—describe different ways Justinian destroyed his enemies upon assuming power (AM 6198). George the Monk begins by saying that he killed some "openly,"[161] then continues to list—as all three writers do—ways in which Justinian killed his enemies secretly. The methods are as follows:

> Theoph.: *and many he enclosed in sacks and made to drown in the sea;*[162] Georg. Mon. adds *by night;*[163]
> Niceph.: *having promoted others to positions, he then sent men after them to cut them down;*[164]
> Theoph: *others, having invited them to a "breakfast-lunch"…*[165]
> Georg. Mon.: *He separated them from the present life fearfully with poison;*[166]
> Theoph.: *As soon as they rose, he impaled some and cut down others;*[167]
> Georg. Mon.: *As if sending them into exile, he impaled* [them].[168]

The grim sequence ended with short notice on Justinian retrieving his wife and newborn son from Khazaria.[169]

The source apparently recorded very selected events of his second reign. Two military disasters—for which Justinian is made to look responsible—are recorded: the first of these is when he decides to invade Bulgaria again.[170] Like all of Justinian's wars, as recorded

157. Theoph. AM 6196, pp. 372.26–374.8; there is effectively a six-year *lacuna* between AM 6190 and 6196.
158. Theoph. AM 6196, pp. 372.26–374.8; Niceph., *Brev.*, § 42.1–44, pp. 100 ff.
159. Theoph. AM 6197, p. 374.16–23; Niceph., *Brev.*, § 42.44–9, p. 102; Georg. Mon., p. 732.16–9.
160. Theoph. AM 6198, pp. 374.28–375.28; Niceph., *Brev.*, § 42.49–77, pp. 102 ff.; Georg. Mon., pp. 732.20–733.12.
161. Georg. Mon., p. 733.7–8.
162. Theoph. AM 6198, p. 375.17–8.
163. Georg. Mon., p. 733.8.
164. Niceph., *Brev.*, § 42.69–71, p. 104.
165. Theoph. AM 6198, p. 375.19; also Niceph., *Brev.*, § 42.72–3, p. 104.
166. Georg. Mon., p. 733.8–10.
167. Theoph. AM 6198, p. 375.19–20; Niceph., *Brev.*, § 42.72–3, p. 104.
168. Georg. Mon., p. 733.10.
169. Niceph., *Brev.*, § 42.42–4, p. 102; the account at Theoph. AM 6198, p. 375.21–8, which describes a verbal exchange between Justinian and the leader of the Khazars, most probably came from his eastern source, since it is reproduced almost exactly in Agap., pp. 497–8 and Mich. Syr., transl., II, p. 478. Although Niceph., *Brev.*, § 42.77, p. 104 does mention that Justinian retrieved his wife and son from Khazaria, he does not recall the episode in as much detail and does not mention the correspondence between Justinian and the khagan.
170. Theoph. AM 6200, p. 376.13–39; Niceph., *Brev.*, § 43.1–10, p. 104.

in this source, it quickly turns to disaster, with the Roman army besieged in a coastal fortress;[171] after several days, Justinian himself makes a narrow escape by sea.[172] The second is the siege of Tyana, which Theophanes appears to have heavily embellished with his eastern source.[173] Nikephoros—consequently the most reliable guide to the original narrative—records that Justinian himself sent dignitaries into Anatolia to raise peasant soldiers, which were sent against the invading Umayyad army.[174] When the Saracen army saw that the Romans were ill-equipped, however, they attacked and put them to flight,[175] leaving the inhabitants with no option but to abandon the city.[176] Since there is emphasis on Justinian raising the peasant soldiers,[177] he is once again blamed. The third and final long entry from his second reign concerns the events that toppled him from power and resulted in his execution.[178] Justinian, driven by paranoia and a lust for vengeance,[179] incites the people of Cherson to revolt and declare a political exile, Philippikos Bardanes, emperor.[180] After a series of military engagements, Philippikos succeeds in drawing Justinian out of Constantinople and capturing the city in his absence.[181] Justinian is abandoned by his own army, and the *spatharios* Elias—enraged over Justinian's murder of his sons and his wife's forced marriage to a household cook[182]—beheads the emperor with his own knife.[183] Justinian's son and heir, the prince Tiberios, is slaughtered "in the manner of a sheep" by the patrician Mauros Bessos and the *spatharios* John Strouthos;[184] Justinian's key supporters are executed in the following days.[185]

The final sections of the *Chronicle* dealt with the turbulent years that followed Justinian's execution.[186] The account of the reign of Philippikos begins with a personal attack,[187] in which the writer reflects, "he was deemed erudite and prudent in dialogue, but in his deeds he showed himself incompetent in all respects, passing life profanely and ineffectually"[188]

171. *Ibid.* AM 6200, p. 376.19–26.
172. *Ibid.* AM 6200, p. 376.26–9.
173. See MANGO's commentary of Niceph. *Brev.*, p. 201; this is most likely the case due to substantial differences between the two accounts. The siege of Tyana is mentioned in Mich. Syr., transl., II, p. 478; *Chron. 1234*, transl., II, p. 232; Agap., pp. 498 f.
174. Niceph., *Brev.*, § 44.8–11, p. 106.
175. *Ibid.*, § 44.11–3, p. 108.
176. *Ibid.*, § 44.13–24, p. 108.
177. *Ibid.*, § 44.8–9, p. 106.
178. Theoph. AM 6203, pp. 377.20–381.6; Niceph., *Brev.*, § 45.1–105, pp. 106 ff.; Georg. Mon., p. 733.12–22.
179. Theoph. AM 6203, p. 377.24–6, gives his initial motives as follows: μνησθεὶς τῆς κατ' αὐτοῦ γενομένης ἐπιβουλῆς ὑπό τε τῶν Χερσωνιτῶν καὶ Βοσφοριανῶν καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν κλιμάτων ("remembering the conspiracy that came about against him by the Chersonites and the Bosphorians and the remaining *klimata*…").
180. As detailed in Theoph. AM 6203, p. 379.12–4.
181. *Ibid.*, p. 380.3–10.
182. *Ibid.*, p. 379.14–7.
183. *Ibid.*, pp. 380.30–381.6.
184. *Ibid.*, p. 380.14–29.
185. *Ibid.*, p. 380.29–30.
186. To HOWARD-JOHNSTON, these years were "to be valued above all" other sections: *Witnesses* (quoted n. 2), p. 306.
187. Theoph. AM 6203, pp. 377.20–381.23; also alluded to in Niceph., *Brev.*, § 46.1–2, p. 112.
188. Theoph. AM 6203, p. 381.28–30.

and accuses him of being a "heretic" and "adulterer" (AM 6203).[189] It would then have described—with clear disdain—Philippikos' attempt to reawaken the Monothelite controversy,[190] while the Bulgars pillage Thrace up to the walls of Constantinople itself.[191] Eventually, Philippikos is blinded at the instigation of the patricians Theodore Myakios and George Bouraphos, presumably in response to the deteriorating military situation.[192] The following day, the populace gathers in Hagia Sophia and proclaims Artemios Anastasios emperor.[193] An able administrator, Anastasios blinds the men responsible for deposing Philippikos[194] and immediately appoints "most capable" generals and "most eloquent" men to civic offices.[195] He also gathers intelligence from Damascus.[196] When he sends an expedition against Rhodes, however, the "evil-doing"[197] Opsikian soldiers revolt and kill the commander in charge,[198] electing Theodosios—a "quiet" and "politically-uninvolved" tax-collector—their leader.[199] The army marches to Constantinople and besiege it for six months, until the walls are betrayed;[200] while the "lawless" Opsikian soldiers loot the city,[201] Anastasios is forced to abdicate and is exiled to Thessalonike.[202]

The final scene that can safely be attributed to the *Chronicle of Justinian II* is Nikephoros' version of Leo III's accession.[203] According to this, the constant usurpations cause a decline in "the education of words" and "military training,"[204] and the Saracens capitalise on the opportunity and attack the City.[205] At this, anonymous "military and civil office-holders" convince Theodosios to abdicate, and hold a ballot to elect a new emperor.[206] The *strategos* of the Anatolics, Leo, is "elected," and is crowned in Hagia Sophia following a triumphal procession.[207] Later scenes that may also be attributed to the *Chronicle* include the short entry on the fall of Pergamon to the Saracens,[208] the entire sequence of the second Saracen siege,[209] the entry on the revolt of Sergios in Sicily,[210] and—last of all—the attempted rebellion of the exiled Artemios Anastasios in Thessalonike after the end of the siege.[211] A

189. *Ibid.*, p. 381.30.
190. Theoph. AM 6204, p. 382.10–21; Niceph., *Brev.*, § 46.2–7, p. 112.
191. Theoph. AM 6204, p. 382.22–30; Niceph., *Brev.*, § 47.1–14, p. 114.
192. Theoph. AM 6205, p. 383.5–21; Niceph., *Brev.*, § 48.1–22, p. 114; Georg. Mon., p. 734.2–5.
193. Theoph. AM 6205, p. 383.17–9.
194. *Ibid.*, p. 383.19–21.
195. *Ibid.* AM 6206, p. 383.19–21.
196. *Ibid.*, pp. 383.3–384.14; Niceph., *Brev.*, § 49.1–7, p. 116.
197. Theoph. AM 6207, p. 385.18.
198. *Ibid.*, pp. 385.5–386.13; Niceph., *Brev.*, §§ 50.1–51.20, pp. 115 ff.; Georg. Mon., p. 734.11–4.
199. Theoph. AM 6207, p. 385.20–1.
200. *Ibid.*, pp. 385.24–386.5.
201. *Ibid.*, p. 386.5–7.
202. *Ibid.*, p. 386.7–15.
203. Niceph., *Brev.*, § 52.1–24, pp. 120 ff.
204. *Ibid.*, § 52.3–4, p. 120.
205. *Ibid.*, § 52.4–15, pp. 120 ff.
206. *Ibid.*, § 52.13–8, p. 120.
207. *Ibid.*, § 52.18–24, p. 120.
208. Theoph. AM 6208, pp. 390.26–391.2; Niceph., *Brev.*, § 53.1–12, pp. 120 ff.
209. Theoph. AM 6209, pp. 395.13–398.6; AM 6210, p. 399.5–26; Niceph., *Brev.*, § 54.3–18, pp. 122 ff.; § 55.1–21, p. 124; Georg. Mon., pp. 744.18–746.6.
210. Theoph. AM 6210, pp. 398.7–399.4; Niceph., *Brev.*, § 55.1–21, p. 124.
211. Theoph. AM 6211, pp. 400.18–401.3; Niceph., *Brev.*, § 57.1–36, pp. 126 ff.

close analysis of the origin of the entries in this transitional section, however, is beyond the scope of this study, and will need to be carried out elsewhere.

This proposed reconstruction suggests a number of things about the *Chronicle*. Above all, one thing that is striking about it is that it does not present as an all-encompassing annalistic chronicle of the kind that Theophanes authored—a work that was intended to recount all known events that occurred in that period and place them under an appropriate year. On the contrary, when material from other sources is extracted, the *Chronicle* appears to have been a structured narrative with a clear storyline, selectively told and with a very specific and pointed purpose. In every sense, it is a highly political work, and Justinian II is the central focus. Much of the narrative surrounds his abuses of power, his cruel and often gruesome treatment of his subjects, and his repeated destruction of the peace—often with little regard for formally-agreed treaties and in breach of "sacred oaths."

Before we contemplate what exactly this implies about the author, it is worth considering what this reconstruction suggests about the structure of the *Chronicle*. It is sometimes assumed that Theophanes' lost source was an annalistic chronicle, with entries regularly divided by year.[212] In fact, there is very little evidence to suggest that this was the case. As we have already seen, the indiction is not mentioned in any of the entries mentioned above, with the exception of two examples during the second Saracen siege narrative (717–8), which are of questionable origin.[213] Similarly, there are no other references to any precise dates, with the exception of a reference to the "Sabbath of Pentecost" before the blinding of Philippikos Bardanes.[214]

In fact, if the eastern material is to be excised, then the *Chronicle* is characterised by long sections of continuous narrative split over a relatively small number of years, with several long gaps in between. This is particularly the case throughout the reign of Constantine IV, where the information is still relatively sparse. The entire narrative is continuous in both Nikephoros and George the Monk—although the latter does arrange the entries under the reign of each emperor—and generally, there is also some evidence that Theophanes has split sections of a continuous narrative to fit them into his rigid annalistic structure.

The first example of this appears at the beginning of the first Saracen siege of Constantinople. Although Theophanes places this event in AM 6164—the fourth year of Constantine's reign[215]—Nikephoros writes that it occurred "immediately" (εὐθύς) after he assumed power.[216] Since Theophanes is known to have manipulated his chronology, there is no reason to doubt Nikephoros' assertion that Constantine's accession and the invasion occurred almost concurrently—especially since this interpretation agrees with the eastern and Arabic sources, which indicate that the Umayyad invasions gained

212. See AFINOGENOV, The history (quoted n. 17), p. 199; TREADGOLD, Trajan the Patrician (quoted n. 4), p. 616.
213. Theoph. AM 6209, p. 395.18; AM 6210, p. 399.6–7.
214. See J. HERRIN, Philippikos and the Greens, in EAD., *Margins and metropolis : authority across the Byzantine Empire*, Princeton 2013, pp. 179–91, here at pp. 185–6, who suggests that this date was significant because it implies that, at the time of Bardanes' blinding, all the notables would have been in the City for the feast of Pentecost.
215. Theoph. AM 6164, p. 353.14–1, 17–23.
216. Niceph., *Brev.*, § 34.2, pp. 84 ff.

momentum in 669.[217] It appears, therefore, that there was originally no break in the narrative between Constantine's accession and the beginning of the siege. In a similar example, Theophanes records that Justinian transferred his cavalry to Thrace in AM 6179, but only records his attack on the Slavs and Bulgars the following year, in AM 6180.[218] Nikephoros, however, writes that Justinian invaded the Bulgars and Slavs "immediately" (εὐθέως) after the arrival of the cavalry in Thrace.[219] On this basis, it may be speculated that no break originally appeared here either.

The same is true of the narrative of Justinian's return to power, which Theophanes divides over three years. Although George the Monk also divides this section of the narrative—albeit by emperor, rather than year—he does so at a different place to Theophanes. While Theophanes concludes the year AM 6196 with Justinian stationing in Blachernae,[220] George the Monk ends his short account on the reign of Apsimaros with the following: "Then Apsimaros, having learned this, fled to Apollonia."[221] By contrast, Theophanes does not mention Apsimaros' flight to Apollonia until the second sentence of AM 6198.[222] If the entries in the *Chronicle* were divided by year throughout this section, it can be expected that Theophanes and George the Monk would both have broken the narrative at exactly the same place. The difference suggests that this narrative was not originally divided over three years. If, as Treadgold argues,[223] Theophanes has divided the text to reflect the chronology accurately—conveniently concluding both AM 6196 and 6197 with temporal prompts, namely "in the coming year" (τῷ ἐρχομένῳ χρόνῳ)[224] and "for a short time" (πρὸς βραχὺ)[225]—this is probably not due to any divisions that appeared in the *Chronicle* itself.

Overall, this analysis suggests that the *Chronicle of Justinian II* was not dated annalistically. Rather, the only evidence of a dating system is Nikephoros' consistent habit of mentioning how many years each emperor reigned when they die or are otherwise overthrown. This is a consistent feature throughout these sections, but there is otherwise little evidence that it was a year-by-year account of each emperor's reign. In terms of structure, it probably more closely resembled Nikephoros' and George the Monk's accounts than the one preserved in Theophanes' *Chronographia*.

217. See, for example, *The History of Al-Tabari. 18, Between civil wars*, transl. and annotated by M. G. Morony, Albany 1987, pp. 94 f., which mentions that Yazid b. Mu'awiya "reached Qustantiniyyah accompanied by 'Abbas, Ibn 'Umar, Ibn al-Zubayr, and Abu Ayub al-Ansari"; Mich. Syr., transl. II, p. 454; for a detailed discussion on the dating of the first Saracen siege of Constantinople and the course of the wars towards the end of the seventh century, see Jankowiak, The first Saracen siege (quoted n. 1), pp. 237–276, 305–309, 318, who agrees that a major Umayyad incursion occurred in 668/9.

218. Transfer of cavalry: Theoph. AM 6179, p. 364.5–9; Invasion: AM 6180, p. 364.11–8.

219. Niceph., *Brev.*, § 38.7, pp. 92 ff.

220. Theoph. AM 6197, p. 374.21–3.

221. Georg. Mon., p. 732.17–8.

222. Theoph. AM 6198, p. 375.1–2.

223. See W. Treadgold, Seven Byzantine revolutions, *GRBS* 31, 1990, pp. 203–27, at 211 f.; Mango - Scott, p. 523 n. 2.

224. Theoph. AM 6196, p. 374.7.

225. *Ibid.* AM 6197, p. 374.22.

This reading has an immediate impact on how we interpret the chronology of this period. Ever since the time that Theophanes composed his work, his chronology of the late seventh and eighth centuries has more or less been accepted. The alternative reading offered here puts these dates into question. If we are to believe that his main source throughout this period was a continuous and largely undated narrative, then it follows that he must have been guessing the dates of all the events that occurred in between, unless he was using another source as a guide. His dates, therefore, cannot be trusted unless qualified by a separate source.

4. The author

The final task taken upon here is to outline the significant themes that appear throughout the *Chronicle*, and to consider the identity of its author. This is not a comprehensive review of every aspect of this source and everything that can be speculated about its author—that is the task of a much more detailed analysis—but it may nevertheless be helpful to draw some points from this reconstruction.

It is possible to speculate when he was active, and possibly even which events fell within his living memory. To begin, his account on the reign of Constantine IV is extremely brief, selective, chronologically disordered,[226] which suggests that he carried out minimal (if any) research on these earlier years and recalled little of them personally;[227] indeed, his account of the first Saracen siege of seven years has so little in common with eastern accounts that it might well represent a popular legend.[228] It is only upon the accession of Justinian II that his account becomes more detailed, although the information remains scanty even here.[229] On the contrary, the precision and detail of his account on the revolt in Cherson in 710/711 and the blinding of Philippikos Bardanes suggests a detailed knowledge of these events.[230] Overall, this suggests that his knowledge of politics before c. 685 was very sketchy indeed, perhaps because he was very young at the time—perhaps born in the 670s or early 680s—or otherwise not involved in politics. On the other hand, given that his account ended in or after 716, he must have been writing during the earliest years of Leo III's reign.

His writing reveals much about his views. He was evidently opposed to Monothelitism—given his positive treatment of the Sixth Ecumenical Council[231] and his personal attack on Philippikos Bardanes.[232] He was probably also based in Constantinople itself for much of that time, since the *Chronicle* has little interest in provincial affairs.[233] He had presumably

226. Howard-Johnston, *Witnesses*, p. 302.

227. *Ibid.*, pp. 306–7.

228. On this, see Jankowiak, The first Arab siege (quoted n. 1), p. 252.

229. Treadgold, Trajan the Patrician (quoted n. 4), p. 593; Howard-Johnston, *Witnesses*, p. 300.

230. Mango, in Niceph., *Brev.*, p. 205 (48 *ad loc.*); Treadgold, Trajan the Patrician (quoted n. 4), p. 592; Howard-Johnston, *Witnesses*, pp. 305–6.

231. Theoph. AM 6171, pp. 356.18–358.11.

232. *Ibid.* AM 6203, p. 381.23–32—see Treadgold, Trajan the Patrician (quoted n. 4), p. 592.

233. Howard-Johnston, *Witnesses*, pp. 306–7. This study will not, however, go so far as to suggest—as does Treadgold, Trajan the Patrician (quoted n. 4), p. 618—that the writer was "a native and lifelong resident of Constantinople," since this would be to pass well into the realm of speculation.

obtained a good literary education for his time.[234] There are not only numerous references to the Old Testament in sections derived from his work, but there could also be deliberate Herodotean echoes in his lengthy digression on the geography of "Old Great Bulgaria," and his account of the legendary seven-year first siege of Constantinople, "with thrust and counter-thrust," could be an echo of the siege of Troy.[235]

Howard-Johnston was quite right to suggest that the *Chronicle* "bespeaks a devouring interest in politics."[236] At this, the writer was not only concerned about politics but must have belonged to the uppermost tenets of society,[237] since he gives a curiously detailed knowledge of the events that occurred within the Palace itself—including Stephen the Persian's flogging of the *augousta* Anastasia[238] and Philippikos Bardanes' profane lifestyle.[239] He might have had direct insight into the affairs of the Palace—perhaps as a Palace eunuch or a close relation of Justinian II—or may otherwise have been a civic dignitary with good connections. His high regard for education suggests that he might well have been one of the educated men whom Anastasios II promoted to civic office.[240]

A central feature of the narrative was the contrast between the "good" Constantine IV and the "bad" Justinian II. The former he praises for devoting himself to peace,[241] while the latter he scorns at length for violence towards his subjects and other rulers alike. His opinions on the other emperors are often also blatant. He was sympathetic towards Leontios,[242] since he emphasises his past success as a general[243] and the loyalty of his friends and subjects;[244] he disapproved of the "terrible scheme" that brought Tiberios Apsimaros to power,[245] although he conceded that his brother Herakleios was a "most capable" general;[246] he disliked Philippikos Bardanes because he was an incompetent heretic, although he conceded he was well-educated.[247] He also praised Anastasios Artemios for promoting worthy men to important posts[248] and disliked the "lawless" Opsikian soldiers that forced Theodosios III into power, although he ultimately depicted Theodosios himself as ineffective.[249]

234. Treadgold, Trajan the Patrician (quoted n. 4), p. 618.
235. As is suggested by Jankowiak, The first Arab siege (quoted n. 1), p. 252.
236. Howard-Johnston, *Witnesses*, p. 306.
237. Treadgold, Trajan the Patrician (quoted n. 4), p. 618; Howard-Johnston, *Witnesses*, pp. 306–7.
238. Theoph. am 6186, p. 367.19–21.
239. *Ibid.* am 6203, p. 381.23–32.
240. *Ibid.* am 6206, p. 383.30.
241. See, for example, *ibid.* am 6169, p. 356.6–8; am 6171, p. 359.25–8; Niceph., *Brev.* § 37.10–4, p. 92.
242. Contrast Treadgold, Trajan the Patrician (quoted n. 4), p. 619: "He was ambivalent about Leontius."
243. Theoph. am 6187, p. 368.18–21.
244. Friends: *ibid.* am 6187, p. 368.25–6; am 6190, p. 371.8–9; Subjects (in Constantinople): *ibid.* am 6190, pp. 370.29–371.4.
245. *Ibid.* am 6190, p. 370.22.
246. *Ibid.*, p. 371.30.
247. *Ibid.* am 6203, p. 381.6–23; see Treadgold, Trajan the Patrician (quoted n. 4), p. 619.
248. Theoph. am 6206, p. 383.29–30; see Treadgold, Trajan the Patrician (quoted n. 4), pp. 619–20.
249. Theoph. am 6207, p. [illegible]; see Treadgold, Trajan the Patrician (quoted n. 4), p. 620.

Equally as revealing is what the chronicler did not write. While he spends some time praising Constantine IV for his repulsion of the Saracens and the Sixth Ecumenical Council, very little mention—if any—was made of his gruesome treatment of his brothers and their supporters.[250] While emphasising Justinian's massacres and suggesting that he "was at the height of his mania" immediately before he was killed,[251] he fails to mention a number of significant events that occurred during his reigns, presumably because they did not compliment his strongly negative depiction of Justinian elsewhere. There is no mention of the Quinisext Council (691/2),[252] nor the resulting conflicts with Rome in the final years of his first reign, nor his execution of officials from Ravenna in 709, nor even of Pope Constantine's visit to Constantinople in 710, as detailed in the *Liber Pontificalis*.[253] Since it is most likely that the writer was aware of the deficiencies of his account, the omissions show that he twisted recent history to suit his needs, and his *Chronicle* certainly was not remotely objective.

At this point it becomes necessary to consider a possible identity of this elusive author: one Trajan the Patrician.[254] Trajan's existence is known only from the following entry in the *Suda*:

> *Trajan the patrician flourished under Justinian the slit-nosed. He wrote a very admirable* Concise chronicle (χρονικὸν σύντομον). *He was also very Christian and very Orthodox.*[255]

From this diminutive entry, only four things can be deduced about the so-called "Trajan": (1) he held the honorary rank of patrician; (2) he was "at his prime" during the reign of Justinian II (685–95, 705–11), and—since this emperor is referred to as ῥινοτμήτος—most probably during his second reign (705–11); (3) he was of the Orthodox faith; and (4) he wrote a χρονικὸν σύντομον ("concise chronicle"), which the compiler of the *Suda* considered "very admirable."[256]

250. If included, of course, the sole mention of Constantine's deposal of his brothers was reproduced at Theoph. am 6161, p. 352.12–23, although this, for stylistic reasons, might well have been written by a different hand; the other reference at am 6173, p. 360.18–20 was drawn from Theophanes' eastern source, which described Constantine's brutal treatment of his brothers' supporters—particularly a certain Leo—in gruesome detail: see Agap., p. 494; Mich. Syr., transl., II, pp. 455 f., *Chron. 1234*, transl., II, p. 225.
251. Theoph. am 6203, p. 368.18. For his exaggerations, see in particular his assertion that Justinian massacred 10,000 Slavic mercenaries (am 6184, p. 366.21–3; Georg. Mon., p. 730.3–15), was overjoyed when 73,000 Romans died in a shipwreck (am 6203, p. 378.14–18), and killed an ἀναρίθμητον πλῆθος ("innumerable multitude", am 6198, p. 375.16–27) upon his return to power in 705. See also Head, *Justinian II of Byzantium* (quoted n. 4), pp. 14–8; Howard-Johnston, *Witnesses*, pp. 305–6; Treadgold, Trajan the Patrician (quoted n. 4), p. 619.
252. Afinogenov, The source (quoted n. 30), pp. 19–20; Head, *Justinian II of Byzantium* (quoted n. 4), p. 70.
253. *LP*, pp. 389 f.
254. Treadgold, Trajan the Patrician (quoted n. 4), p. 595.
255. *Suda*, τ, 901.
256. For a contrary argument, see C. de Boor, Der Historiker Traianus, *Hermes* 17/3, 1882, pp. 489–92, who argues that the author of the *Suda* confused two separate "Trajans," one of whom was an Orthodox Christian who wrote in the Gothic wars of the fourth century, the other of whom lived in the eighth century and wrote a history, and is featured in *PLRE* I, pp. 921 f., s.v. Traianus 2. Cf. *PLRE* II, p. 1334, s.v. Traianus 3, who lived in the later sixth century under Justin II and did in fact hold the rank of Patrician, and thus theoretically might been the one mentioned in the *Suda*. De

Could this "Trajan" have been the anonymous writer of the *Chronicle* reconstructed here? The arguments for connecting Trajan with Theophanes' anonymous source are lengthy and complex. In sum, there is certainly no evidence to disprove that he was the author, and there are other indications that he is a likely candidate. The person who wrote it was probably a highly-ranked layman with an intricate knowledge of politics, and may well have been a civil official bearing the rank of patrician;[257] moreover, most of the reconstructed *Chronicle* was concerned with the reign of Justinian II—the time in which Trajan apparently "flourished."[258] The writer was Orthodox faith, as Trajan evidently was, and given that the source described above was highly selective, χρονικὸν σύντομον would appear to be a suitable description. In sum, therefore, the "Trajan" mentioned in the *Suda* certainly is a possible candidate for the authorship of the chronicle, if not a likely one, though sadly his authorship is impossible to prove on the basis of the existing evidence.

As it stands, whoever wrote the chronicle clearly had an interesting task at hand. Politically motivated or not, he wrote the first known work of Byzantine historiography since *circa* 641, which—far from being an annalistically dated general history—may have been more of a selective, pointed narrative history. Written from a secular Constantinopolitan viewpoint, the *Chronicle* traced the successful reign of Constantine IV, the reversals suffered under his son Justinian II, the political instability that followed his execution, and ended with the accession of Leo III to imperial power and—perhaps—the climax of the war with the Saracens during the second siege of Constantinople. His work is the ultimate source of most of what we know about internal Byzantine politics in the late seventh and early eighth centuries, and that, at least, is a feat to be admired. While much remains to be explored on the nature and historicity of his work, it is hoped that the conclusions drawn here might shed at least some light on the nature of this lost source and this Byzantine "Dark Age."

[illegible], however, was apparently unaware that Theophanes had access to a source dating to the early eighth century.

257. As is observed by Howard-Johnston, *Witnesses*, p. 307; Treadgold, Trajan the Patrician (quoted n. 4), p. 591.

258. It is noted that ἤκμαζεν can also mean "to be at the prime of life." Here, however, it is probably best translated as "flourished" or, more generally, "lived," rather than being taken as an indication that Trajan was literally "at the prime of his life" (or around the age of 40) at the time of the reign of Justinian II, as is argued by Treadgold, Trajan the Patrician, p. 590, who used this as an indication of Trajan's age and thus speculated a birth date of *circa* 665. For another instance in the *Suda* where ἤκμαζεν is clearly to be taken as simply "flourished" rather than "at the prime of life," see the entry on Apollonius of Tyana (α 3420). According to the *Suda*, Apollonius ἤκμαζεν from the time of Claudius (AD 41–54) up to the time of Nerva (AD 96–8)—a span of well over 40 years. Evidently, he cannot have been "at the prime of his life" for the entirety of this time, which strongly suggests ἤκμαζεν had a much less literal meaning to the writers of the *Suda*.

THE LAST CENTURY OF THEOPHANES' *CHRONICLE*: A STATISTICAL APPROACH

by Lee Mordechai

Theophanes' *Chronographia*, "the jewel of middle Byzantine historiography,"[1] is an important source for Byzantine and Near Eastern history, covering the period of AD 284–813. While it might be thought of as the typical Byzantine chronicle, "nothing could be further from the truth."[2] The first half of the text, covering the period between 284 and 602, is mostly based on identifiable sources that still exist in their original form. However, almost all the second half of the text (602–813) is based on source material which is otherwise unknown to us directly. For much of this period Theophanes is also our only historical source. This makes him a source which must be handled with care. Over the last several decades, scholars have tried to uncover Theophanes' sources for the second part of his chronicle. The effort to trace the presumed "eastern chronicle" is probably the best known example of this.[3] C. Mango's introduction to the latest English translation of the *Chronographia* lists twenty sources used by Theophanes all in all, with only six being relevant for the last century of the chronicle:[4]

- (Mango and Scott's #14) An eastern (Syriac) chronicle, from *c.* 630 to at least *c.* 780.
- (#16) A Constantinopolitan chronicle from 668 to *c.* 720.[5]
- (#17) A contemporary biography (?) of Leo III, responsible for his accounts of the years 715/716–716/717 (AM 6208–9).
- (#18) A second Constantinopolitan chronicle from *c.* 720 onwards, possibly finishing in 769. This source was supposedly iconophile.
- (#19) Some snippets of western material. The only example is 723/724 (AM 6216).

1. I. Ševčenko, The search for the past in Byzantium around the year 800, *DOP* 46, 1992, pp. 279–93, at p. 287.

2. C. Mango, The tradition of Byzantine chronography, *Harvard Ukrainian studies* 12–13, 1988–89, pp. 360–72, at p. 367.

3. Hoyland, *Theophilus*. See the papers by R. Hoyland, M. Conterno and M. Debié in this volume.

4. Mango – Scott, pp. lxxiv–xcv. The sources vary widely between certain and uncertain ones (Malalas, archival material), known and unknown ones (Prokopios, "a lost Arian history"), and some general groups of data ("some snippets of…," "some bits of…"). For another view of this period, less specific but with more possible sources, see Rochow, *Byzanz im 8. Jh.*, pp. 39–50.

5. See now S. Forrest's paper in this volume.

Studies in Theophanes, ed. by M. Jankowiak & F. Montinaro (Travaux et mémoires 19), Paris 2015, pp. 445–66.

- (#20) Some bits of archival material, probably from the archives of the patriarch. Mango and Scott believe that the relevant passages in the last century are in the years 714/715 (the transfer of Germanos to the patriarchate, AM 6207); 784/5 (the appointment of Tarasios as patriarch, AM 6277) and 787/8 (the Acts of the Council of 787, AM 6280).[6]

Therefore, for most of the period after the 720s, we have only #14 and #18 as main sources together with a few other bits of material. After AM 6280 (787/8), Mango admits that "it is highly likely that he [Theophanes] had certain written documents before him" but prefers not to discuss the topic, stating that such a discussion "would call for a great deal of space without leading us to any solid conclusions."[7] Thus, while most scholars are reluctant to name Theophanes' sources for this period,[8] they agree that he used several.

Some scholars have thought of Theophanes as active and involved in the actual editing of his chronicle. Ljubarskij, for example, understands Theophanes as an author who had literary skills but whose writing was constantly in tension between dividing his materials chronologically and providing a full, coherent narrative.[9] Duket saw Theophanes as a gifted scholar who created the techniques that allowed him to compile the chronicle accurately, summarizing various other sources into his own chronicle while keeping it understandable.[10] But recent general opinion of Theophanes' editorial technique is perhaps best exemplified by Dmitry Afinogenov's words: "any significant editing by Theophanes himself, apart from his haphazard abridgements and clumsy chronological distribution, seems to me highly unlikely."[11] Proudfoot and Ševčenko also held the view that Theophanes was essentially a "scissors-and-paste compiler, even if he made adjustments inside his clippings."[12] This approach was taken to an extreme

6. I tend to disagree with Mango that this was necessarily taken from an archive, as Theophanes mentions the whole council very shortly. He would be expected to know the basic details of such a significant event that happened in his lifetime, or alternatively, to have found them in various other sources or compilations of the period.

7. MANGO – SCOTT, p. xci.

8. Paul Speck is an exception here: see P. SPECK, *Kaiser Konstantin VI. : die Legitimation einer fremden und der Versuch einer eigenen Herrschaft : quellenkritische Darstellung von 25 Jahren byzantinischer Geschichte nach dem ersten Ikonoklasmus*, München 1978, pp. 389–97. See also J. HOWARD-JOHNSTON's contribution to this volume.

9. J. N. LJUBARSKIJ, Regarding the literary technique of Theophanes the Confessor, *BSl* 56, 1995, pp. 317–22, at p. 321.

10. T. DUKET, *A study in Byzantine historiography : an analysis of Theophanes "Chronographia" and its relationship to Theophylact's "History", the reign of Maurice and the seventh century to 711*, doctoral thesis, Boston College 1980. Others see Theophanes as an active scholar: J. FERBER, Theophanes' account of the reign of Heraclius, in *Byzantine papers : proceedings of the first Australian Byzantine studies conference, Canberra, 17-19 May 1978*, ed. by E. and M. Jeffreys and A. Moffatt (Byzantina Australiensia 1), Canberra 1981, pp. 32–42; ROCHOW, *Byzanz im 8. Jh.*

11. D. AFINOGENOV, The source of Theophanes' *Chronography* and Nikephoros' *Breviarium* for the years 685–717, *Христианский Восток*, n.s., 4, 2002, pp. 11–22, at p. 20.

12. The quote is from ŠEVČENKO, The search for the past (quoted n. 1), p. 287; A. PROUDFOOT, The sources of Theophanes for the Heraclian dynasty, *Byz.* 44, 1974, pp. 367–439 ; SPECK, *Kaiser Konstantin VI.* (quoted n. 8), pp. 389–97 (n. 8); see also L. CONRAD, Theophanes and the Arabic historical tradition: some indications of intercultural transmission, *Byz. Forsch.* 15, 1990, pp. 1–44, at p. 2.

by Mango, who argued that George Synkellos wrote almost all the *Chronographia* and that Theophanes did not edit any significant parts of the chronicle published under his name.[13] He argued that "it is practically impossible to determine what portions were written by the author [of the chronicle],"[14] a point we will return to later.[15] A third group of modern scholars argued that Theophanes received a significant amount of the chronicle from Synkellos,[16] and afterwards continued to incorporate material which he edited or altered to suit his own ideological concerns, but also included material which he did not fully understand.[17]

The subject of this exploratory paper is to determine whether Theophanes was involved in the writing of the chronicle carrying his name for the period 714–813, and if so, in what manner. While the approach is hardly novel, I believe my methodology is. In the rest of the paper I will touch upon four kinds of textual markers which appear in Theophanes' chronicle and discuss their variations within the *Chronicle*, mainly with regards to the period which is of interest to me. These markers are first person references, date references, Theophanes' use of adjectives and the appearance of religious supernatural figures in the text. I chose to examine the first of these markers assuming that first person references should be more common when Theophanes himself was more involved in the writing his chronicle. This would naturally be closer to his own times. I chose the other three markers after I read through the chronicle and noticed their prevalence in its later part in general, and especially their connection to the first person references I found.

METHODOLOGY

In the remainder of this paper I shall compare parts of the chronicle with regards to certain literary markers. Since our focus will be on the final century, 714–813 (AM 6206–305), there are two methods of comparison that we could employ. The first of these would be a comparison by time, which would consist in dividing the chronicle roughly into century-long segments and then comparing them over time. The second method would be a comparison based on the proportion of the last century to the earlier part of the chronicle, according to pages in de Boor's edition, the latter including 501 pages of Greek text. The first part of the chronicle, from AM 5777 to AM 6205 (hereby

13. MANGO, Who wrote the Chronicle the Chronicle, p. 16; MANGO – SCOTT, pp. lii–lxi; HOYLAND, *Theophilus*, pp. 7–10; P. SPECK, A more charitable verdict : Rez.: N. G. Wilson, *Scholars of Byzantium*, London 1983, *Klio* 68, 1986, pp. 615–25, repr. with an English transl. in ID., *Understanding Byzantium : studies in Byzantine historical sources*, ed. by S. Takács, Aldershot 2003, pp. 163–78, at p. 178; for the opposite view, see ROCHOW, *Byzanz im 8. Jh.* For the view that another Theophanes was the author of the chronicle, see already DUKET, *A study in Byzantine historiography* (quoted n. 10).

14. MANGO, Who wrote the Chronicle, p. 17.

15. W. TREADGOLD, *The Byzantine revival 780–842*, Stanford 1988, pp. 378–88 and 459, n. 512; ID., The revival of Byzantine learning and the revival of the Byzantine state, *The American historical review* 84/5, 1979, pp. 1245–66; B. BALDWIN, Theophanes on the Iconoclasm of Leo III, *Byz.* 60, 1990, pp. 426–8; HOYLAND, *Theophilus*, pp. 7–10, seems to ascribe the work to Synkellos.

16. L. BRUBAKER and J. HALDON, *Byzantium in the Iconoclast era (ca 680–850). The sources : an annotated survey* (Birmingham Byzantine and Ottoman monographs 7), Aldershot 2001, p. 168.

17. For this view and a discussion, see *ibid.* pp. 168 ff. See also J. HALDON and L. BRUBAKER, *Byzantium in the iconoclast era, c. 680–850. A history*, Cambridge 2011, p. 752, n. 94.

part A), consists of 378 pages of Greek text, while the second part, AM 6206 to AM 6305 (hereby part B), of 120, that is less than a quarter of the entire chronicle. More precisely, the basic expected ratio of literary markers of A to B should be 3.15:1.[18] The following two tables summarize the two methods:

Intervals	Years	Number of pages in de Boor	Page numbers in de Boor
AD 284/5–312/3 AM 5777–805	29.5*	9	6–14
AD 313/4–412/3 AM 5806–905	100	67	15–81
AD 413/4–512/3 AM 5906–6005	100	78	82–159
AD 513/4–612/3 AM 6006–105	100	141	160–300
AD 613/4–712/3 AM 6106–205	100	83	301–83
AD 713/4–812/3 AM 6206–305	100	120	384–503
Total	529.5	498	–

Table 1 (first method) – Comparing by years.
I chose to count backwards from the last century of the chronicle.

Intervals	Years	Number of pages in de Boor	Page numbers in de Boor
AD 284/5–712/3 AM 5777–6205	429.5	378	6–383
AD 713/4–812/3 AM 6206–305	100	120	384–503
Total	529.5	498	–

Table 2 (second method) – Comparing part A and part B by pages.

There are of course other options. For instance, we could compare part A to part B with regards to time instead of the number of pages. However, such a method would be less rigorous statistically.[19] Thus I have preferred the second method (comparison of A and B by number of pages) since it emphasizes the last century. However, I have also supplied information divided by century and analyzed it when relevant.

Finally, I have used the Poisson statistical test, which studies the probability of a given number of rare events occurring in a given interval of time or space, assuming that these events occur with a known average rate at any time. Following common practice in statistical analysis, I have chosen to discard results with a probability of occurrence in relation to the expected frequency (p-value) higher than a set significance level, $\alpha = 0.05$; at the risk of oversimplification, this means to discard results with more than a 5% probability of being observed by chance.[20]

First person references

Theophanes' chronicle mainly deals with events that were very distant chronologically from the author. It is therefore understandable that it is written almost entirely in third person and that the author includes himself in the narrative only three times. These first person vignettes appear in the description of the winter of AM 6255, in the account of the translation of the martyr Euphemia's relics to Constantinople (AM 6258), and in the report of information received directly from a patrician named Theodosios (AM 6303). However, there are also several cases in which the chronicler calls upon his readers using the first person plural form ("we, us, our"[21]) or presents his own observations in the first person singular form ("I, me") as a means to catch the reader's attention. We can divide these cases into two main subgroups. The first subgroup are editor's notes, usually in a form resembling "which we have previously mentioned" (οὗ πρόσθεν ἐμνημονεύσαμεν) or "as I have said" (ὡς προέφην). The remaining first person references often imply identification with the reader, such as in "against us Christians" (καθ᾽ ἡμῶν τῶν Χριστιανῶν), "our countrymen" (οἱ ἡμέτεροι), or "because of our sins" (διὰ τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν). Almost all these cases include first person pronouns, while others, in my view, strongly imply such a relation with the reader without explicitly using a first person pronoun (for example τῶν ὁμοφύλων or πατροπαράδοτον πίστιν). Now, there is indeed a significant difference in the number of first person references of both groups between the two parts of Theophanes' chronicle.[22]

Altogether, I found twenty editor's notes in the chronicle, not including the preface. Twelve appear in part A, the remaining eight in part B.[23] The results are organized in Table 3 below. Since the expected value for part B is 12/3.15 = 3.81, editorial remarks appear more

18. Theophanes' preface and the following genealogy have not been included in these calculations. I will later add the preface to the second part in several of my tests, but will mention it explicitly.

19. This will become clear in the rest of the paper, but for now an example will suffice. Let us suppose a certain marker X appears 30 times in part A and 15 times in part B. If our comparison of both parts is based on page numbers, we would expect a 3.15:1 ratio, and therefore the expected frequency of marker X in part B, based on its frequency in part A, should be 9.52. This means that in reality, marker X appears roughly 1.5 times more frequently in reality—this is not a very impressive result. However, if we compare both parts chronologically, the expected ratio should be 4.29:1 (= 429/100) and we should expect marker X to appear 6.99 times in part B. When we compare the expected frequency (6.99) to the real frequency (15), it appears that marker X appears in part B 2.15 times more frequently than we would expect. This is also reflected in the significance tests—in the first case, using the Poisson test (explained below), the result would not be significant (p-value = 0.103), while in the second case it would appear to be (p-value = 0.015).

20. For the complex calculations behind the p-value in the following tests I have recurred to the online application by Allan Chang at http://www.statstodo.com/PoissonTest_Pgm.php (accessed 12 January 2015), entering each time the expected frequency as λ and the one observed for the rare references under consideration as k. For the description of a similar program, see K. Krishnamoorthy, J. Thomson, Hypothesis testing about proportions in two finite populations, *The American statistician* 56, 2002, pp. 215–22.

21. I am disregarding references to "our Lord Jesus Christ."

22. First person references in direct speeches have also not been taken into account.

23. In part A: Theoph., pp. 11.21, 18.1, 33.22, 52.22, 102.13, 105.3–4, 117.11, 118.2, 145.23–4, 192.7, 332.12, 336.15. In part B: pp. 409.15, 413.1–2, 424.10, 440.30, 461.15, 477.1, 489.29, 492.1.

than twice more frequently than expected (8/3.81 = 2.1). As such, this is already significant (p-value = 0.04). This findings suggest that Theophanes was more involved in the last part of the chronicle, no doubt partly because it dealt with his own times. However, a much stronger case appears when we check both parts of the chronicle with regards to the other group of first person references, where, as I suggested above, Theophanes seeks to identify with the reader. While in part A there are nine such references, there are twenty-six in part B.[24] To the latter number one should add the three aforementioned passages in part B, in which the author speaks about himself or tells a personal recollection. In any case, the number of such references in the second part is about 9 times the expected value of 9/3.15 = 2.86 and the result is clearly significant (p-value < 0.0001).

Intervals	Editor's notes	Other first person references	Ratio'
AD 284/5–312/3, AM 5777–805 (9 pages, 29.5 years)	1	2	0.22
AD 313/4–412/3, AM 5806–905 (67 pages, 100 years)	3	5	0.075
AD 413/4–512/3, AM 5906–6005 (78 pages, 100 years)	5	0	0
AD 513/4–612/3, AM 6006–105 (141 pages, 100 years)	1	0	0
AD 613/4–712/3, AM 6106–205 (83 pages, 100 years)	2	2	0.02
Overall Part A (378 pages, 429.5 years)	12	9	0.024
AD 713/4–812/3, AM 6206–305 (120 pages, 100 years)	8	26	0.217
Total (498 pages, 529.5 years)	20	35	0.070

Table 3 – Comparing editor's notes and other first person references.
' I calculated this by dividing the number of first person references by number of pages.

Furthermore, the first person references are not distributed evenly within the second part either. Almost one third of the mentions (7 out of 26) appear in the period between AM 6209 and AM 6218 while more than half of them (14 out of 26) appear near the chronicle's end, between AM 6295 and AM 6305. The other five references appear in the large interval between these two periods, as is shown in the following graph. References in the periods AM 6209–18 and 6295–305 also share common themes, with seven out of the first person references dealing with "our sins" (i.e. πταισμάτων ἡμῶν, ἁμαρτίας

24. In part A: Theoph., pp. 10.1, 12.12, 15.32, 39.6, 46.32, 52.7, 58.15, 332.10, 333.12. In part B: pp. 397.14, 398.4 (× 2), 399.16, 399.17, 402.8–9, 405.26–7, 414.17, 417.14–5, 434.7, 439.21, 460.24, 476.6, 480.5–6, 485.19, 488.31, 491.19–20, 498.24, 498.25 (× 2), 498.27, 499.9, 500.26, 501.20, 503.5/503.18. In four cases a first person pronoun does not appear: pp. 405.26–7, 498.27, 500.26 (τῶν [illegible]) and 501.20 ([illegible] πίστιν). Removing them would not change the results of the test.

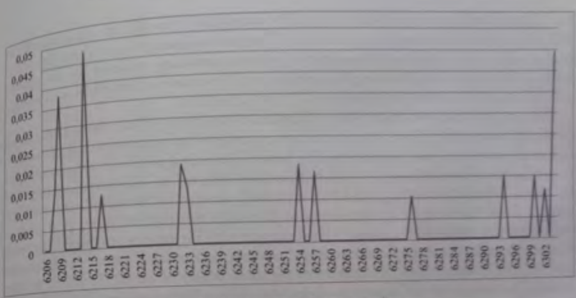


Fig. 1 – First person references per line.

ἡμῶν),[25] two in the first and five in the second period. Another common theme is common citizenship, with references to "our countrymen" or "our men" (i.e. οἱ ἡμέτεροι, ὁμόφυλοι), appearing three times in the first and two times in the second period.

The similarities between AM 6209–18 and AM 6295–305 are surprising, since Theophanes used different sources for the beginning of the larger AM 6206–305 period.[26] We can attribute them to either chance—Theophanes used two sources which happened to be very similar in this regard—or to Theophanes' own writing. The second possibility will prove to be the right one.

Finally, there is the question of the author's personal recollections. In an influent article, Cyril Mango attributed them to George Synkellos, whose work Theophanes claims in the preface to be continuing. This hypothesis assumes that Theophanes was simply editing material given to him by George. There are several problems with this hypothesis, some of which were noted by Mango himself.[27] An overlooked issue is that Synkellos' presence as a chronicler throughout his own work is very different from the chronicler's presence in Theophanes'. An in-depth discussion of this issue would be far beyond the scope of this paper, but a few brief notes will suffice. Thus, for example, Synkellos addresses the reader several times using the second person (εὑρήσεις at Georg. Sync., pp. 105.29, 201.3, 245.11 or ὁρᾷς at 295.10) and appears to include him in the first person hortative plural ("let

25. It should be noted that the same mention can be found in the earlier AM 5853, "In this year Julian the transgressor became emperor and sole ruler because of the mass of our sins..." Presumably, this is an addition made by Theophanes to his source.

26. Namely the lack of evidence concerning Synkellos' biography: see MANGO, Who wrote the Chronicle. The fact that the both sections under discussion share neither frequency nor theme of first person references suggests that they were not taken from the same written source material. See MANGO – SCOTT, pp. lxxii–lxxxviii, listing no specific source that might cover this entire period, but rather a larger amount of briefer sources. See also SPECK, *Kaiser Konstantin VI.* (quoted n. 8), pp. 389–97, who proposed eleven sources over twenty-two years; AFINOGENOV, The source (quoted n. 11), arguing for one source covering about thirty years. See S. FORREST's paper in this volume.

27. MANGO – SCOTT, pp. lviii–lx.

us…;" for examples see μετέλθωμεν, at p. 43.4, ἐπανέλθωμεν at 48.2, ἐπισημαινόμεθα at 369.12–3), while I have found no evidence for Theophanes doing either of these. Synkellos is also much more active as a chronicler in his text, providing evidence for his claims, leading the reader, and discussing his opinions and hypotheses at length in a seemingly scientific method (see for examples pp. 121, 136, 233, 240).

Mango provided two main pieces of evidence in support of his claim concerning Synkellos' authorship. First, Theophanes twice mentions the monastery of St. Chariton before the more important monastery of St. Sabas. The second piece of evidence concerns a specific first person reference, in which the author refers to "us," Christians, as opposed to "them," Arabs (AM 6301, p. 484.19), supposedly written by Synkellos, who was "an émigré from Palestine."[28] Mango does not discuss in this context other first person references that illustrate the author's identification with the empire and especially with Constantinople. For example, the author also writes "in our land" (κατὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν γῆν, p. 434.7) referring to the location of the harsh winter of AM 6255, which is later revealed to correspond to Constantinople and Asia Minor. The aforementioned references to "our countrymen" are other hints which point to the author's identification with Constantinople and the Eastern Roman state in general (AM 6209, 6210, 6218, 6305) rather than specifically with the Christians of Palestine.[29] Taken together, this evidence strongly suggests that Synkellos and the author of Theophanes' chronicle were not the same individual.

Dates

Another possible marker of authorship in the chronicle is the frequent dating by Roman months. There is no significant difference in the amount of times each month is mentioned, as can be seen in Table 4 below. The most commonly mentioned month is October (36 occurrences), while the least mentioned is July (19). However, there is in this respect an interesting difference between the two parts of the chronicle: part A has 159 mentions of months while part B has 153. If we divide this amounts by the number of pages, we find that months appear in the second part of the chronicle more than three times more frequently than one would expect. This result is statistically significant (p-value < 0.0001).

We can speculate about possible reasons for such a difference. One obvious possibility is that it stems partly from the source material. Generally speaking, the sources Theophanes used for part A of his chronicle are different from those used for part B. Further evidence is to be found in Table 5 below, which observes the distribution of the occurrences of dates over centuries. The last century is clearly seen to display more month dates than any of the previous ones.[30]

28. Mango – Scott, pp. lx f.

29. One could argue that Synkellos also saw himself as "an East Roman" in the empire and emphasized it over his Palestinian identity. This is possible, but one must prove this through Synkellos' own writings—which Mango does not do.

30. Even the AM 6006–105 (AD 513/4–612/3) interval, which is the longest one in terms of page count, has only about two thirds of the number of dates by the month found in the chronicle's last century. This difference is significant by years and by pages (p-value < 0.0001). Moreover, one should remember that Theophanes had both Malalas and *Chronicon Paschale* as sources for this period, and they presumably had more dates by months than most of Theophanes' other sources.

	Part A AM 5777–6205 AD 284/5–712/3	Part B AM 6206–305 AD 713/4–812/3	Total
January	10	11	21
February	11	10	21
March	14	7	21
April	15	11	26
May	13	19	32
June	9	14	23
July	11	8	19
August	15	18	33
September	13	18	31
October	19	17	36
November	13	11	24
December	16	9	25
Overall mentions	159	153	312
Number of pages	378	120	498
Average per page	0.42	1.28	0.63

Table 4 – Dating by months.

Intervals	Dates by month	Ratio by years	Ratio by pages
AD 284/5–312/3, AM 5777–805 (9 pages, 29.5 years)	0	0	0
AD 313/4–412/3, AM 5806–905 (67 pages, 100 years)	9	0.09	0.13
AD 413/4–512/3, AM 5906–6005 (78 pages, 100 years)	13	0.13	0.17
AD 513/4–612/3, AM 6006–105 (141 pages, 100 years)	107	1.07	0.76
AD 613/4–712/3, AM 6106–205 (83 pages, 100 years)	26	0.26	0.31
Overall Part A (378 pages, 429.5 years)	159	0.37	0.42
AD 713/4–812/3, AM 6206–305 (120 pages, 100 years)	153	1.53	1.28
Total (498 pages, 529.5 years)	312	0.59	0.63

Table 5 – Dates by years and number of pages.

It is interesting to note a few additional issues regarding Theophanes' use of dates. Not all months have a specific date with them. Thus, Theophanes commonly places an event "in March" or "in the month of September." Such are about half of all the mentions of these months. Less frequently Theophanes does refer to a specific date in ways such as "on 6 February" or "on 22 September." The interesting point here is that several dates appear much more frequently than expected. The two main recurring dates are 15 August and 25 December, appearing in the basic date form (and not as "on Christmas" or any other name for these days).

15 August is the feast of the Koimesis (Dormition of the Virgin), which was probably introduced by Maurice.[31] It appears eight times overall in the chronicle. This is more than nine times the frequency we would expect, which is lower than 1.[32] The frequency becomes even more striking when comparing the two parts of the chronicle. While part A has only three mentions of this date, part B has five of them. Naturally we would expect less than one, following the 3:1 ratio. The result is significant ($\alpha = 0.02$).[33] 25 December, Christmas, also appears eight times in the chronicle overall, again more than nine times the expected frequency. As with 15 August, when dividing the chronicle into two parts this frequency seems even more extraordinary. In fact, only two of the eight mentions are in part A, while the other six are in part B, whereas less than one would be expected (significant, $\alpha = 0.0035$).[34] Since both dates had religious and cultural significance, one is entitled to think that events were somehow "likelier" to happen on either of them or that those that did were naturally "more memorable." However, this does not explain why such events should be less common in part A than in part B.

There are in my view two possible explanations: either Theophanes was responsible for these anomaly, or this was simply reflected in his sources. Now, it seems that 15 August appears more at the beginning of part B of the chronicle, while 25 December is more frequent at the end. More importantly, both dates still occur at intervals of several years, so that if Theophanes took these dates from other sources, the latter should have covered

31. Mango – Scott, p. 388 n. 18.

32. Theophanes includes in the chronicle 312 mentions of specific dates, the expected frequency of each being thus 312/365 = 0.85. The expected frequency would become even lower if we were to take into account only those dates for which Theophanes provides both day and month.

33. Part A has 15 August mentions in AM 5915 (p. 84.15; death of the emperor Honorius), AM 6046 (229.5; a massive earthquake), and AM 6102 (299.19–20; Emperor Herakleios' daughter is baptized). The mentions in part B are found in AM 6209 (395.18; beginning of the second Arab siege of Constantinople), AM 6210 (399.6; end of the siege), AM 6237 (422.18–9; misty darkness), AM 6252 (431.28; solar eclipse), and AM 6289 (472.15; Constantine VI reaches Constantinople and is blinded). The first two appearances of this date are before Maurice's reign and the introduction of the Koimesis feast.

34. Part A has 25 December mentions in AM 6076 (p. 253.24; Maurice proclaimed as consul) and AM 6104 (300.14; crowning of Herakleios II Constantine, son of Herakleios, as co-emperor). Notably, the *Chronicon Paschale* dates both of these differently—Maurice's consulship is dated to the next year without a month reference (p. 691.2) and Herakleios II Constantine's crowning to 22 January 613 (703.16–9). Part B in Theophanes includes mentions of the date in AM 6211 (p. 400.2; Leo III's wife Maria is crowned and Constantine V is baptized), AM 6277 (460.23; Tarasios is ordained as patriarch), AM 6285 (469.2; an imperial workshop is burnt after a thunderstorm), AM 6289 (473.4; Charlemagne is crowned as emperor of the Romans, correct date, wrong year), AM 6293 (475.11; the correct date and year of Charlemagne's crowning) and AM 6304 (494.25; Michael I crowns his son as co-emperor).

a significant span of time. As we have seen, no such source is believed to have existed.[35] Was then Theophanes responsible for the inclusion of these dates in his work? The motif most frequently attached to 15 August is the appearance of natural phenomena (three out of the eight cases) but this does not seem to connect with anything obvious. However, 25 December does seem to have a definite recurring motif—the crowning or inauguration of individuals to important offices (emperors, patriarchs, etc.). This motif appears in seven out of eight cases (i.e. all except the thunderstorm which caused a workshop to burn in AM 6285). While this might explain why 25 December is more common than other dates, it still does not help us understand the frequency difference between the two parts of the chronicle.

In other words, I believe that only a combination of the two possible explanations will lead us to the solution. That is, Theophanes did not significantly change his source material in part A by adding dates. In part B, however, he could have used fragmentary sources combined with his own memories. Therefore Theophanes might have supplied these dates for several events when they did not exist in his source material, or when two sources disagreed.

It is interesting to compare Theophanes' chronicle to his contemporaries George Synkellos and Nikephoros with regards to dates. Synkellos' chronicle is very different from the *Chronographia*. First, Synkellos uses dates by the month much less frequently—there are only 75 mentions of Roman months in his chronicle, most of which are tightly clustered[36]—more than a third of them (29) appear in only two pages, in which Synkellos compares dating systems. March is the most frequent month mentioned by far (26 of 75), with 25 March being the most frequent date (15 occurrences, but up to one third of all dates in the chronicle if one disregards the technical comparison between dating systems) Synkellos uses 25 March for all major events in history from the creation of the world, to Christ's Incarnation, to his resurrection. Theophanes, on the contrary, has 25 March only once throughout his chronicle (AM 6232, the beginning of Leo III's rule). On the other hand, Synkellos' chronicle does not feature 15 August at all and has 25 December only once, for Christ's birth. All these differences reinforce my previous conclusion that the two chronicles are not the work of one single author.

Nikephoros' work is also very different from Theophanes': it includes only seven mentions of months overall.[37] As he was for a large part using the same sources as Theophanes, we could explain this discrepancy by Nikephoros' ignoring specific dates for most of his narrative or by Theophanes' supplying them from other sources including his own recollections. At any rate Nikephoros does not provide any mention of 25 December, and uses 15 August only once—in the case of the Arabs' lifting the second siege of Constantinople.[38]

More interesting evidence appears in the events supposedly taken from the *Chronicle* of Theophilus of Edessa. In several cases, Theophanes is the only one out of the four alleged

35. See above, p. 446 with notes 7 and 8.

36. Synkellos' chronicle is similar in length to the *Chronographia* (122,177 vs. 135,313 words): Georg. Sync.; Adler – Tuffin.

37. Niceph., *Brev.*

38. *Ibid.*, § 56, p. 124.

dependants who refers to a date, usually a specific one.[39] While this cannot be proven, I believe that Theophanes chose to include these dates in his chronicle, even when these were ambiguous or were not included at all in his source material.

Altogether Theophanes was a distinct individual with a clear approach to chronology and dating. He was more likely to include dates by the month than any of his contemporaries. Yet unlike his friend Synkellos, Theophanes did not directly discuss any specific dates as having cosmologic significance and even differed from Synkellos in his ideas about which dates were to be considered important.

Let us now return to the general finding that Theophanes has many more dates in part B of his chronicle than in part A. I have divided the number of occurrences in each yearly entry by the number of lines of Greek text for that entry in de Boor's edition. In spite of their speculative character, the results, summarized in the graph below, add a way, albeit crude, to understand the complex data in Theophanes' *Chronographia*.

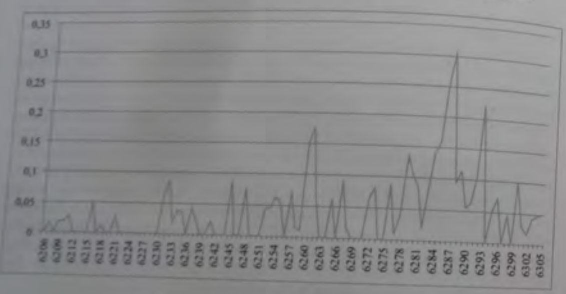


Fig. 2 – Occurrences of dates per line.

There are significant differences between the beginning of the chronicle, especially AM 6207 to AM 6230, and other parts, like AM 6283 to AM 6293, which are presumably from different sources. Another interesting finding is the gradual increase in the rate of date mentions in Theophanes, generally starting in AM 6231 but much stronger from AM 6279 on. These findings are consistent with the notion that Theophanes changed his

39. A few examples will suffice here: HOYLAND, *Theophilus*, pp. 231 f. (Suleiman's campaigns in Asia Minor), 236 f. (an earthquake in Constantinople), 237 ff. (death of Leo III and the revolt of [illegible]), 244 (Constantine crosses to Thrace and afterwards takes Constantinople), and 245–8 ([illegible] of Walid II). For the 15 August date see pp. 265 (Theophanes dates the darkness to 14–15 August, Agapios to August in general) and 301 f. (an eclipse in Africa on 15 August, which only Theophanes seems to add to the description of civil war in Africa).

sources in these periods. We can use further data from the graph to perform a rudimentary test of some of the hypotheses that have been brought forward by previous scholars.

For example, Dmitry Afinogenov argued that Theophanes used one source for the whole 685–717 period, corresponding to AM 6177 to AM 6209—besides the so-called "Oriental source," which is commonly attributed only four of the thirty-one pages in de Boor's edition for this period.[40] Using the approach above on this interval, a quick check reveals that there are four dates, two of which appear to stem from official documents.[41] For the short period afterwards, from the beginning of the second siege of Constantinople in AM 6209, in which Afinogenov's source ends, to AM 6211 (about five and a half pages), there are five dates.[42] Even if we choose the most rigorous statistical test, the period AM 6209–11 would still have about five times the expected number of dates.[43] This suggests that Afinogenov's thesis is correct at least in so far as Theophanes significantly changed his sources in the middle of the AM 6209 entry.[44] At any rate, the last century appears to be based on different source material than the preceding part.

Use of adjectives[45]

Another difference between the two parts of the chronicle is Theophanes' use of adjectives, especially when describing people. Adjectives, however, are not very common in the chronicle; in most cases no adjective is given. Therefore, I decided to focus my discussion on one of the more popular adjectives Theophanes used throughout his chronicle, "holy," mostly ἅγιος, but also ὅσιος and ἱερός which appear to be used interchangeably.

The adjective "holy" in all these forms appears in Theophanes' chronicle 350 times. It appears in 236 cases in part A, and in 114 cases in part B. When taking into consideration the number of pages each of these parts has (378 and 123 respectively, after adding the preface to the second part), there appears to be a concentration in part B (statistically significant, $\alpha = 0.0004$) as can be seen in Table 6 below.

40. AFINOGENOV, The source (quoted n. 11).

41. The ones Mango did not attribute to any source are AM 6203 (the fleet sets sail) and 6209 (Leo crosses the Caucasus). AM 6177 contains a later scholion which quotes part of an imperial decree, while AM 6207 concerns the appointment of Germanos as patriarch of Constantinople.

42. These are in AM 6209 (three mentions: beginning of the second Arab siege of Constantinople, arrival of the Muslim fleet, death of Suleiman), AM 6210 (siege of Constantinople lifted), and AM 6211 (crowning of Maria, Leo III's wife, and baptism of Constantine V). The last AM 6209 mention is attributed by Mango to the Oriental source.

43. This would mean accepting all dates in the first part, removing the Oriental source excerpts and rejecting the Oriental source date in the second. The ratio of pages to date mentions in Afinogenov's source is thus 27:4, that is one date every 6.75 pages. Therefore, we would expect AM 6209–11 (5.5-page long) to have less than one date because of its short length (5.5/6.75 = 0.81). This result is significant (p-value = 0.0095).

44. Afinogenov's thesis is further reinforced by two Macedonian months which appear in his source, but not in AM 6209–11.

45. On this in general, see R. SCOTT's paper in this volume, pp. 247–52.

Intervals	"Holy" adjectives	Ratio by pages	Ratio by years
AD 284/5–312/3, AM 5777–805 (9 pages, 29.5 years)	4	0.14	0.44
AD 313/4–412/3, AM 5806–905 (67 pages, 100 years)	81	1.21	0.81
AD 413/4–512/3, AM 5906–6005 (78 pages, 100 years)	68	0.87	0.68
AD 513/4–612/3, AM 6006–105 (141 pages, 100 years)	48	0.34	0.48
AD 613/4–712/3, AM 6106–205 (83 pages, 100 years)	35	0.42	0.35
Overall Part A (378 pages, 429.5 years)	236	0.62	0.55
AD 713/4–812/3, AM 6206–305 + preface (123 pages, 100 years)	114	0.93	1.14
Total (501 pages, 529.5 years)	350	0.70	0.66

Table 6 – "Holy" adjectives.

My point becomes even clearer when one checks the objects these adjectives are applied to. A first significant example is represented by icons, which appear only once before AM 6206 (AD 713/14) with the adjective "holy."[46] However in the second part of the chronicle icons are referred to as "holy" eighteen times, as should probably be expected.[47] Most of these mentions (13) occur between AM 6215 and AM 6245 (AD 722/3 and AD 752/3), while the remaining five are scattered in the later sections of the chronicle, beginning only ten years later (AM 6255). Interestingly, there seems to be no mention of "holy" images around the time of the Ecumenical Council of 787.[48] Moreover, the interval in which "holy" images are mentioned is quite short compared to the first period of Iconoclasm. When we count the overall mentions of images and icons (i.e. the term εἰκών), a similar picture arises. In AM 6215–45, images and icons appear seventeen times overall. In AM 6246–305, however, they appear less commonly—only fourteen times.

46. In AM 5999 (p. 149.30–1), when a painter "dared to depict certain fantastic subjects, quite different from the holy images of churches…" (ὃς ἀλλότρια τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν ἁγίων εἰκόνων ἐτόλμησε γράψαι φαντασιώδη). Other religious icon references appear in AM 5982, 6094, 6102, and 6113.

47. I chose to include also the cases in which Theophanes uses the adjective σεπτός alone to describe icons in this analysis. This adjective describes icons in thirteen out of its fourteen occurrences (one describes a baptistery in AM 5950) and is joined in more than half of these with ἅγιος—I have also included one case in which de Boor chose to add ἅγιος to a phrase with σεπτός (AM 6276). The adjective appears alone in AM 6215, 6218, 6238, and 6303, and, with θεῖος, in 6304. Leaving all of these outside would not significantly change the results below.

48. The closest preceding instance is in AM 6276 (AD 783/4), when the former patriarch Paul repents and "the question of the holy icons" (ὁ περὶ τῶν ἁγίων καὶ σεπτῶν εἰκόνων λόγος) is discussed again. The closest mention afterwards is in AM 6303 (AD 810/11) and concerns a false hermit who "blasphemed against the true religion and the holy icons" (κατὰ τοῦ ὀρθοῦ λόγου καὶ τῶν σεπτῶν εἰκόνων βλασφημῶν).

The results are summarized in the following table, with the difference between mentions of both "simple" and "holy" icons between the two periods always proving statistically significant.[49]

	"Holy" icons	Icons overall	Ratio*	Pages	Holy icons per page	Overall icons per page
AM 6215–45 AD 722/3–752/3	13	17	0.76	26.5	0.49	0.64
AM 6246–305 AD 753/4–812/3	5	14	0.35	75.5	0.06	0.19

Table 7 – Icons and "holy" icons in part B.

**Calculated by dividing the number of "holy" icon references by the total number of icon references.*

All in all, a large number of icon references appear before Iconoclasm was "formally" introduced by the Council of Hiereia in 754. Interestingly, three of the four icon references without the adjective "holy" in the first period appear in AM 6218, in the story about a soldier who throws a rock at an icon. At any rate, it appears that both during the "official" phase of Iconoclasm (post-Hiereia) and after Orthodoxy was restored in 787 icons are mentioned much less frequently. Furthermore, Theophanes or his sources chose to emphasize icons and their holiness before the council of Hiereia, very possibly as a way to create conflict in their narrative. The abrupt drop in "holy" icon references afterwards is surprising in this context and suggests that one of Theophanes' sources ended around AM 6245 (AD 752/3). We will return to these interesting findings in this paper's conclusion. It is also interesting to observe that while the previous six Ecumenical Councils are regarded as "holy" by Theophanes 40 times overall in the period AM 5797–6206, we find only one such reference to the Seventh Ecumenical Council, in which Theophanes himself probably participated.[50] Moreover, while some of the previous councils (especially the Fourth and the Sixth) are referred to several times after they have happened, Theophanes does not do the same with the Seventh Ecumenical Council. Also, in the *Chronographia*, the latter is not associated with the debate about icons at all.

Theophanes also uses the adjective "holy" to refer to certain people, almost all of which are related to the Church. Many references are to patriarchs (including the pope). While part A includes twenty-three such references, part B has twenty-five[51] (significant, p-value < 0.0001). This is already a significant difference when taking into consideration the amount of pages each of these parts covers in the edition. It becomes even more significant when we bear in mind that for much of part A four or five patriarchs were known and listed every year compared to only two in part B of the chronicle. From

49. The significance tests: "holy" icons by year (p-value = 0.001), "holy" icons by number of pages (p-value < 0.0001), icons overall by year (p-value = 0.0125), icons overall by number of pages (p-value = 0.0006).

50. MANGO – SCOTT, p. li. For example, the Fourth Ecumenical Council is called "holy" eleven times, the Sixth ten times. However, the Fifth Ecumenical Council is also described as "holy" only once.

51. One of these appears in the preface of Theophanes' work. I added it to the second group because it was written by Theophanes and refers to Tarasios.

the patriarchs in the latter interval, Tarasios (eight mentions[52]) and Nikephoros (seven mentions[53]), are most often described as holy, followed by Germanos (five[54]) and Paul (one[55]). The popes of this period are called "holy" three times, together with one patriarch of Antioch. The Iconoclastic patriarchs Anastasios, Constantine and Niketas are not mentioned at all with the adjective (rather they are called "false" and anathematized in the Council of 787, under AM 6280).

I believe that Theophanes' own beliefs and ideas are reflected in the different treatment of the patriarchs. Theophanes prefers Tarasios and Nikephoros over other patriarchs, and both are among the most positive characters in the whole *Chronographia*.[56] A reasonable explanation for this would be that Theophanes knew them personally and admired them, and had perhaps also worked under them for a while. A hint of this can be found in the preface, where Tarasios is the only patriarch mentioned by name together with the superlative *ἁγιώτατος*. Another possible hint can be found in AM 6258 (above, p. 449), which contains a personal recollection of a miracle witnessed by the author of the *Chronographia* or his source together with "Tarasios the most holy patriarch" (*Ταρασίῳ τῷ ἁγιωτάτῳ πατριάρχῃ*). At any rate, it seems clear that Theophanes was responsible for a significant amount of references to "holy" patriarchs. In addition, we should note that the three leading patriarchs were also important scholars in their generations.

Altogether, these findings strengthen the idea that Theophanes' own views shaped the chronicle. Although the evidence suggests that he did not add more than a few words, these minor additions and reductions could subtly change the overall meaning of entire paragraphs, yearly entries and even the chronicle's broader narratives.[57] Contrary to what we might expect, icons do not seem to have a very important place in Theophanes' own life and he never really focuses his narrative on them. As I have shown above, he does not illustrate the iconophile resolutions of the Council of 787, nor seems to think of the latter as a very significant event. From the point of view of a modern reader interested in Iconoclasm, this is quite an anti-climax. Moreover, there are signs of Theophanes' discomfort with this Council. Unlike almost all other Ecumenical Councils, Theophanes does not refer to it afterwards in his narrative, while the only individuals whom he describes positively in the relevant entry are the patriarch Tarasios (once) and "the holy Fathers [of the early Church]" (twice). Unlike in many other entries, Theophanes' contemporary bishops and emperors do not receive any adjectives.

52. Six of which are "most holy," ἁγιώτατος, and one of which is ὅσιος. The single ἁγιός mention is after his death.
53. All of which are ἁγιώτατος.
54. Three of which are ἁγιώτατος, one ὅσιος and one ἱερός.
55. Both ὅσιος and ἁγιώτατος in the same mention.
56. Interestingly, although Tarasios and Nikephoros are described positively, their actions which are narrated in the chronicle do not seem important enough to justify their wholly positive depiction. This question could use more research in the future.
57. For more examples, see AM 5966, in which Theophanes copies a passage from another text and adds the word "unholy" and AM 5871, in which he does the same with the word "pious." For another interesting example, see HOYLAND, *Theophilus*, pp. 292 f., about the decisions of the council of Hieria. In this case, although four authors report this episode in similar terms, Theophanes is the only one who mentions Germanos, and the only one who describes him, George of Cyprus and John Damascene as "holy men."

RELIGIOUS FIGURES

Another significant difference between the two parts of the chronicle affects the appearance of religious figures in the narrative, such as the Devil or the Theotokos, who appear in certain patterns in Theophanes' work.

The Devil (διάβολος) appears in Theophanes' chronicle six times in total, all in part B.[58] Interestingly, this discrepancy does not affect daemons, which appear eighteen times in part A and six times in part B—almost exactly the expected ratio. Half of the mentions of the Devil are grouped in the period between AM 6273–83; the others do not seem to be related to each other. Overall, five of the six mentions of the Devil in part B deal with his interventions in the world, which are sometimes described as successful (esp. AM 6282 and 6283). Only in one case the Devil is described as weak compared to God (AM 6273). Now, the two references in AM 6282 and 6283 appear to have been taken from a single source: in both cases the Devil is successful in creating problems within the imperial family, by inspiring "certain evil men" to convince Eirene to turn against Constantine VI in the former entry and by causing soldiers to rebel in support of Constantine in the latter; in both cases the blame is placed upon other people, while the emperors are portrayed as pious—although Eirene, being a woman, is easily deceived.

In contrast to this, a reference to the Devil in AM 6234 seems to originate from Theophanes himself. This is found in a passage which shares the same source material with Nikephoros. Indeed, both authors include a moralizing comment, but their respective comments differ greatly. Thus Nikephoros simply explains that "the struggle for power between those men [Constantine V and Artabasdos] aroused an internecine war among Christians" and laments the impact of such a conflict on human nature.[59] Theophanes is alone in referring more precisely to murder within families, using terminology that is strongly reminiscent of a biblical excerpt.[60] I believe that Theophanes inserted this reference because of his more religious understanding of the situation, while Nikephoros kept the attitude of the original source. Likewise, a biblical allusion in connection with the Devil is found in AM 6273, where Theophanes compares the legacy of Eirene and Constantine VI's victory over Constantine V to God's overthrow of the Devil "by the weak hands of fisherman and illiterate folk," presumably referring to the Apostles.

58. AM 6234 (p. 418.7; the Devil rouses fury and mutual slaughter among Christians), 6250 (430.24; the Devil deceives some of the Magian religion who jump from walls), 6273 (454.12; Irene and Constantine's rule as the image of God's rule, reminiscent of His overthrow of the Devil), 6282 (464.10; the Devil causes Irene and Constantine to turn against each other), 6283 (466.10; the Devil causes Constantine to rise to power over his mother), and 6305 (501.18; the Devil attacks the Orthodox). In two more instances Mango's English translation names "the Devil," while the Greek has the adjective forms πονηροῦ (AM 5812, regarding the Devil's intervention in causing the Arian schism) and διαβολικῆς (AM 6208, for the Devil's machinations that cause Masalmas to capture Pergamon). The word "Satan" is used only once (AM 5982, for a heretic who is Satan's servant). I chose not to include these mentions in my analysis and in any case doing so would not have significantly altered the results.
59. Niceph., *Brev.*, § 65, pp. 134–7, with Mango's translation.
60. MANGO – SCOTT, p. 578 (AM 6234): "The Devil, instigator of evil, roused in those days such fury and mutual slaughter among Christians that sons would murder their fathers without any mercy and brothers would murder their own brothers and pitilessly burn each other's houses and homes." See for instance Luke 12:53, Matthew 10:21, 10:35–6. Other examples appear in both the Old and the New Testaments.

In AM 6250 Theophanes deals with the Devil's detrimental influence on non-Christians. This is the only time in which the deceit is attributed to the Devil himself.[61] It is uncertain whether this reference is by Theophanes or from the "Oriental source," which he presumably used for this event, but it should be noted that the episode has no exact parallel in the sources which might have used Theophilus of Edessa's chronicle.[62]

Finally, Theophanes himself also appears to have inserted a mention of the Devil in AM 6305, where the latter incites certain men to enter Constantine V's tomb and to call upon him to save the state, instead of blaming the problems on their own sins. Two facts suggest that this reference stems from Theophanes. First, after the narration of the events, we find what appears to be the author's own interpretation—he adds that the people involved were soldiers (στρατευομένους), instead of the more general designations as "men" or "heretics" found in the opening narrative. Second, the author mentions the Orthodox faith "that has been handed down by our fathers."[63] As I have shown, in most cases first person references in the chronicle are inserted by Theophanes himself and are not copied from his sources.

The Theotokos (as θεοτόκος) also appears with varying frequency in the two parts of Theophanes' chronicle. Overall, she appears as an agent—as opposed to churches bearing her name, or mentions in direct speech—fifteen times, only five of which are in part A (significant, $\alpha = 0.0006$).[64] Among the ten references in part B, four are grouped between AM 6209 and AM 6218, four are grouped between AM 6245 and 6268, while the remaining two appear in AM 6304 and 6305. These fairly tight groups—between each of which there are about three decades in which the Theotokos is not mentioned—suggest that Theophanes was using different sources for these periods, especially since the four mentions in the AM 6245–68 interval are quite similar to each other and significantly different from the other Theotokos references: they all deal with the relations between the Theotokos and men, and in all of them the Byzantine emperor is mentioned—three times Constantine V, as her enemy, and once Leo IV, who is her friend for a short while.

Four of the six remaining references deal with intercessions of the Theotokos in favor of her Christian believers. The formula διὰ (or πρὸς) τῶν πρεσβειῶν τῆς πανάγνου θεοτόκου repeats itself in two cases. The similar formula διὰ τῶν πρεσβειῶν τῆς παναχράντου θεοτόκου also appears twice. Thus, in four cases we have almost the same formula, which does not appear anywhere else in the whole chronicle. Interestingly, these references appear in different sections from each other. One of each version appears in AM 6209, another one of the first kind (πανάγνου) appears in AM 6218, and finally another mention

61. For example in AM 6213 a person deceives the Jews when calling himself the messiah.

62. Cf. Hoyland, *Theophilus*, p. 311.

63. τὴν ὀρθόδοξον καὶ πατροπαράδοτον πίστιν—although Theophanes does not use a first person pronoun here, he seeks, to my eyes, connection with his reader similar in effect to the one appealed for through the first person plural references.

64. One would expect the term to appear more frequently around the Council of Ephesus, since this latter deals specifically with Mariological issues and named Mary Theotokos, but this is not the case. Two of the Theotokos mentions are earlier (AM 5854 or AD 361/2 and AM 5871 or AD 378/9), while the other three are found in the reign of Heraclius, in AM 6117–8. See also Ferber, Theophanes' account (quoted n. 10).

of the second kind (παναχράντου) appears only in AM 6305.[65] I will try to show that Theophanes added all these references to the account he found in his sources.

Given their chronological proximity in the chronicle, the similar language and topic,[66] it seems safe to conclude that the first two mentions (in AM 6209) are related and probably drawn from the same source. Moreover, it should be noted that Nikephoros, who has a parallel chapter, does not mention the Theotokos (or God) in it. The third reference in AM 6218 (p. 406.5–7) fits in quite well with the first two, as it comes after a story in which the Theotokos appears and acts, thus also dealing with the power of the Theotokos to intercede. This leaves us with the final mention of AM 6305—which is close in language and topic, but distant chronologically. This makes it the most interesting one since we have seen that none of Theophanes' sources for the last century of his chronicle seems to have spanned such a wide period.

One might argue that such mentions of the Theotokos occurred by chance in at least two different sources. However, the fact that the formula is quite long, rare, and that it does not appear in any other place in the chronicle weakens this argument considerably. The second option is to understand at least the formula and probably also some of its surrounding text as Theophanes' own additions. A hint of this appears in AM 6305, in which Theophanes narrates that Leo V "toured the walls by day and night, encouraging everyone and bidding them to be hopeful that God will soon work a miracle through the intercessions of the all-pure Theotokos and all the saints and not allow us to be altogether shamed because of the multitude of *our* sins" (italic L.M.).[67] Thus, a rare reference to the Theotokos appears next to a rare first person plural—in fact, they are part of the same sentence. Moving back to the three earlier mentions of intercessions of the Theotokos, we also find, in all three cases, rare remarks in the first person plural.[68]

In other words, I believe we can assume all these references belong to the same author, either Theophanes or the author of his source. The latter option here is not viable: as we have seen, nobody believes that Theophanes used a single source for the whole AD 713–813 period. That Theophanes himself is the source of these references is also suggested by the proximity of the first person references to the formulaic Theotokos

65. Another reference to the Theotokos' intercession abilities is negative—Constantine rejects τὰς πρεσβείας τῆς ἁγίας παρθένου καὶ θεοτόκου καὶ πάντων τῶν ἁγίων, which is very different from the previous formulae and appears in the middle group of Theotokos mentions (AM 6258). This strongly suggests that it is not connected to the aforementioned four references to the Theotokos' intercessions.

66. The Theotokos first intercedes with God to foil the attacking Arab's plans to invade Constantinople through the sea walls (p. 396.17–8), then causes the Byzantine counter attack to succeed in sinking the enemy ships (397.12–3).

67. … τὰ τείχη νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας αὐτὸς δι' ἑαυτοῦ περιπολεύων καὶ πάντας διεγείρων εὐέλπιδάς τε παραινῶν εἶναι, ὡς τοῦ θεοῦ παραδοξοποιήσαντος τάχιστα διὰ τῶν πρεσβειῶν τῆς παναχράντου θεοτόκου καὶ πάντων τῶν ἁγίων, καὶ μὴ πάντη καταισχυνθῆναι παραχωροῦντος διὰ πλῆθος πταισμάτων ἡμῶν (503.1–5).

68. There are two such references for both AM 6209 and AM 6218. I should note again that first person plural entries are more common in Theophanes when quoting an historical figure in direct speech, but that this is not the case here—these references are given by the author himself (whoever that is). The specific examples are "*Our* men took the enemy's supplies…," "… *we* are chastised for a short time on account of *our* sins" (AM 6209), "… the pious education that had lasted from St. Constantine the Great until *our* days…" and "… after the unhappy defeat of *our* fellow countrymen…" (AM 6218).

mentions. Although this does not mean that Theophanes wrote the whole entries for these years, it seems clear that he did add a few sentences in these specific places in the text.[69]

Discussion and conclusion

I have examined several overlooked peculiarities of Theophanes' chronicle attempting to address the two questions of its sources from the 710s and its authorship. The latter question has two components—whether Theophanes was the main author or editor of the chronicle and to what extent he (or whoever the author was) intervened in the final compilation we have. Although none of these questions can be answered conclusively with the evidence I presented in this exploratory study, the data sheds new light on them and provides an avenue for further research.

First, we have seen, I believe, that it was Theophanes—whether the Confessor or another anonymous author to whom we may refer by this name is irrelevant for our purpose—and not George Synkellos who "wrote" the *Chronographia*. The significant amount of first person references show the author's Constantinopolitan leanings, which do not fit well with Mango's view of Synkellos as "an émigré from Palestine," which is based on rather flimsy evidence.[70] The difference between Theophanes and Synkellos in terms of their presence in the text is significant. Synkellos was an active narrator, who often called upon his reader using the second person, included him in the first person hortative ("let us"), and attempted to convince him about contentious points. Theophanes rarely displayed his persona to his readers and even when he did so he never addressed them directly. Another strong indication that two different individuals "wrote" these chronicles comes from the differences in the way they date events by Roman months. Overall, Synkellos used significantly less dates than Theophanes, focused more on specific dates, and used them for calculations in addition to using them in his narrative as Theophanes did. While Synkellos used 25 March as the most significant date in his worldview, this date has no significance in the *Chronographia*. Two other dates—15 August and 25 December—are more prominent in the latter work with only the latter appearing (only once) in Synkellos' chronicle.

Second, Theophanes' involvement in the chronicle seems to have changed over time. Thus, there were periods of time in which he did not change much in his source material, while in other entries he both changed his source material and added to it. The overall trend seems to be more involvement by Theophanes as the *Chronographia*'s timeline advances, but this is not a completely linear trend. For example, I believe that Theophanes added his own material at the end of the AM 6209 entry as we have seen. The last entry in the chronicle (AM 6305) has similar features. Over about six and a half pages Theophanes provides ten dates, one mention of the Theotokos' intervention in the same words as in AM 6209 and eight first person references. The basis for these claims are the details

69. The combined occurrence of two or more original textual markers, and similar idiosyncrasies in the text of the chronicle may allow us to identify additions or even entire sections probably written by Theophanes himself.

70. Since Mango does not point out similarities between Synkellos' chronicle and the chronicle ascribed to Theophanes, his claims at best deny that Theophanes the saint was the author of the latter chronicle. For a similar argument, see Dukey, *A study* (quoted n. 10), pp. 306–37.

analyzed above. In the first case, in two and a half pages Theophanes supplies three dates (including 15 August), mentions the Theotokos and her intercession twice and refers to the Byzantines in the first person plural three times. None of these appear in the parallel paragraph in Nikephoros (54). In the second case, over about six and a half pages Theophanes provides ten dates, one mention of the Theotokos and her intervention (in the same words as in AM 6209), and eight first person references. This similarity is striking, as very few of the entries in the chronicle share these characteristics and none of them do so in such a manner. As it is extremely unlikely that Theophanes used the same source for both entries, almost a century apart, and did not use it for almost all the entries in between, it seems more probable that these are his additions to the chronicle.[71]

To conclude, I placed my findings on the general chart below.[72] Although this presentation is inherently flawed for several obvious reasons—it ignores the actual text and operates on annual entries rather than their length—it has the important advantage of graphically summarizing a large amount of data from different kinds of variables. A few trends are easily discernible. For example, we notice the complete lack of textual markers in the 6222–30 interval, while the similar 6284–94 interval includes only dates. Most of the markers are absent from the period 6259–71, which has only two Theotokos mentions. Sections of the chronicle have similar concentrations of markers. Thus, the 6303–5 period seems very uniform but is different from the previous 6295–302. Likewise, the 6209–11 interval seems different from the following 6215–21 one.

Admittedly, I picked textual markers after a survey of the *Chronographia*, so that there are many alternatives which I have not examined. Further research about these markers and the intervals in which they appear could provide new evidence about Theophanes' sources and delimit the sections in which he was more active as an editor.

71. At least for AM 6209; for AM 6305 he could have composed the whole text according to his own point of view.

72. I used a binary test, pointing out only whether a certain marker occurs in a certain year entry, without regard to the number of occurrences in that year. As for the dates, I did not note the "special" ones (15 August and 25 December); see my discussion above.

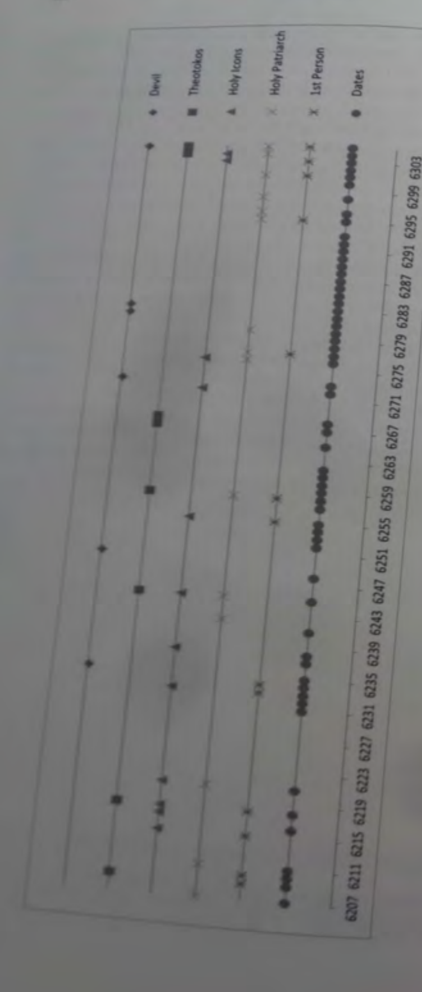


Fig. 3 – Summary chart.

STYLE, STRUCTURE, AND AUTHORSHIP OF THE HYPOTHETICAL SOURCE OF THEOPHANES FOR THE REIGNS OF LEO III AND CONSTANTINE V

by Dmitry Afinogenov

As is well known, the *Short chronicle* of George the Monk survives in two redactions. The earlier one to my mind was composed by George himself and is only preserved in codex *Coislinianus* 305, while the second one was the work of an editor, who probably worked in the monastery of Studios in the last quarter of the 9th century. This editor considerably abridged George's endless chains of biblical quotations and other edifying passages, introduced several additional sources, namely a synoptic history of the Ecumenical Councils and the so-called *Letter of the three Oriental Patriarchs* to the emperor Theophilos; in some cases, he revised the narrative. In at least two instances (the story of St. Arsenios and the memoir on the Paulician heresy) the reviser replaced one text with another on the same subject, borrowed from a different source.[1] While the still unpublished *Coisl.* 305 stops at the reign of Constantine V (741–75), the Slavonic translation believed to depend on the early redaction extends to the reign of Michael II (820–8), suggesting that George's original text reached as far.[2]

The original version of the *Short chronicle* has supplied, upon close examination, what I believe to be vital clues as to the nature of Theophanes' main source for the years 718–75.[3] It is significant that George had this lost work (for which I have proposed the conventional name of **Historia Leonis et Constantini*, hereafter simply **Historia Leonis*) at his disposal and that he used it for this period, without copying Theophanes. Now, the same source was used by patriarch Nikephoros both in his historical and polemical writings (*Breviarium* and *Antirrheticus III*). In the present paper I will concentrate on whatever additional information can be gained on the literary features and possible authorship of the

1. The section on the Paulicians was also displaced from the reign of Constantine V to that of Constans II.
2. *Летовник съкращень от различных летописьць же и поведатели и избрань и съставлень от Георгиа грешнаа инока* (Издание Обществом любителей древней письменности 26, 56, 69), Санкт-Петербург 1878–81, a facsimile edition of one manuscript.
3. D. Afinogenov, A lost 8th-century pamphlet against Leo III and Constantine V?, *Eranos* 100, 2002, pp. 1–17.

Studies in Theophanes, ed. by M. Jankowiak & F. Montinaro (Travaux et mémoires 19), Paris 2015, pp. 467–72.

*Historia Leonis. If each of the (at least)[4] three authors who preserve bits of this lost work transforms the narrative in his own way, the juxtaposition of all the testimonies offers, in my view, a fairly clear picture of what their common source looked like.

To understand the changes introduced by Theophanes, George, and Nikephoros it is important to take into account the structure, i.e. the literary composition of their writings. Thus the following characteristics seem to have affected the transmission of the *Historia Leonis:

- Nikephoros, the future patriarch, in his *Breviarium*, composed ca. 775–87 as the author was still a young top civil servant, endeavored to produce a continuous history conforming in composition and style to ancient models. Whatever his literary achievement, the writer's efforts resulted in a modification of the original structure and heavy re-phrasing of the sources, including the **Historia Leonis*.
- Theophanes, in his *Chronographia*, composed 813–5, adopted an annalistic principle that disregarded narrative structure, especially in the case of units spanning several years. Nonetheless, comparison with George the Monk shows that the actual wording of the source is reproduced with only minor changes. Theophanes also relates a large amount of information omitted by the other dependants of the **Historia Leonis*.
- Nikephoros, in his *Antirrheticus III*, part of a set of writings composed ca. 815–20 after the author's deposition from the patriarchal throne, simply aimed to collect descriptions of calamities that befell the empire during the reign of Constantine V. Material from the **Historia Leonis* was thus condensed into a single litany mostly respectful of chronological order but consciously ignoring time spans between events. Yet several details found in the *Antirrheticus* are not in Theophanes, with one of them, the emperor's flight to Nicomedia during the plague, preserved also by George.
- George the Monk, in the above-mentioned *Short chronicle* (846–7), built a two-level composition, with reigns acting as the chronological framework and self-contained stories representing the basic units of the historical narrative. This made it possible to preserve the plot despite the omission of the bulk of the information. The phrasing was apparently also substantially respected. There are many examples of how a story that was deconstructed by Theophanes can be restored with the help of George.[5]

Very fortunately Theophanes has preserved what amounts to an author's proem of the *Historia Leonis:

The evils that befell the Christians at the time of the impious Leo both as regards the orthodox faith and civil administration, the latter in Sicily, Calabria, and Crete for reasons of the dishonest gain and avarice; furthermore, the secession of Italy because of his evil doctrine, the earthquakes, famines, pestilences, and foreign insurrections (not to mention

4. Other possible dependants include the monk John, representative of the Oriental patriarchs at Nicaea II, the monk Basil, the compiler of the *Letter of the three patriarchs*, and Stephen the Deacon, the author of the *Life of Stephen the Younger*. In these cases, however, direct dependence on the *Historia Leonis is difficult to prove.

5. Afinogenov, A lost 8th-century pamphlet (quoted n. 3); Id., The story of the patriarch Constantine II of Constantinople in Theophanes and George the Monk: transformations of a narrative, in Byzantine history as literature, ed. by R. Macrides (Society for the promotion of Byzantine studies, Publications 15), Farnham 2010, pp. 205–12.

all the details) have been related in the preceding chapters. It is now proper to review in succession the lawless deeds, yea, even more sacrilegious and abhorred by God, of his most impious and altogether wretched son, yet to do so objectively (inasmuch as all-seeing God is observing us) <and plainly> for the benefit of posterity and of those wretched and wicked men who still follow the abominable heresy of that criminal, namely by recounting his impious actions from the 10th indiction, the first year of his reign, until the 14th indiction, the year of his damnation.[6]

This passage is found between the accounts of the reigns of Leo III and Constantine V and this is in all probability where it originally belonged. The actual foreword, if it existed—that is, unless the text began *in medias res*—is lost without a trace, but the passage above contains four crucial hints as to the structure of the text, the writer's literary aims, and the overall purpose of the **Historia Leonis*:

- Theoph., p. 413.9–10: ἐν τοῖς προλαβοῦσι δεδήλωται κεφαλαίοις ("have been related in the preceding chapters"). Thus the two sections of the work, dealing with the reigns of the two first Isaurian emperors, consisted of separate chapters (κεφάλαια). There can be little doubt that each chapter focused either on a certain event (a military campaign, a natural disaster and so on) or a story with a plot and proper narrative structure. In both cases it included the indiction date.
- Theoph., p. 413.12: φιλαλήθως. The author claims to be writing in a "truth-loving" manner. This explains the rather objective reports of Leo's and Constantine's victories over the Arabs and the Bulgarians. The further implication is that the writer liked to think of his work as a historical narrative rather than a purely polemical pamphlet or invective.
- *Ibid.*, l. 13: ἀπερίττως ("plainly," that is, "without affectation"). The very fact that the writer was concerned with problems of style is significant, especially since it stands in contrast to Theophanes' own proem, where the topic is completely ignored. In fact, similar statements can be found in literary works of any style, from technical chancery idiom to highly sophisticated atticizing prose, but they invariably show that the author does care about proper expression. In fact, such declarations may even point to a more ornate speech. Features like the use of the archaic name Σκύθαι for the Khazars (Theoph., p. 409.31, supported by George, *Coisl.* 305, fol. 329) and of the word ἐπινέμησις for indiction (Theoph., p. 423.5) would seem to confirm that in our case.
- *Ibid.*, ll. 13–4: εἰς ὠφέλειαν τοῖς μετέπειτα καὶ τοῖς νῦν πλανωμένοις ἀθλίοις καὶ ἀτασθάλοις ἀνδραρίοις εἰς τὴν τοῦ παρανομωτάτου βδελυρὰν κακοδοξίαν ("for the benefit of posterity and of those wretched and wicked men who still follow the abominable heresy of that criminal"). So objectivity does not exclude didactic aims, involving polemics against Iconoclasm.

Furthermore, the writer behind the **Historia Leonis* complained about the decline of learning in the empire:

6. Theoph. AM 6232, p. 413.4–18, transl. Mango – Scott, p. 573.

This led to the extinction of schools and of the pious education that had lasted from St. Constantine the Great until our days, but was destroyed, along with many other good things, by this Saracen-minded Leo."

Nikephoros famously attributes the decline of education to the frequent change of emperors and general anarchy after the fall of the Heraclian dynasty.[8] In my view he borrowed this passage directly from an earlier, pro-Leo source, which I call *Scriptor anni 718 and which seems to have been used by the author of the *Historia Leonis. Thus the transformation we see in Theophanes may go back either to the chronicler himself, or to the *Historia Leonis. Be that as it may, the interest of the common source for the questions of παίδευσις is beyond doubt. One may imagine that it did suggest a link between deficient education and the rise of Iconoclasm: Leo and Beser, says Theophanes, "were filled with boorishness and complete ignorance, the cause of most evils."[9] Lack of learning, according to Theophanes, in any case contributed to the emergence of the evil heresy.

That said, the first traceable fragment of the *Historia Leonis* contains the short biography of Leo up to 717 and can be reconstructed from George the Monk and Theophanes as follows:[10]

Coislinianus 305, fol. 326	Theoph. AM 6209, p. 391.5–6
Μετὰ δὲ Θεοδόσιον ἐβασίλευσε Λέων ὁ Ἤσαυρος Συρογενής, ἀπὸ Ἠσαῦ τοῦ θεοστυγοῦς, ἐξ οὗ καὶ ἡ Ἠσαυρία χώρα τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ἔσχε, καταγόμενος καὶ Ἤσαυρος λεγόμενος, ὁ καὶ Κόνων.	Λέων ἐβασίλευσεν ἐκ τῆς Γερμανικέων καταγόμενος (*genere Syrus* Anast. in app.)

Reconstruction:

[Μετὰ δὲ Θεοδόσιον ἐβασίλευσε] Λέων ὁ Ἤσαυρος Συρογενής, [ἀπὸ Ἠσαῦ τοῦ θεοστυγοῦς, ἐξ οὗ καὶ ἡ Ἠσαυρία χώρα τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ἔσχε], ἐκ τῆς Γερμανικέων καταγόμενος καὶ Ἤσαυρος λεγόμενος, ὁ καὶ Κόνων.[11]

And following:

Theoph. AM *6209, p. 391.5–10:*

ὑπὸ δὲ Ἰουστινιανοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως σὺν τοῖς γονεῦσι μετοικίζεται ἐν Μεσημβρίᾳ τῆς Θρᾴκης ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ αὐτοῦ βασιλείᾳ· ἐν δὲ τῇ δευτέρᾳ αὐτοῦ βασιλείᾳ ἐρχομένου αὐτοῦ μετὰ τῶν Βουλγάρων, ὑπήντησεν αὐτῷ μετὰ δώρων προβάτων φʹ. θεραπευθεὶς δὲ ὁ Ἰουστινιανὸς σπαθάριον αὐτὸν εὐθέως πεποίηκεν, καὶ ἔσχεν αὐτὸν ὡς γνήσιον φίλον.

Ibid., p. 395.2–8:

τοῦ δὲ Ἰουστινιανοῦ ἀναιρεθέντος, καὶ τοῦ Φιλιππικοῦ τυφλωθέντος, βασιλεύει ὁ Ἀρτέμιος, καὶ προβάλλεται αὐτὸν στρατηγὸν εἰς Ἀνατολικούς. τοῦ δὲ Θεοδοσίου

7. Theoph. AM 6218, p. 405.11–4, transl. MANGO – SCOTT, p. 560.
8. Niceph., *Brev.*, § 52, ll. 3–6, p. 120.
9. Theoph. AM 6218, p. 405.4–5: ἀπαιδευσίας ἦσαν ἔμπλεοι καὶ πάσης ἀμαθίας, ἐξ ἧς τὰ πολλὰ [illegible]
10. On the principles of reconstruction see, in general, D. AFINOGENOV, The source of Theophanes' Chronography and Nikephoros' Breviarium for the years 685–717, *Христианский Восток* n.s. 4, 2002, pp. 13–22.
11. The headings follow the manuscript's spelling. Parts of text that probably did not belong to the original are in square brackets.

βασιλεύσαντος, καὶ τοῦ Ἀρτεμίου ἐκδιωχθέντος, καὶ τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων πολιτείας συγκεχυμένης οὔσης ἔκ τε βαρβάρων ἐπιδρομῆς καὶ ἐκ τῶν τοῦ Ἰουστινιανοῦ μιαιφονιῶν καὶ τῶν τοῦ Φιλιππικοῦ ἀνοσιουργιῶν, οὗτος ὁ [εἰρημένος] Λέων ὑπερεμάχει τῷ Ἀρτεμίῳ, ἐναντιούμενος Θεοδοσίῳ.

Anast., p. 255.4–5:

quin, ut verum dicatur, ad se ipsum imperium transferre decertans.

The final passageof the **Historia Leonis* should be identified either with Theoph. AM 6267, p. 448.23–8, on the death of Constantine V, or with the next phrase, pp. 448.28–449.1, relating the death of the Abbasid caliph Abdelas (Al-Mansūr). The two deceased sovereigns are characterized as "the two wild beasts" (οὗτοι οἱ δύο δεινότατοι θῆρες). It seems improbable that the section devoted to the reign of Leo IV was borrowed by Theophanes from the same source as the accounts of the two preceding reigns. The greatest part of the entry on the first year of Leo IV (AM 6268) is occupied by the description of the coronation of the young Constantine VI on April 14, 776. There the expression ὡς ἔθος ἐστὶ τοῖς βασιλεῦσι ("according to imperial custom") is repeated twice.[12] It occurs nowhere else in the *Chronographia*. There are also considerable differences between the latter account and a similar entry under AM 6260, which describes in some detail the coronation of Constantine's wife Eudocia as well as the promotion of his sons Christophoros and Nikephoros to caesars and of their younger brother Niketas to the rank of *nobilissimus*. Such very formal texts, undoubtedly stemming from the imperial chancery, are expected to look alike, especially if separated by as little as 8 years. The short entry under AM 6260, however, mentions ceremonial garments bestowed upon the newly created caesars and *nobilissimus* and the *hypateia* (largess) scattered to the people, while the more extensive account under AM 6268 is completely silent on that matter.

Now to the authorship. The most interesting and difficult task is to determine where the author of **Historia Leonis* starts to record his eyewitness experience. In the absence of direct chronological indications, the main criterion here is visual detail. One of the most striking fragments from this point of view is the account of the plague that struck Constantinople in 747/748 (AM 6238) which includes a vivid description of the methods of transporting dead bodies.[13] Further particulars are supplied in the *Antirrheticus III* by Nikephoros.[14] The description of the siege of the capital by Constantine V and of the subsequent punishment of Artabasdos and his followers in 742/743 (AM 6235) contains similar details. The most visually rich description pertains to the year 773: "Thirty years later the unforgiving and merciless emperor ordered that man's [Artabasdos' D.A.] wife to proceed to the monastery of Chora (where he had been buried), dig up his bones, place them in her pallium, and cast them at the so called tombs of Pelagios among the bodies of executed criminals."[15] Besides, for situations that had presumably involved people of high standing, the author uses expressions like "some" (p. 420.20), "many other... prominent men" (pp. 420.22 f.), "innumerable" (ἀναριθμήτους, *ibid.*; cf. further πολλὰ

12. Theoph. AM 6268, pp. 449.19–20 and 450.5.
13. *Ibid.* AM 6238, p. 423.22–5.
14. PG 100, c. 496B.
15. Theoph. AM 6235, p. 420.18–22, transl. MANGO – SCOTT, p. 581.

τε καὶ ἄλλα ἀναρίθμητα δεινά, pp. 420.27 f.). One may compare these vague indications with the list of the conspirators in the Podopagouroi case, where names and positions are given in full.[16] These circumstances, together with the reference to the "present day" in a fragment found between the entries for 742/743 and 747/748—the notice on the capture of Germanicea by Constantine V[17]—suggest that the account of the plague was chronologically the first piece of **Historia Leonis* to contain eyewitness knowledge.

If this is true, the author of our lost source was most likely born in the early 730s. He was well educated for his time, lived in Constantinople and had access to official documents, including protocol records of court ceremonies. There is no better candidate from the broad period in which **Historia Leonis* could have been produced (775–87)[18] than the *protoasecretis* and eventual patriarch Tarasios. However, if the work circulated under Tarasios' name, just as the *Breviarium* under that of Nikephoros, it seems strange that neither the latter, nor George the Monk invoked the authority of such a distinguished predecessor. George does name Nikephoros when he quotes from him,[19] but does not mention Tarasios among his sources.[20] Nikephoros, in the *Antirrheticus III*, says that "some of those then present" (τῶν τότε παρόντων τινές) saw fit "to record in history" (ἱστορίᾳ παραδοῦναι) the calamities of Constantine V's reign:[21] for this "history" P. Alexander proposed the conventional name of **Historia calamitatum*.[22] Now it is hard to imagine that Nikephoros did not know who penned one of the principal sources he had used back in the 780s and was using here, especially considering that Tarasios had been his superior in the imperial secretariat. In fact Nikephoros, distinguishing, in the same passage of the *Antirrheticus*, between living witnesses who "relate and tell" (ἱστορούντων καὶ λεγόντων) of the disasters, and "some of those then present" (i.e. supposedly the author of **Historia Leonis*), specially praises the latter as "acting opportunely and appropriately." At this point the mention of Tarasios would look natural[23] unless the work, as I believe, had become known without the writer's name: the indefinite τινες would seem more appropriate. Finally, the very fact that **Historia Leonis* was lost, presumably just because it was not copied, rather supports the assumption that it circulated anonymously. My guess would be that it belonged, along with many other documents, to the archive that vanished in the recesses of the library of Studios after the death of patriarch Methodios in 843.[24]

16. *Ibid.* AM 6257, p. 438.8–17.
17. *Ibid.* AM 6237, pp. 422.16 f.
18. I.e. between the death of Constantine V and the Second Council of Nicaea, where the story of Beser was recounted already in a modified form.
19. Georg. Mon., pp. 228.6, 760.18, and 780.15.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 769.6.
21. PG 100, c. 496A.
22. P. J. Alexander, *The patriarch Nicephorus of Constantinople*, Oxford 1958, pp. 159–62.
23. Cf. Tarasios' praise in another polemical work by the same author: *Nicephori patriarchae Constantinopolitani refutatio et eversio definitionis synodalis anni 815*, ed. cura et studio J. M. Featherstone (CCSG 33), Turnhout 1997, § 25.65–72.
24. On this, see D. Afinogenov, Did the patriarchal archive end up in the monastery of Studios? 9th-century vicissitudes of some important document collections, in *Monastères, images, pouvoirs et société à Byzance*, éd. par M. Kaplan (Byzantina Sorbonensia 23), Paris 2006, pp. 125–33.

THEOPHANES ON THE RECENT PAST: THE CRISIS OF 782 AND ITS ANTECEDENTS

by James Howard-Johnston

There is no reason for us to disbelieve the self-depreciating remarks with which Theophanes prefaced his *Chronographia*. He was not *writing* history, but simply compiling it out of antecedent written materials, most of which had been passed on to him by his mentor George Syncellus (Preface, pp. 3.23–4.18). That being so, the chief tasks of Theophanes scholars are, first, to identify the sources he used and, second, to track his editorial activity. The greater part of this work has been done by Cyril Mango and Roger Scott in the introduction to their translation of the *Chronographia*, which brings together the cumulative results of a century of scholarship and subjects them to characteristically sharp-eyed critical scrutiny. Others of us have added some further observations and nuances. This workshop is adding some more.

Confining ourselves to the early and middle decades of the eighth century covered by the *Chronographia*, of which neither Theophanes nor any informant of his could have had much direct experience, we can pick out the following principal sources: (1) a chronological compendium of rulers and patriarchs, which may have been brought from Palestine by George; (2) the much-discussed eastern source, which goes back to a history (down to 754–5) written probably by Theophilus of Edessa, a highly placed caliphal adviser, but which reached Theophanes in the form of a Greek translation and continuation to 780 written in Palestine and brought to Constantinople, again probably by George; (3) a source shared with the *Breviarium* of Nikephoros, identifiable to my mind as the political memoirs of the patrician Trajan, which seem to have ended with the coronation of the baby Constantine V as co-emperor on Easter Day 720; and (4) a second shared source which probably continued to cover events until the middle 770s, although Nikephoros chose to halt at the arrival of Irene in Constantinople in 769.[1] Theophanes' normal editorial practice was to excerpt material, pruning it if necessary but without tampering much with the wording, arrange it within his chosen annalistic framework, and add occasional glosses and links of his own. However, if his religious feelings were roused, as they were over Arianism in the fourth century and Iconoclasm

1. Mango – Scott, pp. lxxiv–lxxv, lxxxii–lxxxviii; Howard-Johnston, *Witnesses*, pp. 256–60, 295, 299–307.

Studies in Theophanes, ed. by M. Jankowiak & F. Montinaro (Travaux et mémoires 19), Paris 2015, pp. 473–90.

in the eighth, he was ready to intervene more aggressively, altering both the substance and the positioning of notices so as to discredit his *bêtes noires*, and introducing strongly-worded editorial glosses.[2]

This editorial intrusiveness was required, because all too much of the material incorporated into his main eighth-century Byzantine source seems to have had an official character, having probably been taken from government communiqués, which naturally presented events in as favourable light as possible, whether notices about military operations, domestic politics or religious affairs. The circulation of officially vetted news to postholders in the different ministries in Constantinople and to the military and civilian administrations throughout the empire was, of course, vital to any regime's security, rumour being a powerful corrosive force. We should probably envisage official notification being sent out soon after all important events, and likewise court circulars about ceremonies of constitutional significance and major appointments. The medieval successor-state assuredly carried on what had been long-established practice in the late Roman Empire. The best evidence from late antiquity is to be found in the last, contemporary section of the *Chronicon Paschale*, which consists almost entirely of a selection of court circulars and officially sanctioned news reports, including the account of the Avar siege of Constantinople in 626 originally sent to Heraclius in the field and Heraclius' final victory dispatch from Atropatene which was read out from the *ambo* in St. Sophia on Sunday 15th May 628.[3].

Most of the material taken by Theophanes (and Nikephoros) from their shared sources probably derived from such official news bulletins. Many of them dealt with military and naval operations, both defensive and offensive. The following passages may be singled out: all but the last few sentences of the long account of the 717–8 Arab siege of Constantinople (AM 6209, pp. 395.18–397.23); the summary report about the Arab invasion in 740 which ended in defeat at Akroinion (AM 6231, p. 411.14–26); and the many notices about Constantine V's Bulgar campaigns (Theophanes had to work hard to twist them to his discredit). Notices about natural disasters and unusual natural phenomena were also probably drawn from officially circulated information—for example, those reporting the eruption of Thera in 726 (AM 6218, pp. 404.18–405.1) and the 740 earthquake which caused extensive damage in Constantinople (AM 6232, p. 412.6–16).

Court circulars also show through in the text. The notices tend to be short, without the preliminaries to be expected in a circular. So we hear, in separate brief notices, to which hostile glosses have been added, of the birth, baptism (on Christmas Day 719, when his mother was also crowned) and coronation (on Easter Day 720) of Constantine V (AM 6211, pp. 399.28–400.17; AM 6212, p. 401.9–12), and later of his wedding to the daughter of the Khazar khagan in 732–3 (AM 6224, pp. 409.30–410.3). Other notices report the birth (25th January 750) and coronation (at Pentecost 751) of Leo IV (AM 6241, pp. 426.14–6, 26–9), the coronation of Eudokia as Augusta on Easter Saturday 769 followed on Easter Day itself by the bestowal of honours on Constantine's three younger

2. Mango – Scott, pp. lxx–lxxxi, xciv–xcv.
3. *Chron. Paschale*, pp. [illegible]–737; *Chronicon Paschale 284–628* AD, transl. with notes and introd. by M. & M. Whitby (Translated texts for historians 7), Liverpool 1989.

sons (AM 6260, pp. 443.28–444.8), the engagement of Irene to Leo IV (3rd November 769), preceded by her arrival from Hellas (1st November) and followed by the wedding on 17th December (AM 6261, p. 444.15–25), and the birth of Constantine VI on 14th January 771 (AM 6262, p. 445.12–4).

Notices about the origins of Iconoclasm, the carefully managed imperial declaration of the new policy, and measures taken to implement it, matters of particular concern to the author of the lost history as well as his two dependents, were probably composed out of diverse written materials and orally transmitted memories. The same is likely to have been true of the account of the political crisis following the death of Leo III in 741, which soon resulted in open civil war. The pithy presentation of precise information about persons, places, actions etc. characteristic of communiqués gives way to more flowing narration. The same is true of much of the material in the final tranche of the *Chronographia* which derives largely from a new source, not used by Nikephoros. The earliest notice taken from it concerned the severe winter (763–4), when icebergs floated down the Bosporus. The author who cannot have been Theophanes (only four years old at the time) presumably retained vivid memories and could draw on those of others. He tells us that, along with thirty friends of the same age (they were probably young men) he ventured on to one of them. They played games near the carcases of animals which had frozen to death (AM 6255, pp. 434.6–435.5). Unlike Theophanes, who, in his preface, explicitly denied including anything of his own composition, the author of this source—let us call him A for the moment—was ready to introduce personal recollections and to express his views on all sorts of matters, secular as well as ecclesiastical. He was predisposed in Irene's favour, *qua* restorer of icons, and that of her son, Constantine VI. Nonetheless he was ready to criticise them, in the case of Irene for machinations against her son, in Constantine's for lack of military success on some campaigns. These criticisms are mild, though, in comparison to the savage indictment of Nikephoros who usurped Irene's position in 802. That culminates in a ten-point charge sheet placed in the last two year-entries on his reign (AM 6302, pp. 486.10–488.6).[4]

It may well be that much of the material about domestic politics from 780 is based on communiqués issued at the time, but A has made considerable use of inside knowledge to embellish what was released for consumption by officialdom at the time. There is even more evidence of independent writing in the church history which he includes. While official bulletins were surely issued about deaths and appointments of patriarchs and were recycled in the *Chronographia* with little if any elaboration up to and including the death of Niketas and the appointment of Paul in 780 (AM 6272, p. 453.4–10), there is a complete change of tone (from neutral to engaged) and in manner of description (from bare outline to elaborate narrative, larded with snatches of direct speech) at the next patriarchal succession (AM 6276–7, pp. 457.13–460.27). Paul retires to a monastery at the end of August 784. Irene pleads with him to stay but in vain. She then sends a delegation of patricians and senators to remonstrate with him. Again in vain. Soon afterwards he dies. Tarasios is chosen unanimously as the new patriarch at a court assembly. He makes a long speech to explain his reluctance—above all because he has hitherto served in the

4. Mango – Scott, pp. lv–lvii.

imperial civil service—and to make his acceptance conditional on an effort to end the schism between patriarchates over the issue of icons.

The notice about the appointment of Tarasios, who was consecrated patriarch on Christmas Day 784, marks the beginning of a fuller, more opinionated account of the recent past, which continues to the end of the text. There is more emotional engagement on the part of A. It is only with regard to foreign affairs and military campaigns that the outlines of the communiqués, which may have provided the core of data for elaboration by the author, can still be discerned in Theophanes' text—take, for example, the notices about Constantine VI's expeditions against Bulgars and Arabs between 791 and 796 (AM 6283–8, pp. 467.6–17, 467.27–468.7, 469.27–470.1, 470.10–23) which are generally fuller and more candid than those about Staurakios' expedition to Greece in 783, his victorious return to Constantinople in January 784 and the imperial progress through Thrace involving Irene and Constantine VI later in 784 (AM 6275, pp. 456.25–457.11). The longer, more informative notices about warfare under Nikephoros might have been reproduced by Theophanes directly from contemporary communiqués, but it is equally possible that they were written up by A.

A, as we can see, showed a particular interest in the circumstances of Tarasios' appointment as patriarch and had plenty of inside knowledge about church and state politics. He takes care to note the exact dates of Tarasios' death and burial in 806 (18th February and Wednesday of the first week of Lent, respectively: AM 6298, p. 481.15–9). He does not disguise his anger with the emperor Nikephoros, which bursts out towards the end. Apart from his venture on to the iceberg, he makes two appearances in his text, kissing the relics of St. Euphemia when they were brought back to Constantinople from Lemnos in 796 (AM 6258, pp. 439.27–440.11) and vouching for the harsh words used by Nikephoros when a senior adviser, Theodosios Salibaras (his informant), objected to a sudden increase in taxation on the eve of his fatal Bulgar campaign in 811 (AM 6303, pp. 489.24–490.4). Given all these clues, his identity is not hard to guess. He must be George, who served as Tarasios' *synkellos*, his official representative at court, the principal channel of communication between church and state in Byzantium. No-one was in a better position than he to gather at first hand and from well-placed informants up-to-date and accurate information about what was going on in the two worlds which he linked together. His regard for Irene and bitter dislike of Nikephoros show themselves in his text, as does his affection for Tarasios.[5]

Before turning to Theophanes' account of the short period between the death of Constantine V in 775 (where the second source he shared with Nikephoros may have ended) and the entry of Tarasios on to the scene in 784 (almost certainly taken from George's account of his own times), a little more should be said about the communiqués, bulletins, circulars etc. which have been postulated as the principal sources used either directly or indirectly by Theophanes for the eighth and early ninth century. Were they perhaps gathered together in annual registers kept at the centre? This is presumably what Rochow and many others have in mind when they refer to imperial annals.[6] It does not seem very likely. For there is no record of any post of imperial annalist in Byzantium,

5. I follow Mango–Scott, pp. lv–lxii.
6. Rochow, *Byzanz im 8. Jh.*, pp. 44–5.

and there was little need for such a post in so literate and well-informed a society, living in a centralised, not over-large empire. Alternatively, it may be suggested (1) that records of public announcements were kept in the archives of the patriarchate, metropolitan sees and theme capitals, where they might be consulted by local clergy, postholders and, occasionally, other interested parties, or (2) that they were collected by a minority of individuals, most probably serving in the apparatus of government, and might eventually make their way into the hands of a historian, or (3) that there were many copies in circulation, so that a historian could collect them for himself. All three of these processes may have been at work. So we should probably conclude that Byzantine historians, like their predecessors towards the end of the Roman Republic and during the High and Late Empire, were ready to use documentary material about the recent as well as the remote past.[7] For like almost all of their classical predecessors, they surely recognised that only written sources could supply precise information in reasonable quantities and that the prime function of the participant, with direct experience, whom they might question, was to give insight into what had been going on below the surface.

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The majority of notices covering the years 775–6 to 783–4 in the *Chronographia* deal with military activity in the East. They will be subjected to close scrutiny, after a brief survey of the other types of material which co-exist with them. The military notices are well worth singling out because they can be supplemented from four independent sources, one Armenian, two Arab and one Syrian.

The entries for this nine-year period contain the usual mixture of information about court ceremonies, diplomatic events (notably the arrival as a refugee of the Bulgar khan, Telerig [AM 6269, p. 451.5–9], and Irene's embassy to Charlemagne about a possible marriage alliance [AM 6274, p. 455.19–25]), political plots, and appointments. There is one item, though, which stands out by virtue of its length and the details which it includes—an account of events in Constantinople in Easter week 776 (AM 6268, pp. 449.17–450.23). It is a rare example of a complete, unexpurgated, unabridged communiqué about an important episode of political and constitutional history. Theme army officers are said to have taken the lead. They came into the city with a fair number of troops and demanded that young Constantine be crowned co-emperor. Leo made a seemly show of reluctance. There followed several days of demonstrations in the hippodrome (doubtless orchestrated), from Palm Sunday to Good Friday, when the emperor finally yielded. He issued instructions for an oath to be sworn by the demonstrators on the fragments of the True Cross and to be recorded in writing. They were to commit themselves to Leo, his son Constantine and their lineage. The whole body politic took the oath—theme armies, Senate, metropolitan guards regiments (*tagmata*), all the citizens of Constantinople, and those involved in trade and manufacture (*ergasteriakoi*). The next day, Easter Saturday, the emperor watched as they laid written copies of the oath on the altar in St. Sophia, formally acceded to their wish and placed his small son in

7. See for example F. E. Adcock, *Caesar as man of letters*, Cambridge 1956, pp. 6–18.

their care, asking them to receive him from Christ. The climactic ceremony took place at dawn on Easter Day before a large crowd in the hippodrome. The patriarch prayed. The emperor, as was his prerogative, crowned the new junior emperor. Both emperors then processed to St. Sophia, accompanied, we are told, "by the two Caesars and three Nobelissimi" (namely Leo's five brothers), while the empress Irene made her way by a different route up into the gallery.

The value of the material on the war with the Caliphate in this section of the *Chronographia* (and hence of the communiqués from which it derives) may best be gauged, by bringing into play the evidence of other important extant sources. Comparison is a useful way of vetting the text. It will be better, though, to put the various sources to work and to set about reconstructing history by combining information judged reliable taken from all of them. Apart from the historiographical value of such an operation, insight should be gained into the history of Asia Minor in a key phase in the centuries-long defensive warfare of the Byzantine state, which culminated in an invasion by a huge army led by the young Harun al-Rashid in 782.[8]

The most useful of the Arab sources, not unexpectedly, is the relevant section of the universal history of al-Tabari, covering *hijra* years 159–65.[9] Al-Tabari, a giant intellectual figure at work in the late ninth and early tenth century, had access to a large collection of historical traditions and to written documentary sources.[10] His annual entries on the early Abbasid caliphs combine notes about new appointments and caliphal acts (plainly official in character, and probably derived from Arab analogues to the communiqués used by Theophanes) and discursive narratives, more gossipy and entertaining. His notices about the Byzantine war include material taken from official, documentary sources. An older Armenian contemporary, Łewond, seems to have been commissioned to plug a hole in the coverage of Armenian history between 632 and 788 by a certain Shapuh Bagratuni, whose own history ran on until 885.[11] Much of Łewond's material is taken from tales of the exploits of three great families—the Bagratunis, Mamikoneans and Artsrunis—and placed within a framework provided by a list of caliphs fleshed out with notes about their dealings with Armenia. Much has mutated with time, in the course of oral transmission. Chronology has become confused. But the quality improves markedly when Łewond deals

8. Most modern works do not do justice to the episode: R.-J. Lilie, *Die byzantinische Reaktion auf die Ausbreitung der Araber*, München 1976, pp. 173–6; P. Speck, *Kaiser Konstantin VI.: die Legitimation einer fremden und der Versuch einer eigenen Herrschaft*, München 1978, pp. 123–5; W. Treadgold, *The Byzantine revival 780–842*, Stanford CA 1988, pp. 67–70; L. Brubaker & J. Haldon, *Byzantium in the iconoclast era c. 680–850. A history*, Cambridge 2011, pp. 248–52. L. A. Tritle, "Tatzates" flight and the Byzantine-Arab peace treaty of 782, *Byz.* 47, 1977, pp. 279–300, at pp. 283–95, covers the campaigns, including that of 782, in which the Armenian general Tačat was involved.

9. *Annales quos scripsit Abu Djafar Mohammed ibn Djarir at-Tabari. Tertia series. 1*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, Lugduni Batavorum 1879–80; *The history of al-Tabari. 29. Al-Manṣûr and al-Mahdi*, transl. and annotated by H. Kennedy, Albany NY 1990.

10. *The History of al-Tabari. 1. General introduction, and, From the Creation to the Flood*, transl. and annotated by F. Rosenthal, Albany NY 1989, pp. 5–80, 130–4.

11. [illegible]. *Patmut'iwn Lewondeay meci vardapeti Hayoc'*, ed. K. Ezean, St. Petersburg 1887; *History of Lewond, the eminent vardapet of the Armenians*, transl., introd., and commentary by Z. Arzoumanian, Philadelphia 1982. T. W. Greenwood, A reassessment of the History of Lewond, *Le Muséon* 125, 2012, pp. 99–167.

with the career of Tačat (Greek Tatzates), who played a key role in the events of 782. Useful additional material may be extracted from al-Baladhuri's historical survey of the Byzantine-Arab frontier zone, and from snippets of information in the late twelfth-century history of Michael the Syrian, patriarch of the Jacobite Church, who had access to the work of his ninth-century predecessor, Dionysius of Tel-Mahre.[12]

I shall present my reconstruction as succinctly as possible, in year-entries corresponding to those of Theophanes, whose dating is the most precise and reliable among the extant sources:

- 776. Leo IV and al-Mahdi headed new regimes, their fathers having died in 775. Both probably felt some need to make their mark with new initiatives.[13] This may partly explain the escalation in the scale of the fighting over the period. Al-Tabari's and Theophanes' notices about 776 tally, but al-Tabari's is the more informative (AH 159, p. 459.9–15). An Arab invasion force, including Khurasani officers, raided across Asia Minor, as far west as Ankara. Its main achievement, noted by Theophanes (AM 6268, p. 449.9–11), was to smoke out and take into captivity those who had taken refuge in one of the underground shelters previously developed by Byzantium in the open country of Cappadocia.[14]

- 777. Al-Tabari, distracted by domestic affairs in the Caliphate and by al-Mahdi's pilgrimage to Mecca, simply notes the name (Thumama b. al-Walid al-'Absi) of the general who led the summer raid (AH 160, p. 477.7). Theophanes adds that he returned with a good haul of booty (AM 6269, p. 451.4–5).

- 778. The war started hotting up. Leo IV seized the initiative, sending an expedition into the Arab borderlands. All five major theme commands in Asia Minor, Thrakesion, Anatolikon, Boukellarion, Armeniakon and Opsikion, were involved. The force was said to be very large (Theophanes produces the inflated figure of 100,000 men). The generals are named by Theophanes, four of Armenian origin (including Tačat, Strategos of Boukellarion), the fifth, in overall command, being Michael Lachanodrakon, a key ally of Constantine V's who had been in post in Thrakesion for many years.[15] They advanced through the Anti-Taurus, and attacked Maraş (Roman Germaniceia) which commanded the northern approaches to Syria and eastern approaches to Cilicia.[16] 'Isa b. 'Ali, the caliph's uncle, was trapped inside. The Byzantines captured all his camels and were on the point of capturing the city, when they were bought off by gifts. At this they raided the country around, penetrating as far as Cilicia and taking many prisoners (Syrian Jacobites, who were resettled in Thrace). They returned to Germaniceia where they intercepted

12. Abī al-'Abbās Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyá ibn Ǧābir al-Balāḏurī, *Kitāb futūḥ al-buldān*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, Lugduni Batavorum 1866; *The origins of the Islamic state, being a translation from the Arabic, accompanied with annotations, geographic and historic notes of the Kitâb Futûḥ al-Buldân of al-Imâm abu-l 'Abbâs Aḥmad ibn Jâbir al-Balâdhuri*, by Ph. Kh. Hitti, I, New York 1916; Mich. Syr.

13. Brubaker & Haldon, *Byzantium in the iconoclast era* (quoted n. 8), pp. 248–52; H. Kennedy, *The Prophet and the age of the caliphates*, 2nd ed., Harlow 2004, pp. 136–8.

14. *Cappadocia : le città sotterranee*, a cura di R. Bixio, V. Castellani & C. Succhiarelli, Roma 2002.

15. *PmbZ* #5027 (Michael), 7241 (Tačat).

16. E. Honigmann, *Die Ostgrenze des byzantinischen Reiches von 363 bis 1071 nach griechischen, arabischen, syrischen und armenischen Quellen* = A. A. Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes*. 3, Bruxelles 1935, pp. 80–7 for Maras and the Anti-Taurus passes.

and defeated a relieving army sent belatedly by Thumama. Thumama was at odds with the caliph and had stayed put at Dabiq.

The generals celebrated their victory with a triumphal parade in Constantinople before the emperor and his son (AM 6270, pp. 451.11–452.2). Łewond (c. 37, pp. 155.16–156.9), who focuses on operations in Cilicia, may well have made use of the same communiqué, so similar is his account, but he exaggerates the scale of the raiding and the number of prisoners taken (over 150,000). Al-Tabari (AH 161, pp. 485.19–486.2) is more laconic, (1) noting that the Byzantines attacked in great force, (2) blaming Thumama for being slow to react when intelligence reached him in the forward assembly ground around Dabiq (west of the Euphrates and north of Aleppo, close to the modern Syria-Turkey frontier), and (3) confirming that 'Isa b. 'Ali was at Maraş and that the Arabs suffered a serious reverse.

• 779. The caliphal riposte came this year, taking the form of two raiding expeditions. A large army of 30,000 regular troops supplemented by *jihad* volunteers, led by Hasan b. Qahtaba (previously mentioned as commanding the vanguard of the 776 raiding army), pushed west, without encountering resistance, besieged Dorylaion for fifteen days, raided widely, but was then forced to withdraw for lack of supplies. A symbolic attack was made on Amorion on the march home (Theoph. AM 6271, p. 452.4–17; al-Tabari, AH 162, p. 493.6–12). A second expedition, led by Yazid b. Asid al-Sulami, governor of Armenia, attacked in the north-east through the Pass of Qaliqala (Roman Theodosiopolis) which was in Arab hands. Al-Tabari (AH 162, p. 493.12–3) reports that he was very successful, capturing three fortresses and bringing back many prisoners. Łewond (c. 38, pp. 157.7–158.4), by contrast, minimises his achievements. A Byzantine counterstrike on the Anti-Taurus sector of the frontier, which razed the walls of Hadath, is also noted by al-Tabari (AH 162, p. 493.6).[17]

Theophanes limits his coverage to Hasan's expedition to north-west Asia Minor, which targeted Dorylaion, the most important Byzantine base on the edge of the Anatolian plateau. This was, without doubt, the attack which roused greatest concern at the time, both because of the size of the invading force and because it threatened a key part of Byzantium's military infrastructure and came within striking distance of the metropolitan region. Hence it was the communiqué about this which Theophanes chose to use. It was carefully phrased, to explain why Hasan's advance was unopposed. The emperor, it was reported, had issued orders to that effect. Theme generals were to send senior officers to secure and garrison the main fortified centres, and to concentrate their own efforts on restricting the enemy's ability to raid and forage. Their instructions were to burn fodder

17. Hadath: Honigmann, *Ostgrenze* (quoted n. 16), pp. 86–7. It was a very large fortress, built on a low, roughly rectangular plateau a little to the south-west of the first of three small lakes in the open country running north-east for twenty-five kilometres or so to the entrance of the pass which forms the most difficult passage on the Maraş-Malatya (ancient Melitene) route. At its highest, on the north and east sides, the plateau rises some 20 metres above the surrounding land. A line of fortifications could be traced in 1976 when I visited the site with my *arkadaş* Joe Pennybacker. The rubble and mortar core was best preserved on the west side, rising to 5 metres in some places. A forewall and outer ditch could just be made out. The rectangular shape of one interval tower on the south wall could still be seen. Two massive round bastions secured its two ends. A Kurdish village (Boslar) of 200 households occupied a small part of the medieval fortified site, which was some 25–30 hectares in area.

and grazing and to shadow the invading army with 3,000-strong forces of crack troops, to prevent the dispatch of raiding forays. The main message of the communiqué was that this defensive strategy had worked. The Arabs had been forced to give up their attempt on Dorylaion. There is no reason for supposing that this was the first occasion on which such a strategy of defence was use. It was simply highlighted, for good political reasons, in a communiqué which happened to be issued in this year.[18]

Operations on other fronts, in the north-east and south-east, were presumably covered in separate communiqués, which were not used by Theophanes. Al-Tabari, who included an anecdote about Hasan in his version as well as giving the size and composition of his army, did not ignore the other two actions of the year. The governor of Armenia had been more successful, while the destruction of Hadath was a serious strategic blow. Łewond covers both Arab attacks, but he rambles, introducing gossipy matter, confusing Amorion with Dorylaion as the principal target of the western expedition, and glossing the other as a failure. He was, however, aware that withdrawal to fortified centres (cities, fortresses and towers) was the principal feature in Byzantine defensive strategy and that it was ordered by the emperor. It sounds as if the gist of the communiqué on the subject reached him, but he put emphasis on the evacuation of the civilian population to strongholds rather than on the installation of garrisons.

Al-Baladhuri (p. 169.1–7) goes into more detail than al-Tabari about the composition of the invasion army—regular troops came from Khurasan, Mosul, Syria and Yemen, volunteers from Iraq and Hijaz—and the route used, but has little to say about operations. The forward area where Hasan marshalled his troops before the expedition and to which he returned afterwards was the plain of Tarsos, at the southern end of the Cilician Gates. In contrast to other invasion routes, in particular the Pass of Hadath normally used hitherto, the route through the Cilician Gates from Tarsos up on to the Anatolian plateau cuts through the Taurus, rather than climbing and crossing high passes. As the easiest and most direct route, it was used by the principal road linking Asia Minor to Syria in antiquity.[19] In the early Middle Ages, at a time of war, with hostile powers established on either side of the mountains, it was militarily attractive, since it debouched into southern Cappadocia, closer to the Pisidian lake region, the western fringe of the plateau and the Aegean coastlands than the normal Anti-Taurus route. But it was also fraught with danger, providing several opportunities to trap and ambush an army on the march. Hasan's main achievement in 779 was probably his opening up of this new invasion route. In order to make future use of it, he recommended, on his return to the caliphal court, that the ruined site of ancient Tarsos, which he had inspected, should be fortified and garrisoned. It was, however, another recommendation of his, made a year earlier in the wake of the Byzantine attach on Maraş, which al-Mahdi took up immediately—the rebuilding of Hadath (al-Baladhuri, p. 190.5–14). These two projects mark the beginning of an ambitious programme to build a set of large, forward bases in the borderlands, which carried on through the reign of Harun al-Rashid.

18. Cf. M. Whittow, *The making of orthodox Byzantium, 600–1025*, London 1996, p. 171.

19. Honigmann, *Ostgrenze*, pp. 42–3, 82–3; F. Hild & M. Restle, *Kappadokien (Kappadokia, Charsianon, Sebasteia und Lykandos)* (TIB 2), Wien 1981, pp. 263–4.

• 780. This was the year that the young Harun (at most seventeen years old, perhaps only fourteen) made his appearance on the Byzantine frontier, accompanied by five experienced minders chosen by al-Mahdi (various stories about them are gathered together by al-Tabari, AH 163, pp. 494.14–498.10). In a first notice (AM 6272, p. 452.20–2), the last based on his eastern source, Theophanes merely noted the dispatch of Harun, before going on to track al-Mahdi as he made his way to Jerusalem and then instituted a persecution of Christians. But he returned to Harun's expedition at the end of the year-entry, almost certainly making use once again of a Byzantine communiqué. The notice (AM 6272, p. 453.20–5), which is very condensed, tallies with al-Tabari's sober report about the operations conducted by Harun (AH 163, pp. 499.11–500.3), but supplies additional information about a raiding expedition to the west. Once again Theophanes' document-based material proves to be of high quality, on this occasion in terms of its wider scope.

The Arab strategy was well thought out. The overall aim was to garner prestige for the young Harun at minimal risk. His objective was the isolated fortress of Semalouos in Armeniakon (Theoph. AM 6272, p. 453.20–2; al-Tabari, AH 163, p. 499.15–6; al-Baladhuri, p. 170.18–9). It was in a strong position, on a rugged hill with a flattened top measuring some 60 by 30 metres. The only approach was by a ramp on the south side, commanded by two powerful round towers.[39] Nonetheless so small a stronghold could not hope to hold out for long against a large besieging army, and its capture could be presented to the Muslim world as a notable feat of arms. There was little danger of counterattack from the north, which had suffered badly at the hands of Yazid's raiding army in 779. Danger was much more likely to come from the west, from the theme armies of Anatolikon, Opsikion, Boukellarion and Thrakesion which had survived the campaign of 779 unscathed. To shield Harun and his besieging force, Thumama led a large army (its strength is put at 50,000 by Theophanes) into the Aegean coastlands, where he raided the territory of Ephesos and captured many prisoners (Mich. Syr., XII, 1, p. 479.24–7). Once again, Byzantine forces probably fell back on well-defended sites, leaving small mobile forces to shadow and harass the enemy. One notable success was picked up in the bulletin subsequently issued—engagement of a foray by Michael Lachanodrakon, Strategos of Thrakesion, and the death of Thumama's brother (Theoph. AM 6272, p. 453.22–5). Harun's rear was also covered by the troops with al-Mahdi, who camped for a while in the inner basin of the Anti-Taurus, near ancient Arabissos. Positioned there, he could also shield the building work at Hadath which started that year (al-Tabari, AH 163, p. 499.11–4; al-Baladhuri, p. 190.5–14; Mich. Syr., XII, 1, p. 479.14–9).

Harun was thus in no danger outside Semalouos. The defending garrison, however, put up effective resistance and inflicted many casualties on the Arabs. Harun fell back on trying to starve them into surrender. The siege lasted into September, a total of thirty-eight days, and had to be brought to an end by negotiation. Two concessions had to be made. Ten senior officers were spared captivity, and the defenders were promised that they would be kept together and resettled in the same place. Then and only then did the garrison capitulate (Theoph. AM 6272, p. 453.22; al-Tabari, AH 163, pp. 499.18–500.2; al-Baladhuri, pp. 170.19–171.1; Mich. Syr., XII, 1, p. 479.21–3).

39. F. Hild & M. Restle, Semaluos Kastron, *JÖB* 23, 1974, pp. 263–70.

• 781. Hoping perhaps to exploit the weakness of the new Byzantine regime headed by Irene after the death of Leo IV on 8th September 780, a large invasion force was mobilised on the Anti-Taurus front under the command of 'Abd al-Kabir. He advanced by the Pass of Hadath but was opposed by all the Asian theme armies, which had been mobilised to guard the frontier passes, under the command of Michael Lachanodrakon and Tačat. In the battle which followed, the Arabs were worsted, suffered many casualties and retreated. 'Abd al-Kabir was disgraced. The notices in Theophanes (AM 6273, p. 455.2–8) and al-Tabari (AH 164, p. 501.11–5) dovetail for the most part. The generals are named correctly. The outcome is defeat and disgrace for the Arabs. Theophanes gives the month and names the site of the battle. Al-Tabari inflates the number of Byzantine troops to 90,000, a figure which may perhaps have featured in a caliphal bulletin, and skates over the fighting and Arab losses.

• 782. We come now to the climactic year, when a huge Arab army invaded Asia Minor, under the supreme command of Harun al-Rashid. It was a year of dramatic swings of fortune, brought to an end when the world's first great hostage crisis was resolved. The accounts of Theophanes, al-Tabari and Łewond are generally reliable and complement each other. As well as providing a final case-study, on which to base a judgement about the quality of this section of the *Chronographia*, the three sources, each with their own point of view, provide enough information to reconstruct what happened in some detail and to gain insight into the strategic moves and counter-moves of the two sides.

We are in the hands of al-Tabari for the preliminaries (AH 165, p. 503.16–8). The caliph al-Mahdi dispatched young Harun, his second son and preferred successor, to take charge of that year's main expedition, the summer expedition, very early in the year. This time he was assigned a single minder, al-Rabi, a *mawla* of al-Mahdi's who had been one of the five with him in 780. They left Baghdad on a Saturday early in February (something has gone wrong with al-Tabari's date [p. 503.18], 18th Jumada II [7th February], which fell on a Thursday in AH 165). They travelled west to that ideal assembly place for a large invasion army, the plain of Cilicia, where there was abundant grazing for the cavalry's horses and the animals of the baggage-train. From there, probably before the end of March, a good two months before the customary start of the campaigning season, Harun marched through the Cilician Gates and entered Byzantine territory (AH 165, p. 503.18–9). Complete surprise was achieved, as intended. Whatever Byzantine defence forces could be mobilised at short notice were probably deployed on the Anti-Taurus front, which had come under attack in 781. That offensive may indeed have been intended to divert attention from what was planned for 782.

Harun's army was the largest deployed against Byzantium since the campaign which culminated in the 717–8 siege of Constantinople. Al-Tabari got hold of some remarkably precise figures (AH 165, p. 504.2–5)—assuredly not from any official news release, but from an archival document. There were, he tells us, 95,793 soldiers serving on the campaign, a force over three times the size of the largest offensive forces put into the field by Byzantium in its tenth century heyday. Harun transported a huge sum of money (in cash) for their pay, some presumably for distribution before the invasion, the balance at the end of the campaign. The figures given by al-Tabari are 194,450 dinars and 21,414,800 dirhams. This works out at an average of roughly two dinars and two hundred

and twenty dirhams per man, although in reality rates of pay would have varied between different ranks of officers, between officers and men, and between cavalry and infantry. Many wagons would have been required to transport this sum, before the initial issue of pay, presumably by Harun, on his arrival in Cilicia. What was retained for distribution later was, we may assume, kept under heavy guard in Cilicia, awaiting the army's return.

The open country beyond the Cilician Gates was bounded to the north by a range of hills, where later the Byzantines were to build the fortress of Loulon to watch over the pass. It was separated from the Taurus by valleys which offered easy routes north to Kaisareia and Cappadocia and west past Herakleia to Lycaonia. The great host evidently took the second route, since Harun's next appearance in al-Tabari's account, is far away to the north-west, near Nikomedia. But before undertaking the long march across the open terrain of the plateau, he took the precaution of securing his rear from counterattack. Majida (modern Niğde), a fortified centre which appears to have replaced ancient Tyana near the mouth of the valley running north, was captured, thereby giving the Arabs command of the northern approach to the Cilician Gates (AH 165, p. 503.19).[21] The troops stationed at Majida, almost certainly a substantial force capable of conducting independent operations, were probably assigned the task not only of preventing any Byzantine move to cut Harun's line of retreat but also of deterring the armies of Anatolikon and Armeniakon from intervening in the west. Were they to do so, they would run the danger of being trapped between powerful Arab armies and destroyed in a pincer attack. This would help to explain the otherwise puzzling silence about any role played by the theme armies of eastern Asia Minor in the operations which took place later in the west. They appear to have been neutralised by a single act of great strategic significance.

Theophanes now takes over as our principal source and makes it plain that the Arabs were engaged in a booty- and prestige-gathering expedition unprecedented in its ambition (AM 6274, p. 456.2–9). After crossing the Anatolian plateau without mishap, they arrived in the fertile region of the Sangarios headwaters. There the army split into three independent corps. Al-Rabi, who was probably responsible for overall strategy, took charge of the corps which stayed put, controlling the north-west segment of the Anatolian plateau and the fringing hill country. He had the vital task of securing the rear of the other two corps. He busied his men by laying siege to Nakoleia, mid-way between Amorion and Dorylaion. A second corps under the command of Yahya b. Khalid b. Barmak, reported to be 50,000-strong, raided the Aegean coastlands and won a crushing victory over Michael Lachanodrakon and the Thrakesion theme army. Harun advanced north-west with the third corps, through Bithynia, to Chrysopolis on the Bosporos. Al-Tabari (AH 165, pp. 503.19–504.1) adds that an engagement was fought with the army of Opsikion, in the course of which Niketas, the general in command, was seriously wounded, and that it ended with the flight of the Byzantines.[22]

Irene and her advisers now devised a brilliant counter-ploy (Theoph. AM 6274, p. 456.10–1). They were short of troops. The army of Opsikion had been forced aside. That of Thrakesion had been badly mauled (losing half its strength in its defeat). Those

21. Hild & Restle, *Kappadokien* (quoted n. 19), pp. 115, 243–4.
22. *PmbZ* #[illegible].

of Anatolikon and Armeniakon, as we have seen, probably could not be brought into play. In any case, the theme armies had been weakened that year by the seconding of troops for service on a fleet sent to put down a rebellion in Sicily. The imperial government was left with the *tagmata* (guards regiments) stationed in the metropolitan region, and the army of Boukellarion commanded by Tačat. Tačat was shadowing Harun's corps, since he was close enough later to communicate directly with Harun. The *tagmata*, under the senior commander, Antony Domestic of the Scholai, were dispatched by sea, to seize and hold the plain of Nikomedia and Lake Bane (modern Sapanca) to the east, together with the difficult routes through the mountains to the south.[23] The amphibious capability developed by Constantine V in his Bulgar war was being put to good use in another theatre.

The operation went well. The Domestic Antony took up a forward position at Nikomedia, but withdrew (south) at the approach of the Arab vanguard, under the command of Yazid b. Mazid (previously responsible for the defeat of the Opsikion troops). This is a second isolated piece of information provided by al-Tabari (AH 165, p. 504.1–2). Harun's corps could then establish itself in the open country in the hinterland of the strongly fortified city. But it was trapped. The guards regiments, greatly outnumbered though they were, controlled the mountains to the south and there was no prospect of the Arabs' fighting their way through. It was a triumph for Byzantium. A campaign intended to lift caliphal prestige looked likely to inflict a devastating blow. Harun would have to open negotiations. The terms for his release would be tough, probably humiliating.

The region where the trap had been sprung was relatively well supplied with grazing and forage. The plain of Nikomedia stretched many kilometres to the east along the shores of Lake Bane. Time had therefore been created for talks. The Arabs would not be forced into launching desperate and doomed efforts to break out. It is at this stage that al-Tabari comes back on stream and that Łewond casts light on proceedings from the point of view of Tačat. Al-Tabari (AH 165, p. 504.8–12) was clearly well aware that things had gone wrong for Harun. He refers to the difficult country from where he was conducting negotiations and to his fear for his men. But he masked the true position by having the Byzantines take the initiative and approach Harun with peace proposals. Łewond (c. 39, p. 158.13–8), by contrast, is quite frank about the Arabs' position. They were in the grip of a Byzantine blockade. Aware of this—his troops were probably in the mountains to the east of the lower Sangarios—Tačat seized the opportunity to spite Irene's regime, with which he was at odds, and to return to the Caliphate which he had left over twenty years earlier to become one of Constantine V's most trusted generals. He made contact with the Arabs and offered them a deal: he would help them escape, if he were welcomed back in the Caliphate. Harun agreed, and, acting for the caliph, provided the written guarantee requested by Tačat (Łewond, c. 39, p. 158.19–159.17).

The military position did not change when Tačat went to Harun's camp. But he was able to give advice of great importance, as well as useful political information. The advice was that Harun should open negotiations, and send emissaries to Irene. She would then respond, as she did, by sending a delegation of high-ranking office-holders. In the

23. Antony: *PmbZ* #531. Lake Bane and routes: *La Bithynie au Moyen Âge*, éd. par B. Geyer & J. Lefort, Paris 2003, pp. 25 & 38 (Geyer), 463–4 (Lefort).

event, there were three of them—Staurakios, Patrician and Logothete of the Dromos (in charge of foreign affairs, and the most powerful man in the government), the Magistros Peter, and the Domestic of the Scholai Antony.[24] Then, by a single act, which flouted all diplomatic norms and which was the crucial piece of advice given by Tačat, Harun took all three hostage (Theoph. AM 6274, p. 456.11–9). The balance of diplomatic advantage instantly shifted back to the Arabs. The Byzantine government was not going to sacrifice three such key figures to maintain its military stranglehold over Harun's corps. It is possible that, again urged on by Tačat, Harun reinforced his position not just by threatening the hostages but by beginning to execute batches of other Byzantines in his hands. There is a chilling sentence in al-Tabari's account about his putting to death two thousand and ninety prisoners-of-war (AH 165, p. 505.4).

The outcome was capitulation on the part of Irene's regime and acceptance of an armistice on Harun's terms (Theoph. AM 6274, p. 456.19–23; al-Tabari, AH 165–6, pp. 504.12–505.11, 505.21–506.4; Łewond, c. 39, p. 159.18–20). The blockade would be lifted. Harun's corps would be allowed to march south-east, to the comparative safety of the Anatolian plateau and the company of the other two corps. The Byzantine government agreed to provide supplies for the Arabs while they were on Byzantine territory (so that there would be no need for foraging). Markets would be established along their line of march—from which the commissariat could procure what was needed. Harun made several other demands, primarily to secure tangible gains which could be displayed on his return. It would thus be possible to present the expedition, as it is presented in al-Tabari's version, as a military success and to use the success to burnish Harun's reputation. Irene's government immediately made a large monetary payment to ransom the prisoners-of-war who had not been killed. The Arabs were allowed to keep the booty which they had already taken. There was no question of payment of reparations for damage done. The armistice was to last for three years. The Byzantines would be making three substantial annual payments, in cash (64,000 solidi plus 2,500 dinars) and kind (30,000 *ratls* of goat's wool, presumably from Angora goats).[25]

Harun began his withdrawal on 2nd September. Al-Tabari, who has tampered with the order of events, placing the near-encounter with the Domestic before rather than after the march to Chrysopolis, has him leave Chrysopolis rather than the plain of Nikomedia. Both sides observed the terms of the armistice. The siege of Nakoleia was lifted. Tačat's wife was allowed to join him and to bring all his chattels. The return march passed off without incident. Peace was to reign on the Byzantine-Arab frontier throughout 783 and 784.

* * *

Two generations later, Dionysius of Tel-Mahre was not taken in by the account of the campaign disseminated in the Caliphate. His pithy summary, taken over by Michael the Syrian (XII. 1, pp. 479.43–480.13) towards the end of the twelfth century, homed in

24. *PmbZ* [illegible] (Staurakios).
25. The *ratl* (derived from Greek *litra*), in this case presumably the Baghdad *ratl*, weighed [illegible] grams (W. Hinz, *Islamische Masse und Gewichte*, Leiden 1955, pp. 27–33).

on the trap sprung by the Byzantines and the great distress which it caused to the Arabs. Caught between mountains and sea, near the Sangarios river, they had to sue for peace, which Irene granted. The actions of the two other corps are reported. He only strays away from the truth in having the corps besieging Nakoleia cut to pieces.

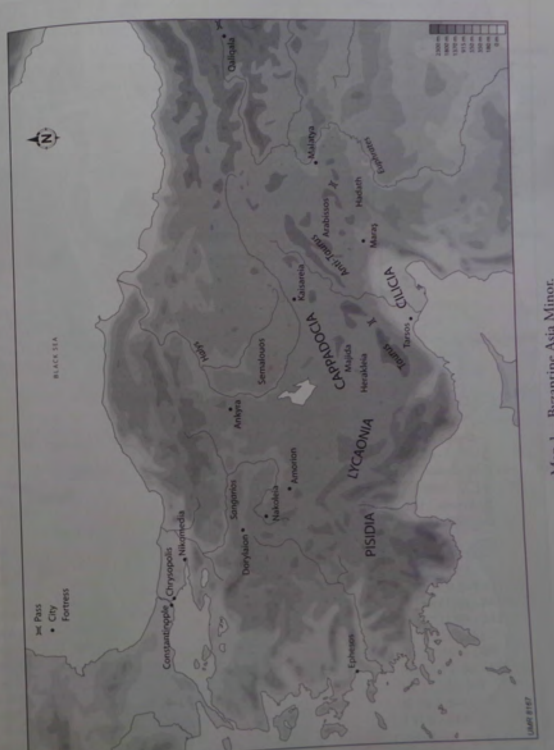
Of the three earlier accounts of the 782 crisis, Theophanes' stands out by virtue of its lucidity, its attention to overall strategy and the details provided about persons and places. Its chief deficiency concerns time. We have to turn to al-Tabari for the date of Harun's departure from Baghdad, which enables us to place the start of the campaign roughly a month and a half later (towards the end of March), and for the date when he could at last extricate his corps from the Byzantine trap (2nd September). We thus learn that the outward march, the main phase of operations by all three corps, and the negotiations lasted five months. Many weeks, it seems, passed by before a solution was found to the impasse created by the seizure of the hostages. Łewond, like Michael the Syrian, appreciates that the Arabs were trapped, but probably exaggerates the effects of the blockade. He has starvation force them to negotiate. His chief contribution is biographical, sketching Tačat's past career, noting that he fell out of favour after the deaths of Constantine V and Leo IV, making it plain that he expected to be treated well if he changed sides and that he duly received a sworn undertaking to this effect, and finally going on to describe his later appointment to the governorship of Armenia and the opposition which he encountered.

When Theophanes' version of what happened in 782 is compared to those of the other sources, it emerges as the most sober, with the best overall understanding both of military operations and political negotiations. The same is true of his notices on the campaigns which led up to the great invasion. Year after year, it is from Theophanes that we can best gain a sense of the strategies pursued by both sides. This is particularly true of his accounts of the 778 Byzantine offensive stroke aimed at Maraş, of the first campaign involving Harun in 780 when it is only Theophanes who reports the sweeping westward foray of a large raiding army, designed to mask Harun's siege of Semalouos, and, as we have just seen, of the grandest of all these Arab offensives in 782.

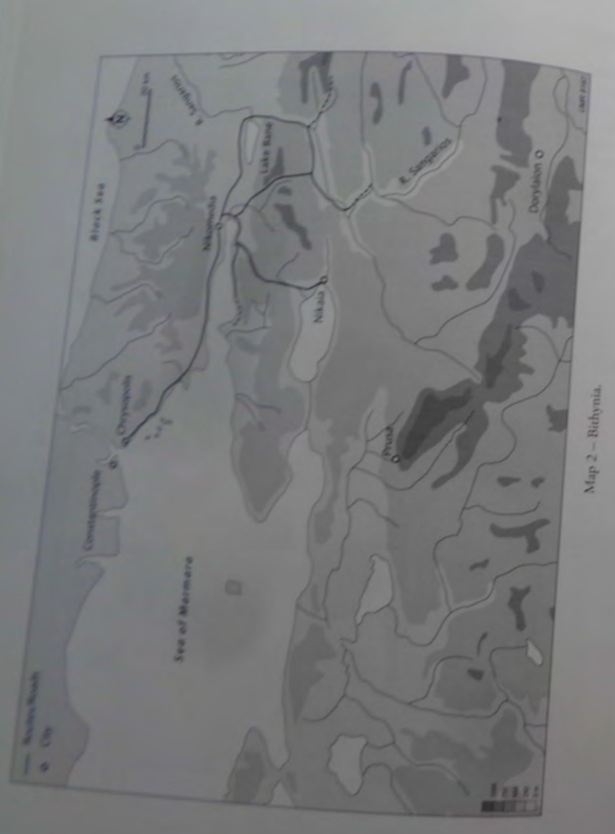
It is not, however, the military and political acumen of Theophanes which should be credited with this high-quality history. As has been argued above, he (or George Synkellos, if his account of his own times went back this far) was almost certainly making use of official communiqués, issued soon after the events for a large official readership in the apparatus of government and the church across the Byzantine empire. Such bulletins had to be accurate in what they reported, given that the readership, lay and clerical, would have independent sources of information (news would be percolating out by word of mouth) and would be able to detect fictions or serious distortion. It was with respect to what was omitted or carefully glossed that they need to be handled with care. In the case of the 782 crisis, they skated over the execution of Byzantine prisoners-of-war, presumably in the interest of maintaining good relations with the Caliphate for the duration of the armistice. The news doubtless leaked out and spread rapidly by word of mouth, but there was no official, publicly disseminated account of the horrific act. A gloss (AM 6274, p. 456.16–8), probably an integral part of the original document, rather than an addition of Theophanes', may have been included for a similar reason—to avoid

an open denunciation of Harun: the hostages themselves were blamed for not taking proper precautions.

These observations remind us that we must read official government news releases dating from the remote past with as much scepticism as the handiwork of spin-doctors in the present. But it is what they do report, the specific data provided and the patterns into which they are arranged, that enable the historian at work many centuries later both to reconstruct the main lines of what happened and to start making sense of it. Theophanes' history of the eighth century is to be prized not least as a conduit for the transmission of communiqués and communiqué-based material to future readers.



Map 1 – Byzantine Asia Minor.



Map 2 – Bithynia.

INDEX

SOURCES

Studies in Theophanes, ed. by M. Jankowiak & F. Montinaro (Travaux et mémoires 19), Paris 2015, pp. 491–516.

MANUSCRIPTS

NAMES AND PLACES